THE HISTORY of the INDIAN EMPIRE

DEDICATED BY HER MOST GRACIOUS

AUTHORITY TO MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

THE

INDIAN EMPIRE:

HISTORY, TOPOGRAPHY, GEOLOGY, CLIMATE, POPULATION, CHIEF CITIES AND PROVINCES; TRIBUTARY AND PROTECTED STATES; MILITARY POWER AND RESOURCES; RELIGION, EDUCATION, CRIME; LAND TENURES; STAPLE PRODUCTS; GOVERNMENT, FINANCE, AND COMMERCE.

WITH A FULL ACCOUNT OF THE

MUTINY OF THE BENGAL ARMY; OF THE INSURRECTION IN WESTERN INDIA; AND AN EXPOSITION OF THE ALLEGED CAUSES.

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AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF THE BRITISH COLONIES," ETC.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS, PORTRAITS, AND VIEWS.

VOL. I.

HISTORY, TOPOGRAPHY, POPULATION, GOVERNMENT, FINANCE, COMMERCE, AND STAPLE PRODUCTS.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE Anglo-Indian Empire! what do these words represent in the minds of the people of Britain?

They speak of dominion over a far-distant sunny land, rich in barbaric gold, precious stones, and architectural beauty, occupying upwards of a million square miles of the most varied, fertile, and interesting portion of this globe, and inhabited by more than one hundred million of the human race.

The early history of this wonderful country lies hid in deep obscurity. Not the obscurity that naturally attends insignificance, but, far otherwise, caused by the dense veil which Time drew around Ancient India, in thickening folds, during centuries of deterioration; leaving the ruins of magnificent cities, and widely-scattered records graven in mysterious characters on almost imperishable materials, to attest the existence of civilised races—regarding whom even tradition is silent—at a date long prior to the Christian era.

Whence India was peopled, is quite unknown; but thirty different languages, and an equal diversity of appearance and character, dress, manners, and customs, seem to indicate long-continued immigration from various quarters.

The Alexandrine era (B.C. 330) throws light on little beyond the Macedonian invasion of the north-western frontier; the Arab incursions (A.D. 709) afford only a few glimpses of the borders of the Indus; and the thirteen expeditions of Mahmood the Ghuznivede (A.D. 1000 to 1025), give little beyond a vague and general idea of the wealth of the country and the dense population of the Western Coast, whose idolatry Mahmood was empowered to scourge with the strong arm of an Iconoclast; though he himself was but an instrument in the hands of Providence; and in battering down guardian fortresses and destroying temples and shrines dedicated to false gods, had evidently no higher motive than that of pillaging the dedicated treasures, and carrying away the worshippers into slavery.

From this period we can faintly trace the progress of Mohammedan conquest in India, to the establishment of the dynasty known as the *Slave Kings of Delhi* (A.D. 1208.) Its founder, Kootb-oo-deen, originally a Turki slave, established the centre of Moslem dominion in the grand old Hindoo capital, chiefly by reason of the disunion which had arisen among the leading Rajpoot princes upon the failure of a direct heir, and the consequent jealousies and disputes regarding the succession.

Then the page of history becomes more and more legible until it records the invasion of Timur or Tamerlane (A.D. 1398), the terrible details of the siege of Delhi, and the general massacre in which it terminated; and all the horrors enacted before "the apostle of desolation" took his departure, carrying off men and women of all ranks and ages into slavery, and leaving the devoted city without a government, and almost without inhabitants.

The succeeding Indian annals, though confused, are tolerably full to the commencement of that important epoch which comprises the reigns of the Great Moguls. This brings us within the pale of modern history: we can note the growth and decay of Mogul dominion, and trace, at least in measure, the operating causes of its extension and decline. Viewed as a mere series of biographies, the lives of the Great Moguls attract by incidents, which the pen of fiction, fettered by attention to probability, would hardly venture to trace. The members of this dynasty had a decidedly literary turn, and several of them have left records not only of the public events in which they played a leading part, but also of the domestic scenes in which they figured as sons, husbands, or fathers.

The value of these memoirs in elucidating or corroborating the histories of the period, is, of course, very great, and their authenticity rests on solid grounds, apart from the strong internal evidence they afford of having been actually written by the persons whose names they bear.

Nothing can be more characteristic than the intense self-adulation with which Timur, or Tamerlane, narrates his perfidious and sanguinary career, except perhaps the peculiar power of observation and analysis brought to bear on new scenes which mark the autobiography of his descendant Baber, who, following in his footsteps, invaded India from Cabool, and, after a fierce struggle on the plains of Paniput (A.D. 1526), gained easy possession of Delhi and Agra, and succeeded in laying the foundation of an extensive empire.

Humayun (A.D. 1530), Akber (A.D. 1556), Jehangeer (A.D. 1605), Shah Jehan (A.D. 1628), all encountered vicissitudes of the most singular and varied character; and the Mogul history increases in interest until it culminates in the long reign of Aurungzebe (A.D. 1658), the ablest and most powerful, but the most ambitious and bigoted of his race. During his sway the predatory hordes of Maharashtra were formed by the Hindoo adventurer, Sevajee, into a powerful state; the hated and despised Mahrattas grew strong upon the spoil of independent kingdoms demolished by the haughty emperor; and finally, his troops, worn by incessant toil, became mutinous for want of pay and provisions, and suffered their aged leader to be hunted even to the death by foes he had been accustomed to treat as utterly contemptible. The decay of the empire, which commenced several years before

the death of Aurungzebe (A.D. 1707), then became rapid; usurping viceroys, rebelling against their government and warring with the rulers of neighbouring states or provinces, aggravated the internal disorganisation. Nor were external foes wanting to complete the work of destruction: adventurers of all creeds and complexions fought fiercely over the ruins; while, distancing meaner competitors, Nadir Shah (A.D. 1739) and Ahmed Shah (A.D. 1759), the robber kings of Persia and Affghanistan, swooped down like vultures to secure their share of the carcass; and the chief cities of India, especially Delhi, repeatedly witnessed the most sanguinary enormities, and continued to do so until, one by one, they became gradually included in the widening circle of British supremacy.

And why dwell thus on the past at such a crisis as this, when the magic circle of our power has been rudely broken—when Delhi, filled to overflowing with all the munitions of war, has been treacherously snatched from our unsuspecting hands—and when the Crescent, raised again in deadly strife against the Cross, has been reared aloft as if in testimony that the Moslems who came into India proclaiming war to the death against idolatry, have quite abandoned their claim to a Divine mission, and are affecting to make common cause with the Hindoos, whose creed and practice they formerly declaimed against with so much horror and disgust? Now Mohammedans and Hindoos unite in committing crimes of a character so deep and deadly, so foul and loathsome, that we find no parallel for them; not in the relentless, inventive vengeance of the Red Indians; not even in that crisis of civilised infidelity, that fierce paroxysm of the French Revolution, still shudderingly called the "Reign of Terror." The Red Republicans made public avowal of atheism; and awful was the depravity into which they sank, world-wide the shame they incurred: but recantation soon followed. These treacherous Sepoys, who have so suddenly risen in a body, violating every oath of fidelity, every tie of feeling and association—they, too, have their watchword: it is not "There is no God;" it is "Death to the Christians!"

As in France, no religious persecution, but rather a state of conventional apathy, leavened by the poison of Voltaire, Diderot, Condorcet, and their clique, preceded the atheistical and sanguinary outburst; even so has it been with India. Efforts for the extension of Christianity have been wholly exceptional; the rule has been tolerance, amounting to indifference, in all religious matters. Few who have been in the habit of reading Indian periodicals, much less of mixing in Indian society, will deny that, however manifest the desire for the diffusion of the Gospel might be in individuals, the government had remained markedly neutral.

The Mussulmans, let it be repeated, subjugated and governed India in the character of anti-idolaters. They tolerated—and barely tolerated—the heathenism around them, to which their aversion was, for the most part, quite undisguised; and they were always eager for individual conversions. Their open assertion of the superiority of their faith was viewed as natural by the Hindoos; nor does any angry feeling appear to have been excited, save in exceptional cases of actual persecution. Aurungzebe certainly alienated a large portion of his subjects by reviving a long-abandoned capitation-tax on infidels; and whether he did this from a desire to refill the treasury emptied by incessant warfare, or from sheer bigotry, the result was the same. Many causes (among which may be named, not as the avowed ones, but certainly not as the least powerful—sloth and sensuality, fostered by an enervating climate) have concurred in rendering the Indian followers of Mohammed comparatively regardless of that integral portion of their creed which enjoins its extension by all and every means. But no earnest believer in the Koran can be tolerant of idolatry; and therefore, when we hear of Moslem and Hindoo linked together in a most unprovoked crusade against Christians, it is manifest that the pretext is altogether false, and that the Mussulman, who is taught by the book he deems inspired never to name our Blessed Lord without reverence, or idols without abhorrence, cannot now be actuated by any religious motive, however perverted or fanatical, in violating the first principles of his faith and by affected sympathy with the professors of a creed heretofore declared utterly polluted and debasing, using them as dupes and tools in carrying out an incendiary plot, the planned details of which only Devil-worshippers, possessed by unclean spirits, could have been supposed capable of conceiving and executing. The conspiracy, beyond a doubt, has originated in the desire of the Mohammedans to recover their lost supremacy in India. Its immediate and secondary causes are involved in temporary obscurity; but the *primum mobile* must be sought for in the pages of history. It is true the flame has spread like wildfire: but the important question for those who are capable of grappling with the complicated bearings of this all-engrossing subject, is not—what hand applied the match? but how came such vast masses of combustibles to be so widely spread, so ready for ignition?

To understand this in any satisfactory degree, the inquirer must be content to begin at the beginning, by carefully weighing the fragmentary records we possess of the history and character of the Hindoos as a distinct people, noting the causes which led to their gradual subjugation by the Moslems; next, those which paved the way for the introduction of European

Powers; and, lastly, the establishment and operation of British supremacy throughout India.

The indifference which the British nation and its rulers have so long evinced to the study of Asiatic history, has been most unfortunate. Wrapped in fancied security, we have been too ignorant to be anxious, too indolent to be watchful; and the few who have felt it an imperative duty to speak words of warning by bringing the experience of the past to bear upon the signs of the present, have found themselves set down as alarmists on this point at least, whatever their general character for ability and sound judgment. Yet the fact is certain, that almost every leading authority from the date of our earliest assumption of territorial power, has dwelt forcibly on the necessity for unsleeping vigilance in the administration of Indian affairs. This conviction has been the invariable result of extensive acquaintance with the natives, and it is abundantly corroborated by the recorded antecedents of both Hindoos and Mohammedans.

The history of India, whether in early times or during the Mohammedan epoch, is—as the brief outline sketched in preceding pages was designed to indicate—no less interesting as a narrative than important in its bearing on the leading events of the present epoch, which, in fact, cannot, without it, be rendered intelligible. The struggles of European Powers for Asiatic ascendancy, form leading features in the annals of each of these states. Portugal was first in the field, and long and fierce was the combat she waged to maintain exclusive possession of the rich monopoly of Oriental commerce. The Dutch (then known as the Netherlanders) enjoyed a share of the profits in the capacity of carriers between the Portuguese factories and the northern nations of Europe; but when, in 1579, they formed themselves into a separate government in defiance of the power of Philip of Spain, that monarch, who then governed with an iron sceptre the united kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, forbade the employment of the Dutch as intermediaries—a prohibition which led to their trafficking on their own account, forming various trading settlements in the East in the commencement of the seventeenth century, and supplanting their former employers.

The first attempts of England were made, at the same period, by a company of London merchants, warmly encouraged by the Queen, who signed a charter on their behalf on the last day of the sixteenth century. During the following century the English continued to be simply traders, with no cravings for political or territorial aggrandisement—absorbed in the business of buying and selling, and anxious only for the safety of their fleet, which rapidly became more formidable and extensive in proportion to the rich

freight it was destined to bear through seas infested with pirates, and frequently preoccupied by hostile European squadrons.

The eighteenth century opened upon an entirely new phase of Indian annals. The decay of Mogul power, which had, as has been stated, commenced before the death of Aurungzebe in 1707, was greatly accelerated by that event, and by the war of succession which followed, as a natural consequence, the death of a Mogul emperor. The will of the deceased ruler decreed the division of his dominions among his sons; and had they consented to this arrangement, and cordially united in carrying it out, their allotted portions might possibly have been consolidated into distinct kingdoms. But brotherly love rarely flourishes under the shadow of a despotic throne; and the House of Timur formed no exception to this rule, having evinced a remarkable tendency to fratricide throughout the entire period of its Indian career. The younger sons of Aurungzebe went to war with their elder brother, each on his own account, and died the death they had provoked, leaving the survivor, Bahadur Shah, to rule as best he might the scattered territories styled the Empire. Anything more devoid of organisation—of any approach to unity—than the so-called Empire, cannot well be conceived. When Aurungzebe snatched the sceptre from the hands of his father, Shah Jehan, and condemned him to life-long captivity, the dominions he usurped were comparatively well governed, and might, under the sway of a ruler of such unquestionable ability, such indomitable perseverance, have been consolidated into a comparatively homogeneous mass But the unhallowed ambition at whose shrine he had sacrificed the liberty of his father and the lives of his brothers, still hurried him on, rendering him reckless of the internal decay which was manifestly at work in the very heart of his kingdom, while he was lavishing his resources in spreading desolation and ruin, famine and the sword, through every independent kingdom within his reach—extending his own only in name, throwing down governments and ancient land-marks, yet erecting none in their stead; becoming terrible as a destroyer, when he might have been great as a statesman and a consolidator.

A right view of the character of Aurungzebe, and a patient investigation of his career, is absolutely necessary to the obtainment of a clear insight into the state of India at the period when the English East India Company began to exchange their position of traders on sufferance for that of territorial lords. The first steps of this strange transformation can hardly be said to have been voluntary. The English merchants were still essentially traders. An examination of the East India House records (and no attempt has ever been made to garble or hide them away from friend or foe), will prove to the most pre-

judiced observer, that, as a body, they persistently opposed the acquisition of dominion. Nothing short of complete indifference can account for the excessive ignorance of Indian politics manifested in their official correspondence. It may, indeed, be urged that English factors in a foreign land, in addition to their characteristic reserve, are naturally much engrossed by the duties and cares of their calling, and, apart from prejudice, may well be excused for a degree of preoccupation which prevents them from making any very vigorous effort to penetrate the barriers of language and creed, manners and customs, which separate them from the people with whom they come to traffic. A time arrived, however, when the English could no longer be blind to the alarming political and social state of India. Every year, much more every decade, the disorganisation increased. Certain native Hindoo states, such as Mysoor, Travancore, the little mountainous principality of Coorg, and a few others, had been exempted, by their position or their insignificance, from Moslem usurpation. With these exceptions, strife and anarchy spread over the length and breadth of India. It was no organised struggle of race or creed; for Mussulman fought against Mussulman, Hindoo against Hindoo, and each against the other; Affghan warred with Mogul, Mogul with Rajpoot; Mahratta with all. The hand of every man was raised against his neighbour: the peasant went armed to the plough—the shepherd stood ready to defend his flock with his life; the energy and determination of local authorities kept up some degree of order in their immediate districts; but, in general, the absence of a government strong enough to protect its innocent subjects from internal vice or external aggression, was manifested in the fearful audacity with which the Pindarry, Dacoity, and Thug, the trained marauder, thief, and assassin, pursued their murderous avocations, in the blaze of noon as in the darkness of midnight.

The Hindoos fell back upon the ancient village system, which the usurping Mohammedans had vainly striven to destroy; and the internal organisation of these little municipalities, each possessing its own Potail or Mayor, enabled them to parry, or at least rally from, attacks from without.

The English laboured for the effectual fortification of the various factories gradually established in different parts of India, and included, according to their situation, in the three presidencies of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. Armed neutrality, however, would have been barely practicable, even so far as the numerous warring native powers were concerned. The conduct of their European rivals rendered such a position quite untenable. The French East India Company had, so far as trade was concerned, proved a decided

failure: its *employés* were very inferior to the English as factors; but as political agents, they possessed diplomatic instincts peculiar to themselves.

Dumas, Dupleix, and the gifted La Bourdonnais, saw clearly the opportunity afforded for the territorial establishment of their nation, and they eagerly took part in the quarrels around them, making offensive and defensive alliances with the neighbouring states, interfering in cases of disputed succession, and taking, with bold and unfaltering steps, the apparent road to political power. None of the English functionaries approached their rivals in ability; but they could not be blind to the increasing danger of their situation; and the example set by the French, of drilling native troops and organising them as far as possible in accordance with European notions, was followed throughout the British settlements. Then came the inevitable struggle between the two powers whose unsleeping rivalry had so often evidenced itself in strife and bloodshed at the very ends of the earth. At first they met in indirect hostility as the auxiliaries of native princes; but the first indications of European war were eagerly seized on as a cause for direct opposition, and a fierce struggle ensued, which eventually left the English complete masters of the field. While the Carnatic, in which Madras is situated, was the scene of this contest, the English in Bengal were subjected to the most oppressive exactions by the usurping Mohammedan governor, Surajah Dowlah, whose seizure and pillage of Calcutta in June, 1756, was marked by the horrible massacre of the "Black Hole"—a deed which, up to that period, even Mohammedan annals can hardly equal in atrocity; but to which, after the lapse of a hundred years, many terrible parallels have been furnished.

The tidings spread like wildfire through the British settlements, and the conviction became deep and general, that it would be madness to trust to the faith or humanity of such men as the depraved Surajah Dowlah and his Moslem compeers. The Mogul Empire had become an empty name so far as the distant provinces were concerned, and there was absolutely no native state either strong enough to protect the English settlements, or just enough to be trusted. Never was the indomitable resolve of Britons in a foreign land more sternly tested, or more triumphantly evinced, than when their fortunes seemed at the lowest ebb—when the French and the Mohammedans, in different quarters, menaced their overthrow and extinction. "To drive these dogs into the sea!" was then, as now, the fervent aspiration of every Moslem regarding every European. But they wished to squeeze the orange before they threw away the rind. They were themselves divided, and had plans of individual aggrandizement to carry out against each other, and

generally over the Hindoos; and they well knew the value of European co-operation and instruction in the art of war.

The recapture of Calcutta was speedily effected by a force of 900 European troops and 1,500 Sepoys, commanded by a *ci-devant* writer, who had turned soldier, and risen to distinction in the Carnatic war.

Robert Clive—for it was he—looked round and saw the opportunity offered for exchanging the precarious footing then occupied by his countrymen for one of far greater importance and security. The Hindoos were daily becoming more impatient of the Mohammedan yoke, and the haughty Mussulmans were themselves divided regarding their ruler, whose reckless profligacy and violent temper had given many of them provocation of a description which excites, in an Oriental, feelings of the fiercest and most enduring revenge. The English watched the course of affairs with deep anxiety, and soon ascertained that, in violation of a treaty entered into after the reconquest of Calcutta, Surajah Dowlah was plotting with the French for their destruction. Unquestionably, this procedure justified them in adopting hostile measures against their treacherous foe; though it does not even palliate some of the minor details, in which the crooked policy of Clive appears in painful contrast to his bravery as a soldier and his skill as a general. The result was the battle of Plassy (A.D. 1757), rapidly followed by the permanent establishment of British dominion in Bengal.

After this, the tide of success flowed on fast and full. If the reader will patiently peruse the pages of this history, he will see that our power has increased with marvellously little effort on our own part. As, when a stone is flung into a river, the first small circle expands and multiplies beyond calculation—so, in India, have we gone on extending our limits, as from the action of some inevitable necessity; less from our own will, than because we could not stand still without hazarding the position already gained. True, there have been most distressing instances of injustice and aggression; but these are the few and comparatively unimportant exceptions. So far as the general obtainment of political ascendancy in India is concerned, we may quote the apt comparison used by an old Rajpoot prince to Colonel Tod, in 1804, as conveying a perfectly correct idea of our process of appropriation. Alluding to a sort of melon which bursts asunder when fully matured, Zalim Sing said, "You stepped in at a lucky time; the *p'foot* was ripe, and you had only to take it bit by bit."*

The manner in which we have acquired power in India, is one thing; the use we have made of it, is another and more complicated question. For my

* *Annals of Rajast'han*, Vol. I., p. 766.

own part, I have long watched the Anglo-Indian government with feelings of deep anxiety, and have laboured to the utmost of my ability to awaken the British nation to a sense of the responsible and critical situation they had been led to occupy. It is now close upon twenty years since I was permitted, by the East India Company, to edit the official records of a survey made by Dr. Buchanan in Eastern India; and the impression on my mind was so forcible, that I could not refrain from prefacing the selections with a declaration that the *handwriting was on the wall,* and nothing but a complete and radical alteration of our system of government, could avert the punishment justly merited by our misuse of the great charge committed to us.

The primary reason of this misuse I believe to be the false and wicked assertion, that "we won India by the sword, and must keep it by the sword." There is another aphorism, much older and of much higher authority, which we should do well to think on—"They that take the sword shall perish by the sword." We did not conquer India by violence: we came as peaceful traders, and spent long years in that capacity; and during that time we succeeded in impressing on the minds of the natives a lively conviction of our energy, ability, and integrity. When the crisis came—as come it did, without our knowledge and greatly to our discomfiture—counting-houses were turned into barracks, bales of piece-goods helped to make barricades, clerks and writers were metamorphosed into military leaders, and, while themselves but learners, drilled the natives round them into a state of discipline before unknown.

Thus was formed the nucleus of that army on which we have leaned as if that, and that alone, had been the means of our obtaining dominion in India. For the perfect organisation of that mighty force, which lately numbered 300,000 men, we laboured with unwearied patience; and to this grand object we sacrificed every other. So long as the Sepoys were duly cared for, the condition of the mass of the people was a matter of comparative indifference. It was not the Great Ruler of the Universe, whose inscrutable decrees had placed this vast tract of heathendom in the hands of a people who professed to serve Him and Him only; rejecting every tradition of men; relying only on the mediation of His Son; resting for guidance only on His written word; asking only the interpretation of His Holy Spirit;—not so! The Anglo-Indian dominion had nothing whatever to do with any such religious speculations. We were not bound to set before the people the example of the faith which we affect to believe the very leaven of the earth. Until the last few years we did not view it even as a case of stewardship. We were not even called upon to exert our energy for developing

the physical resources of the country, and ameliorating the condition of the mass of the people. And why? Because free Britons, in the middle of the nineteenth century, have seen fit to assume the position of military despots, drowning the conviction that India was a God-given trust, in the vague notion of its being "an empire of opinion;" and then sinking, by an easy transition, from rationalism into the more popular notion of sheer force—"an empire of the sword," held by the might of our own strong arm.

Scepticism and cowardice lie at the root of our present disasters: deliberately have we chosen the fear of man, which blinds and enervates, rather than the fear of God, which enlightens and strengthens. With infatuated credulity we have nursed in our bosom the serpent that has stung us to the quick. Tolerance is, indeed, an essentially Christian quality; but who shall dare assume that praise for the Christianity which was made in the persons of high Protestant (?) officials, to bow its head before the licentious profligacy of the Mussulmans, and the heathen abominations and disgusting impurities of the modern Brahminical priesthood, and to witness, in silence, the spiritual enslavement and physical degradation of the mass?

We thought, perhaps, both Mussulmans and Brahmins too enervated by their respective orgies to be dangerous as enemies. This but proves our utter ignorance of the Oriental character, especially as developed in the Mohammedans. Let the reader glance over the history of their founder (and I have striven to sketch it in a subsequent page, in faithfulness, and not with the pen of a caricaturist), he will see in the False Prophet the type of sensuality, bigotry, ambition, grounded and rooted in the fiercest fanaticism; and that type has been perpetually reproduced, and will continue to be so until Mohammedanism shall be swept from the face of the earth.

How soon that may be, none can prophesy; but the general rising now taking place among the Mussulmans in Africa and Syria, as well as in India, are pointed at by many observers as preceding and indicating the death-throes of this once powerful, but already deeply sunken race.

For us, if we would hope to conquer, it must be by turning to the Lord of Hosts, as a nation, in deep repentance and humility: then only may we justly look for present help, and anticipate for the future that gift in which we have been so lamentably deficient—"a right judgment in all things." Thus favoured, we shall not shrink from the responsibilities of an evangelized nation; but shall understand, that there is no surer way of obtaining respect in the eyes of the quick-witted Hindoos, than by a consistent adherence to our religious professions. The means commend themselves to every unprejudiced person really versed in Indian affairs; and, assuredly, none

other will be blessed of God. We cannot hope to pass off indifference for tolerance: the Mohammedans see through the flimsy disguise, and bid the heathen throw off the ignominious yoke of Kafirs (infidels.) Christianity *they reverence, and dread to see us manifest any tokens of it. Well they may; for nothing else will cover our head in the day of battle.* That day has come. May we now have grace to control the fearful passions provoked by the most horrible outrages; and may the memory of our own shortcomings towards God, enable us, if He gives the victory, to use it mercifully. Let us not forget, that the innocent blood spilt in the last few weeks, cannot blot out the memory of the debt which England owes to India.* The Parliament of Britain now must dictate the course to be followed in a matter of vital importance to the nation whose opinions it represents. The portion of the British public impressed with sound and practical religious views, is, happily, larger and more influential than would appear to superficial observers. The fact is indicated in the increase of missionary enterprise, the extension of education, and, indirectly, in the progress of public improvements, and the initiation of reformatory measures. The faulty judicial system, the partial and vexatious land-tenure, the defective monetary circulation of India, have come under discussion; and if, as God in mercy grant, Britain is permitted to retain the brightest jewel in her crown—the most valuable of her transmarine possessions—it is fervently to be desired that we may apply ourselves diligently to remedy all deficiencies, to repair, as far as possible, past neglects, and provide against future emergencies.

The details of the present terrible episode will be given fully in subsequent pages; day by day that close seems approaching, with the record of which the Author hopes to be enabled to terminate this Work.

* The pecuniary debt is wholly on the side of England. The cost, alike of civil and military government, including the payment of the royal troops, has been entirely defrayed from the Indian revenues . so, if we succeed, must be the expenses of the present insurrection. The money remittances to England from the three Presidencies average five million sterling for the last sixty years. There is scarcely a country in the United Kingdom but has had the value of its landed property enhanced by the investments of fortunes, the fruit of civil or military services or of commercial success in Hindoostan. Again, how many British statesmen and commanders have had their genius elicited and educated in India. A noble field has been annually opened for the youth of Britain, and an expansive tone given to society by the constant discussion of great subjects.

The merchant and the manufacturer can best estimate the importance of a large, increasing, and lucrative market, free from high or hostile tariffs; and the advantage of an almost unlimited command of commodities, the regular obtainment of which is essential to the steady employment of their operations. Nor must it be forgotten, that Indian Imports and Exports to the amount of thirty million sterling, now furnish profitable employment to the best class of mercantile shipping.

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ERRATA.—VOL. I.

Page 388, heading: for *Anglo-Indian army join British in India*, read *Egypt*.
" 396, " for *battle of Alighur—gallant defence of Delhi*—1803, read *gallant defence of Alighur—battle near Delhi*—1803
" 401, " for *siege of Bhurtpoor—defence of Delhi*, read *defence of Delhi—siege of Bhurtpoor*.
" 413, col. 1, line 11, for *Maroun*, read *Maloun*.
" 426, " 1, line 6, dele words *nothing but*.
" 489, heading: for *decrement*, read *diminution*.
" 489, col. 2, line 52. for *congetation*, read *congelation*.
" 492, " 1, line 19, for *rerepresentatives*, read *representatives*.
Page 503, Table: alter heading from *résumé of censuses* to *population returns*, and dele *males and females*.
" 506, col. 2, line 3, for *Southals*, read *Sonthals*.
" 507, " 2, line 16, for *homogenety*, read *homogeneity*.
Pages 550, 551, headings: alter *modes of administering justice in India*, and *mode of administering justice in India*, to *administration of justice in India*.
Page 552, heading: for *codification*, read *code*.
" 553, note, col. 2, line 4 (of note), for *a honour*, read *an honour*.

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THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY HISTORY, MYTHOLOGICAL AND TRADITIONAL—PERSIAN AND OTHER INVASIONS—GREEK EXPEDITION AND CONQUESTS OF ALEXANDER—PLUNDERING INCURSIONS OF MAHMOOD THE GHUZNIVEDE—MOHAMMEDAN CONQUESTS, DOMINION, AND DOWNFALL—RISE AND PROGRESS OF BRITISH POWER AND SUPREMACY.

Ancient History, to the time of Alexander.—India or Hindoostan, with its noble rivers, diversified climate, productive soil, and extensive coast-line, offered advantages for colonization, which were availed of at a very early period in the history of the human race. Of its first inhabitants we know little, beyond their being, as it is generally believed, still represented by various barbarous tribes who yet inhabit the mountains and forests, and follow rude religious practices that are no part of the primitive Hindoo system. By whom or at what time these were subdued or expelled there is no ground to rest anything more than a surmise; and of the many that have been, or might be, hazarded on this difficult but interesting subject, perhaps not the least reasonable is the supposition based on the varied craniological development, and distinct languages of the existing Hindoo race—that they were originally composed of numerous migrating hordes who, at intervals, poured in from the wild Mongolian steppes and Turkomanian ranges, from the forests of Scythia, the arid shores of the Caspian, and the sunburnt plains of Mesopotamia; from the plateaux of Persia, the deserts of Arabia, and even from the fertile valley of the Nile, allured by the extraordinary fertility of this most favoured portion of the Asiatic continent, or driven from their native land by tyranny or want. Time and circumstances gradually fused the heterogeneous mass into something like homogeneity; the first step to which was probably made by the introduction, in a rude form, of that village system which so markedly characterises India when viewed as a whole, and which, under the scourge of sanguinary wars, and the heavy exactions of native or foreign rulers, has ever been the mainstay of the people. The invaders, if such they were, probably brought with them the elements of civilisation; and the peaceful pursuits of pastoral and agricultural life would necessitate a certain amount of concentration, as no single man or family could dwell alone in a country whose dense jungle required combined labour, both to clear it for use and guard it from wild beasts. All this, however, relates to a period concerning which we possess no historical record whatever—in which must have originated what may be termed Brahminical Hindooism, whose rise and early progress is shrouded in dense obscurity. From the internal evidence afforded by the system itself, so far as we are acquainted with it during its early purity, it would seem to have been framed by a small confederacy of persons, whose knowledge, both religious and secular, being far in advance of their age, had enabled them to draw up rules for the guidance of their countrymen, both as regarded their duty to God and their fellows. Fully aware, as it would appear, of the great fact, that human institutions have strength and permanence only when based on a religious principle, they set forth their own scheme as the direct ordination of the "Self-Existent One," the "Great First Cause," whose attributes they described in a tone of solemn grandeur not unbefitting their high theme; and to enforce their precepts and heighten their influence, made much use of the rude lyrics extant among the people, to which they added others. These were compiled under the name of the Vedas (a word derived from a Sanscrit root, signifying *to know*), by one Vyasa, who lived in the four-

teenth century before the Christian era. In describing the religious creed of the Hindoos, and commenting on the opinions entertained respecting the comparative antiquity of Brahminism and Boodhism, the most ancient sacred writings of each of these great sects will be noticed; but here it is only necessary to remark, that the Vedas bear incontestable evidence of having been written at different periods, some being in very rugged Sanscrit, others, though antiquated, coming within the pale of that language in the polished form in which Sir William Jones found it, when he declared it to be "of a wonderful structure, more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either."* One only of the Vedas, the *Sama Veda*, has yet been translated into English. The translator, Dr. Stephenson, of Bombay, leans to the opinion of its having been composed out of India, but brought there by the Brahmins from some northern country at a very remote period. Another authority, after a careful examination of the same book, has arrived at a directly opposite conclusion.† Be this as it may, there are expressions in the Vedas which prove that the majority of the detached pieces of different kinds of poetic composition which they comprise, were written in a country where maritime commerce was highly esteemed, where a sacrificial ritual had already been fixed, and mythological legends abounded. The frequent reference to war and to chariots indicate, moreover, the previous establishment of separate states, and the cultivation of military art.

The first comprehensive view of the state of society among the Hindoos is afforded by the code of laws which bears the name of Menu, and is supposed, but not on very convincing data, to have been compiled in or about the ninth century, B.C.‡ Whether Menu himself were a real personage or no is an open question, and one of little importance, since his appearance is merely dramatic, like that of the speakers in the dialogues of Plato or of Cicero. No hint is given as to the real compiler, nor is there any clue to the ancient commentator Calluca, whose endeavours to gloss over and explain away some doctrines of Menu, seems to indicate that opinion had already begun to change, even in his day; while many succeeding commentators, and some of very ancient date, speak of the rules of Menu as applicable to the good ages only, and not extending to their time.

The chief feature in the code is its division of the people into four classes or casts;§ namely, the Brahmins or sacerdotal; the Cshatriya or military; the Vaisyas or industrial; and the Soodras|| or servile. The three first classes were termed the "twice-born," their youths being admitted, at certain ages, by a solemn ceremony, to participate in the religious and social privileges of their elders; but the fourth and lowest cast was rigidly excluded from all these. The degradation of the Soodras has given rise to the idea of their being the people whom the superior classes had conquered; and similar inferences may be drawn from the fact that, while the "twice-born" were all strictly forbidden, under any circumstances, to leave, what, for want of a better term, may be styled Hindoostan Proper; the Soodra, distressed for the means of subsistence, might go where he would. It appears, however, from the code, that there were still cities governed by Soodra kings, in which Brahmins were advised not to reside. From this it seems probable that the independent Soodra towns were situated in such of the small territories into which Hindoostan was divided as yet retained their freedom, while the whole of the tracts south of the Vindya mountains remained untouched by the invaders, and unpenetrated by their religion. On the other hand, it is remarkable that neither the code of Menu, nor the more ancient Vedas, so far as we are at present acquainted with their contents, ever allude to any prior residence, or to a knowledge of more than the name of

* *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i., p. 422.

† Arthur's *Mission to the Mysore*, p. 441.

‡ Sir W. Jones supposed the Code to have been compiled about 300 years after the Vedas (*As. R.*, vol. vii., p. 283); but Elphinstone fixes the date at some time about half-way between Alexander, in the fourth century, B.C., and the Vedas in the fourteenth. (Vol. i., p. 430.)

§ Cast, the common word, is not Indian, but English; and is given in Johnson's *Dictionary* as derived from the Spanish or Portuguese, *casta*, a breed. In Sir W. Jones' *Translation of Menu*, the word employed is "class:" the Brahmins constantly use the Sanscrit term as signifying a species.

|| There are few things more perplexing in the study of Indian history than the various modes of spelling proper names and other words, which have resulted from the difficulty of representing them in the characters of our alphabet. In the present work, the author has deemed it advisable to adopt that best known and most easily read, in preference to what might have been more critically correct.

any country out of India. Even mythology goes no farther than the Himalaya mountains for the location of the gods. With regard to the condition of the Soodras, it appears to have been in many points similar, but in some decidedly preferable, to that of the helot, the slave, or the serf of the Greek, the Roman, and the feudal systems, excepting only its stern prohibition of any share in the ordinances of religion. But this might have originated in the probable circumstance of the conquered people having a distinct creed of their own, to prevent the spreading of which among their disciples, the Brahmins* (in whom, Elphinstone has well said, the common interests of their class, mingled, probably, with much pure zeal for their monotheistic faith, was deeply rooted) united religion and rank so closely in their able scheme, that to break through, or even in minor observances to deviate from the strict rules of duty laid down for the guidance of the several regenerate classes, was to forfeit position, and literally to incur the penalty of a civil death, far passing excommunication in severity, and to place themselves under a ban which wearisome penance could alone remove. One passion—and it would seem only one—was strong enough to break down the barriers of cast. A mixed race sprang up, who were gradually formed into classes, and divided and subdivided, until the result is now seen in an almost countless number of small communities. In subsequent sections, in describing manners, customs, laws, and government, it will be necessary to show what these were in the days of Menu, and the changes which gradually took place up to the period of English dominion; but at present we are more immediately concerned with that difficult subject, the chronological succession of events in Hindoo history.

Oriental research has, as yet, revealed to us but one Hindoo work that can be strictly considered historical, the *Annals of Cashmere*, ably translated by Professor Wilson, which refers chiefly to a limited territory on the extreme northern frontier of India, and contains little more than incidental mention of Hindoostan and the Deccan. There is, besides, an evident and not unnatural desire on the part of the native writer to aggrandize the rulers of Cashmere at the expense of the neighbouring princes, which gives an impression of one-sidedness to a production possessed, notwithstanding, of much value and interest. The student is, therefore, compelled to fall back upon the wide field, as yet but very partially explored, presented in the sacred books, the legislative records, and the two great epic poems. The knowledge obtainable from these sources is, in too many cases, rendered comparatively useless, by the misleading chronology taught by the Brahmins, apparently as a means of sustaining the claim of their nation to a fabulous antiquity. The periods employed in the computation of time are equally strange and unsatisfactory, and are rendered peculiarly puzzling by the astronomical data on which they are partially founded. A complete revolution of the nodes and apsides, which they suppose to be performed in 4,320,000,000 years, forms a calpa, or day of Brahma. In this are included fourteen manwantaras, or periods, each containing seventy-one maha yugas, or great ages, which again comprise, respectively, four yugas, or ages, of unequal length. These last bear some resemblance to the golden, silver, brazen, and iron ages of the Greeks, and are alone considered by the Brahmins as marking the periods of human history since the creation of the existing world, which they believe to have occurred about four million years ago. The first, or satya yuga, lasted 1,728,000 years, through the whole of which a king named Satyavrata, otherwise called Vaivaswata, lived and reigned. This monarch is described as having escaped with his family from an universal deluge, which destroyed the rest of the world. From him descended two royal lines, one of which, under the designation of Soorya, the children of the sun, reigned at Ayodhya or Oude; the other, Chandra, or the children of the moon, at Pratisht'hana or Vitora, in the tract between the Jumna and Ganges, through the 1,296,000 years of the second, or treta yuga; the 864,000 years of the third, or dwapar yuga; and the first 1,000 years of the present, or cali yuga, at which time both the solar and lunar races became extinct; as also a distinct cotemporary race, the descendants of Jarasandha, who began to reign in Magadha or Behar, at the

* Elphinstone suggests a doubt "whether the conquerors were a foreign people or a local tribe, like the Dorians in Greece; or whether, indeed, they were not merely a portion of one of the native states (a religious sect, for instance,) which had outstripped their fellow citizens in knowledge, and appropriated all the advantages of the society to themselves."—*History of India*, vol. i., p. 96.

† It is evident that in the time of Menu there were no slaves attached to the soil.

commencement of the cali yuga. The last reigning prince of the Jarasandha family was slain by his prime minister, who placed his own son, Pradyota, on the throne. Fifteen of the usurping race enjoyed the sovereignty to the time of Nanda, who, in extreme old age (after a reign, it is said, of 100 years), was murdered by a Brahman, by whom a man of the Maurya race, named Chandra-Gupta, was placed on the vacant throne.*

The genealogies of the two parallel lines of the sun and moon are derived from the sacred writings called the Puranas.† Sir William Jones framed his list from the Bhagavat Purana; Captain Wilford subsequently collated his genealogical table of the great Hindoo dynasties from the Vishnu and other Puranas;‡ and, if critical research should eventually succeed in enabling us to correct the errors of Indian chronology, much information may be obtained by means of those lists respecting the early rulers. Wanting this clue, the student will find abundant material for theory, but the historian little that he dares make his own; for the narratives given in the Puranas abound in discrepancies regarding time and place, and are so blended with myths and allegories, that it is next to impossible, at present, to separate truth from fiction, until the period of the Maha Bharat or Great War.§

The scene of the adventures of the first princes, and the residence of the most famous sages, appears to be uniformly placed, both in the Puranas, and the far older institutes of Menu, in a tract called Bramhaverta, because of its sanctity, situated between the rivers Seraswati (Sersooty) and Drishadwati (Caggar), 100 miles to the north-west of Delhi; and about 65 miles long by 20 to 40 broad.‖ Probably the next territory acquired lay between that above-mentioned and the Jumna, and included North Behar, this country being mentioned in the second place under the honoured name of Brahmarshi, while Brahmins born within its boundaries were pronounced suitable teachers of the several usages of men.¶ At Oude, in the centre of Brahmarshi, the Puranas, (in which the preceding early stages are not noticed,) fix the origin of the solar and lunar races, from one or other of which all the royal families of ancient India were descended. Some fifty to seventy generations of the solar race, who, in the absence of reliable information, appear little better than myths, bring down the Purana narrative to Rama, the ruler of a powerful kingdom in Hindoostan, and the hero of the oldest Hindu epic—the Ramayana. The chief incident is the carrying off of Sita, the queen of Rama, by Ravana, the king of the island of Lanka, or Ceylon. Rama leads an army into the Deccan, penetrates to Ceylon, and, with the assistance of a strange people allegorized as an army of monkeys, led by Hooniman, their king, gains a complete victory over the ravisher, and recovers his wife, who vindicates her fidelity by successfully passing the ordeal of fire. According to the system of

* According to Mill (vol. i., p. 160); but Elphinstone states Chandra Gupta to have been ninth in succession from Nanda.—Vol. i., p. 261.

† There are eighteen Puranas, which are considered to have been composed between the eighth and sixteenth centuries, A.D.; but several of the authors appear to have made use of much more ancient MS. histories to interweave among their own.

‡ The lines of the Sun and Moon, and the Magadha dynasty, are given at length by Colonel Tod, in the first volume of his valuable and voluminous work the *Annals of Rajasthan*. They were extracted from the Puranas by a body of pundits, and differ more or less in various parts from those published by Sir W. Jones, Mr. Bentley, and Colonel Wilford. Tod's view of the vexed question of early Hindoo records may be understood from his careful enumeration of various traditions which all "appear to point to one spot, and to one individual, in the early history of mankind, when the Hindoo and Greek approach a common focus, for there is little doubt that Adnath, Adiswara, Osiris, Baghes, Bacchus, Menu, Menes, designate the patriarch of mankind, Noah" (vol. i., p. 22). The solar and lunar lines he considers to have been established 2,256 years, B.C., about a century and a half after the flood, the former by Ichswaca the son of Vaivaswatoo Menu, the latter by Boodha, who married Ichswatoo's sister Ella, asserted to be the earth personified—Boodha himself being "the parent and first emigrant of the Indu [Sanscrit for the moon] race, from Saca Dwipa or Scythia to Hindust'han" (p. 45). In another place Tod describes Boodha as the great progenitor of the Tartars, Chinese, and Hindus, "Boodha (Mercury), the son of Indu (the moon), [a male deity] became the patriarchal and spiritual leader, as Fo in China; Woden and Teutates of the tribes migrating to Europe. Hence it follows that the religion of Boodha must be coeval with the existence of these nations; that it was brought into India Proper by them, and guided them until the schism of Crishna and the Sooryas, worshippers of Bal, in time depressed them, when the Boodha religion was modified into the present mild form, the Jain" (p. 58).

§ See Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, Professor Wilson's edition of the *Vishnu Purana*, Sir W. Jones and Colonel Wilford's articles in *Asiatic Researches*, vols. ii. and v., and Dr. H. Buchanan's *Hindoo Genealogies*.

‖ Menu, book ii., v. 17, 18: Wilson, preface to *Vishnu Purana*, p. lxvii.

¶ Menu, book ii., v. 19, 20; Elphinstone, vol. i., p. 388.

deifying great men after their decease, which gradually crept into Brahminism, Rama, upon his death, was honoured as a god, and his image worshipped, his natural form being declared to have been an incarnation (the seventh) of Vishnu, one of the three persons, or principles, of the Hindoo Trinity.

A remarkable passage occurs in the Ramayana, in which mention is made of certain foreign princes, who were invited by Dasaratha (the father of Rama) to be present at the Aswamedha* or solemn sacrifice of a horse about to be offered up by the aged monarch, to procure from the gods the blessing of male posterity. The names mentioned are the "sovereign of Kasi or Benares, the rajahs of Magadha or Behar, of Sindu and Surashta (Sinde and Surat), of Unga and Savira (of which one is conjectured to mean Ava, the other some district situated on the Persian frontier), and, in fine, the princes of the south or the Deccan. Heeren, who cites the above passage from the Ramayana, adds—"they are represented as the friends, and some of them also as the relations of Dasaratha, by no means however as his vassals. It is therefore evident that the author of the most ancient Hindoo epic poem considered India to be divided into a number of separate and independent principalities."† This opinion, however, is not founded on indisputable grounds, for many of his auxiliaries appear to have stood to Dasaratha in the relation of viceroys, or at least inferior chieftains. The antiquity of the poem is unquestioned; the author, Valmiki, is said to have been cotemporary with the event he has so ably commemorated,‡ but we have no means of fixing the date of either poem or poet except as somewhere between that of the Vedas and the Maha Bharat, since king Dasaratha is described as deeply versed in the precepts of the Vedas and Vedangas, while on the other hand an epitome of the Ramayana is given in the Maha Bharat. After Rama, sixty princes of his race ruled in succession over his dominions, but as no more mention is made of Ayodha (Oude) it is possible that the kingdom (which was at one time called Coshala) may have merged in another; and that the capital was transferred from Oude to Canouj. The heroic poem, entitled the "Maha Bharat" or Great War, affords an account of many historical events, in the details of a contest between the lines of Pandoo§ and of Curoo, two branches of the reigning lunar race for the territory of Hastinapoora, supposed to be a place on the Ganges, north-east of Delhi, which still bears the ancient name.|| The rivals are supported by numerous allies, and some from very remote parts. The enumeration of them appears to afford evidence similar to that deducible from the above cited passage of the Ramayana, that there were many distinct states in India among which a considerable degree of intercourse and connection was maintained. Not only are princes from the Deccan and the Indus mentioned, as taking part in the struggle, but auxiliaries are likewise included belonging to nations beyond the Indus, especially the Yavans, a name which most orientalists consider to apply exclusively to the Greeks.¶ The Pandoos are eventually conquerors, but are represented as having paid so dearly for their victory, in the loss of their friends and the destruction of their armies, that the chief survivors quitted their country, and are supposed to have perished among the snows of the Himalaya.** The hero of the poem is Crishna, the great ally of the Pandoos, who was deified after his death as having been an incarnation of Vishnu, or even Vishnu himself. He was born of the

* Aswa is thought to be the etymon of Asia, medha signifies "to kill."

† Heeren's *Historical Researches*, Oxford Translation; 1833: vol. iii., p. 291.

‡ "Rama preceded Crishna: but as their historians, Valmika and Vyasa, who wrote the events they witnessed [this point is, however, questioned], were cotemporaries, it could not have been by many years."—(Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*, vol. i., p. 457.

§ The origin of the Pandoo family is involved in fable, invented, evidently, to cover some great disgrace. According to tradition, Pandoo, whose capital was at Hastinapoora, being childless, his queen, by a charm, enticed the deities from their spheres, and became the mother of Yoodishtra, Bhima, Arjoona (the famous archer), Nycula, and Sideva. On the death of Pandoo, Yoodishtra, with the aid of the priesthood, was declared king, although the illegitimacy of himself and his brothers was asserted by Duryodhanu, the nephew of the deceased sovereign, who, as the representative of the elder branch, retained his title as head of the Curoos. For the whole story of the Maha Bharat, and it is a very interesting one, see the *Asiatic Researches*, and the comments of Tod in the early part of his *Annals of Rajasthan*.

|| Elphinstone, vol. i., p. 390.

¶ The Greeks, or Ionians, are descended from Javan, or Yavan, the seventh from Japhet.—(Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. i., p. 51.

** Tod surmises that they did not perish thus, but migrated into the Peloponnesus, and founded the colony of the Heraclidæ, stated by Volney to have been formed there 1078 years, B.C. See the reason for this conjecture, based chiefly on the supposition of the Pandoos being the descendants of the Indian Hercules, pp. 48, 51.

royal family of Mattra on the Jumna, but brought up by a herdsman in the neighbourhood, who concealed him from the tyrant who sought to slay him. This phase of his life is a very favourite one with the Hindoos, and he is worshipped in an infant form by an extensive sect, as also under the figure of a beautiful youth, in commemoration of the time he spent among the "gopis" or milkmaids, dancing, sporting, playing on the pipe, and captivating the hearts alike of rural maidens and princesses. Among the numerous exploits of his more mature age was the recovery of his usurped inheritance, whence, being driven by foreign foes, he removed to Dwarika, in Guzerat, where he founded a principality. He soon however became again involved in civil discord, and, according to Tod, was slain by one of the aboriginal tribes of Bheels. The Maha Bharat describes the sons of Crishna as finally returning to the neighbourhood of the Jumna. The war is supposed to have taken place in the fourteenth century, B.C., about 200 years before the siege of Troy, and the famous and lengthy poem in which it is commemorated is, as before stated, attributed to Vyasa, the collector of the Vedas.

The princes who succeeded the Pandoos, are variously stated at from twenty-nine to sixty-four in number; they appear to have transferred the seat of their government to Delhi; but little beyond a name is recorded of any of them. The kings of Magadha or Behar (the line mentioned as cotemporary with the latter portion of the dynasties of the sun and moon), play a more conspicuous part in the Purana records; they afford a connected chain from the war of the Maha Bharat to the fifth century after Christ, and present an appearance of probability, besides receiving striking confirmations from various quarters. They are frequently referred to in inscriptions sculptured on stone, or engraved on copper plates, conveying grants of land, or charters of privileges and immunities, which are very numerous, and not only contain the date of the grant, and the name of the prince by whom they were conferred, but in most cases enumerate, also, certain of his predecessors.

The first of the Magadha kings, Jarasandha, is mentioned in the Maha Bharat as the head of a number of petty princes. The ruling monarch at the conclusion of the war was Sahadeva; the thirty-fifth in succession from him was Ajata Satru; and in his reign, according to high authority,* Sakya, or Gotama, the founder of the Boodha religion flourished, and died about 550, B.C. This date, if reliable, does good service by fixing the era of Satru; but other eminent writers consider Boodhism of much earlier origin; and some as coeval with, or even older than Brahminism.† The sixth in succession from Satru was Nanda, who, unlike his long line of regal ancestors of the Cshatriya, or military class, was born of a Soodra mother; his ninth successor, who bore his name, was murdered by Chandra Gupta,‡ a man of low birth who usurped the throne. This Chandra Gupta has been, after much research, identified with Sandracottus, the cotemporary of Alexander the Great, and thus a link had been obtained wherewith to connect India with European history, and also with that of other Asiatic nations. The foregoing particulars have been given on strictly Indian authority, for although much extraneous information may be obtained from early foreign writers it is difficult to ascertain how to separate truth from fiction.§ According to Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and Cicero, the first Indian conqueror was Bacchus or Dionysus, afterwards deified, who led an army out of Greece, subdued India, taught the inhabitants the use of wine, and built the city of Nysa. The Egyptians, who spared no pains to fortify their claim to the highest antiquity and earliest civilization, and never scrupled to appropriate the great deeds of the heroes of other countries, as having been performed by their own rulers, maintained that Osiris, their conqueror, having first added Ethiopia to his dominions, marched thence to India through Arabia, taught the use of wine, and built the city of Nysa. Both these stories evidently refer to the same person; namely, the Indian prince Vaisvawata Menu; whom Tod, the pains-taking but wildly theoretical Maurice, and other writers affirm to have been no other than the patriarch Noah. Be this as it may, one of the most valuable of ancient writers, Diodorus the Sicilian, declares, on the authority of Indian tradition, that Bacchus (Vaisvawata Menu) belonged to their own nation, was a lawgiver, built many stately

* Elphinstone, vol. i., pp. 209, 261.

† See note to page 14.

‡ Chandra Gupta signifies "protected by the moon."

§ Justin states that the Scythians conquered a great part of Asia, and penetrated to Egypt 1,500 years before Ninus, first king of Assyria.

cities, instituted divine worship, and erected everywhere courts of justice.

The alleged invasions of Semiramis,* Sesostris,† Hercules,‡ and Cyrus, are all denied by Arrian, except that attributed to Hercules. Strabo disputes even that, adding that the Persians hired mercenaries from India but never invaded it.§ The whole question respecting the nature of the alleged connection existing between India and Persia, is one which scarcely admits a satisfactory explanation. Before the time of Cyrus the Great (the son of King Cambyses, the conqueror of Babylon and the Shepherd whose coming to perform the pleasure of the omnipotent God of the Hebrews, was foretold by Isaiah)||, Persia was no more than an inconsiderable kingdom, afterwards comprehended in a single province, retaining the ancient name of Fars; but the conquests of the youthful general, on behalf of his uncle and father-in-law, Cyaxares, King of Media, whom he succeeded, enabled him to unite the thrones of Persia and Media, as well as to sway neighbouring and distant states, to an extent which it is at present not easy to define, though it was amply sufficient to form what was termed the Persian empire, 557, B.C. His eastern frontier certainly touched the verge of India; but whether it encroached yet farther, is a matter of doubt, and has been so for centuries. Nor is it even an established point where India itself terminated; for although Elphinstone and

* The Assyrian invasion, according to the chronology of Capellus, took place about 1970, A.M. It was planned by Semiramis, the widow of Ninus, who, after consolidating her husband's Bactrian conquests, resolved to attempt the subjugation of India, being led thereto by the reported fruitfulness of the soil and the riches of its inhabitants. She spent three years in assembling an immense army, drawn from all the provinces of her extensive empire, and caused the shipwrights of Phœnicia, Syria, and Cyprus, to send to the frontier 2,000 ships or large barks, in pieces, so that they might be carried thence to the Indus, and there put in array against the naval force of the Indians. All things being ready, Semiramis marched from Bactria (Balk) with an army, which it has been well said, "the Greek historians have, by their relations, rendered less wonderful than incredible;" for they describe it as having consisted of 3,000,000 foot, 500,000 horse, 100,000 war chariots, and 100,000 camels, a portion of the latter being made to resemble elephants—by means of a framework being covered with the skins of oxen; this device being employed to delude the Indians into the belief of the invaders being superior to them even in this respect. Stabrobates, the king of the countries bordering the Indus, on receiving intelligence of the intended invasion, assembled his troops, augmented the number of his elephants, caused 4,000 boats to be built of cane (which is not subject to rot, or to be eaten by worms, evils known to be very prevalent at the present day), to occupy the Indus; and headed his army on the eastern bank, in readiness to support them. The attacking fleet being victorious, Stabrobates abandoned his position, leaving the enemy a free passage; and Semiramis, making a bridge of boats, crossed over with her whole force. The counterfeit elephants, which play an important part in the narrative, were marched in front, and at first created great alarm; but the deception being revealed by some deserters from the camp, the Indians recovered their spirits. A fierce contest ensued, in which the Assyrians had at first the advantage, but were eventually totally overthrown, and Semiramis fled, accompanied by a very slender retinue, and escaped with great difficulty to her own dominions. Such is the tale related by Diodorus Siculus; and, however little to be relied on in many respects, it may at least be cited in testimony of the reputation for wealth and civilization enjoyed by India at a very early period. With regard to Semiramis, recent discoveries of ruins and deciphering of inscriptions have placed her existence as an historical personage beyond a doubt.

† The invasion of Sesostris, king of Egypt, A.M. 3023, is alleged to have been as successful as that of Semiramis had proved disastrous. Desiring to render his subjects a commercial people, he fitted out a fleet of 400 ships in the Arabian Gulf, or Red Sea (being the inventor, it is alleged, of ships of war), by means of which all the countries stretching along the Erythrean or Arabian Sea to India were subjugated. Meanwhile he led his army through Asia, and being everywhere victorious, crossed the Ganges and advanced to the Indian Ocean. He spent nine years in this expedition, but exacted no other tokens of submission from the conquered nations than the sending annually of presents to Egypt. Perhaps this story, recorded by Diodorus Siculus, and quoted by Harris and by Robertson (who discredits it), in his *Historical Disquisition concerning Ancient India*, p. 6, may have originated in the efforts of Sesostris for the extension of commerce; but the success of his plans, whether pursued by warlike or peaceful means, could have been at best but short-lived, since, after his death the Egyptians relapsed into their previous anti-maritime habits; and centuries elapsed before their direct trade with India became of importance.

‡ The Greek accounts of Hercules having been in India is thought to have arisen from the fact of there having been a native prince of that name, who, according to the Hindoo traditions cited by Diodorus Siculus (who wrote 44, B.C.), was after his death honoured as a god, having in life excelled all mere men in strength and courage; cleared both the sea and land of monsters and wild beasts; founded many cities, the most famous of which was Palibothra, where he built a stately palace strongly fortified, and rendered impregnable by being surrounded by deep trenches, into which he let an adjacent river. When his numerous sons were grown up, he divided India equally among them; and they reigned long and happily, but never engaged in any foreign expeditions, or sent forth colonies into distant countries, being content with the resources of their own fertile domains.

§ Arrian's *Indica;* Strabo, lib. xv.; Elphinstone, vol. i., p. 440.

|| Isaiah; chap. xliv., v. 28.

other writers follow Strabo in declaring the Indus, from the mountains to the sea, to have formed its western limit, other authorities consider the territory of the Hindoos to have stretched far beyond. Colonel Wilford adduces a verse in their Sacred Writings, which prohibits the three upper, or "twice-born" classes, from *crossing* the Indus, but says that they were at liberty to pass to the other side, by going round its source.* Amid so many difficulties and contradictory statements, it is only possible to note the points which seem most reasonable and best authenticated.

Darius, the son of Hystaspes, was raised to the throne of Persia, B.C. 521, by the seven nobles who conspired against Gomates, the Magian, by whom it had been usurped after the death of Cambyses, the son and successor of Cyrus, whose daughter Atossa he afterwards married. Desiring to know the termination of the Indus, and the state of the adjacent countries, with a view to their conquest, Darius built a fleet at Caspatyrus, in the territory of Pactyica on that river, which he entrusted to a skilful Greek mariner named Scylax, who fulfilled his instructions by sailing down the whole length of the Indus, thence coasting to the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, and ascending the Arabian gulf to the port at its northern extremity. The account given by Scylax of the fertility, high cultivation, and dense population of the country through which his route lay, incited Darius at once to attempt its acquisition. By the aid of the Tyrians, who were intimately acquainted with the navigation, he brought a numerous force on the coast, while he himself headed a land attack. According to Dr. Robertson, he subjugated "the districts watered by the Indus;"† while Colonel Chesney speaks of his conquests as limited to the "Indian territory westward of the Indus.‡" Both appear to rely exclusively on the testimony of Herodotus, who states that "the Indians" consented to pay an annual tribute of 360 Eubœan talents of gold, or a talent a day—the Persian year being then considered to comprise only 360 days. The sum would appear to be overstated; for a single talent, at the lowest computation, was equal to £3,000 English money; and even, though India may have then deserved its high reputation as a gold-producing region, this tax would have been very onerous. It is, however, certain, that at this time the force of Persian gold was known and feared by neighbouring states, and had a powerful share in enabling the successors of Darius to keep together the chief part of the widely-scattered dominions, which he displayed great ability in even partially consolidating and dividing into satrapies, or governments; of these his Indian possessions formed the twentieth and last.§

Xerxes, the son and successor of Darius, had a body of Indian troops in his service; but he discouraged maritime intercourse, considering traffic by land more desirable; and indeed he and his successors are said to have adopted the Babylonian policy of preventing invasions by sea, by blocking up the navigation of some of the chief rivers, instead of guarding the coast with an efficient naval force.

We find but few traces of India|| during the remaining reigns of the Persian monarchs, until the time of their last ruler, Darius Codomanus, who succeeded to the sway of a disorganized territory, consisting of numerous provinces, or rather kingdoms, differing in religion, languages, laws, customs, and interests; and bound together by no tie of a permanent character. A powerful enemy was at hand, in the neighbouring kingdom of Macedon, which had sprung into importance almost as rapidly as Persia, and in a similar manner, having been raised by the talents of a single individual. Philip had acceded to the government of an ordinary state, weakened by war and dissension; but taking full advantage of the commanding geographical position of the country, and the warlike spirit of its hardy sons, he ren-

* *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi., p. 585.

† Dr. Robertson's *Historical Disquisition*, p. 12.

‡ Colonel Chesney's *Survey of the Rivers Tigris and Euphrates*. London: 1850; vol. ii., p. 180.

§ Herodotus, lib. iii. and iv.

|| During the reign of Artaxerxes, the third son of Xerxes (the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther), Ctesias, the king's physician, and the author of a voluminous history of the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian empires, wrote a book on India, founded upon the accounts he obtained from the Persians. His works are not now extant, though various extracts are to be found in different authors. They are all unfavourably commented on, especially that on India, by several Greek writers, who pronounce them fabulous. Plutarch, Aristotle, and even Strabo, notwithstanding their severe censures, have, however, not scrupled to borrow from the pages of Ctesias such statements as appeared to them probable; and Diodorus, as well as Herodotus and Athenæus, are said to have drawn largely from the same source. Xenophon, who was personally acquainted with Ctesias, speaks of him with great respect, though differing from many of his opinions.

dered it the centre of arts and civilization, second only to Persia in power, and superior even to Persia in influence, on account of the state of corruption and excessive luxury into which that empire had fallen.

The free Grecian republics, weakened by strife and division, became for the most part subject to Macedonia, whose ancient constitution—a limited monarchy, which it was the interest of the community at large to maintain—proved a source of strength alike in offensive and defensive warfare. Still Macedonia appears to have been in some sort tributary to Persia; and it was possibly a dispute on this point which had led Philip to form the hostile intentions he was preparing to carry out, and which Arses, King of Persia, was occupied in endeavouring to prevent, when both were suddenly arrested in the midst of their schemes; Philip, who had escaped so many dangers in the battle-field, being stabbed in his own palace during the bridal festivities of his daughter Cleopatra, by Pausanias,* a Macedonian youth of rank; and Arses was poisoned about the same time.

The tender age of Alexander was forgotten in the enthusiasm raised by his manly and powerful eloquence. He assured the assembled Macedonians, previous to the funeral obsequies of his father, that though the name was changed they would find the king remained;—and he kept his word, elevating none of his personal friends, but continuing the able statesmen and generals in the positions in which he found them. By extraordinary address, this youth (for he was but twenty years old (succeeded in stifling the disturbances which followed the catastrophe at home, and in establishing his ascendancy as chief, by the free choice of the majority of the Grecian republics, notwithstanding the unremitting exertions of Demosthenes and his party.

Once firmly seated on the throne, having brought the Illyrian war to a rapid and successful conclusion and captured Thebes, Alexander made ready for a hazardous contest with his powerful compeer Darius, the successor of Arses; who, previous to his accession to the throne of Persia, had been distinguished for the judicious government of a large tract of country of which he had been satrap (viceroy). Although averse to war,† he had nevertheless distinguished himself in the conduct of military proceedings with hostile nations; and he lost no time in preparing for the threatened invasion. In the spring of the year 334, B.C., Alexander, with very limited resources in his possession, but with the riches of the East in prospect, crossed the Hellespont at the head of a confederated ‡ army, variously estimated at 30,000 to 43,000 infantry, and 5,000 cavalry; and after a severe contest, defeated a Persian army 110,000 strong, who disputed with him the passage of the river Granicus, near Zelia, in Bithynia.

In eastern warfare the first victory is of incalculable importance—for the satraps and inferior governors are ever ready to transfer their allegiance to the conqueror, considering that he could be such only by the will of God, to which they are bound to submit.

* The motive of Pausanias is variously stated as having been the instigation of the Persian monarch (in which light Alexander chose to view it); a desire to revenge a personal insult; or otherwise, from ungovernable passion for Olympias, the mother of Alexander.—Sir John Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. i., p. 54. Justin attributes the deed to the incitement of the vindictive Olympias, who, immediately after her husband's assassination, caused his youngest wife and child to be put to a cruel death.

† Historians agree in describing Darius as amiable and equitable. The tale related by the Persian author, Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh, concerning his message to Alexander, is therefore inconsistent with his character. According to this writer, Philip had agreed to furnish an annual subsidy of 1,000 eggs of pure gold. The Persian envoy, sent to demand the tribute from his successor, received the jeering reply that "the birds that laid the eggs had flown to the other world." Darius thereupon despatched an ambassador, with a bat and ball, as a fit amusement for the youthful monarch, and a bag of very small seed, called gunjud, as an emblem of the innumerable Persian army. Alexander taking the bat, said—"This is my power with which I will strike your sovereign's dominion; and this fowl," pointing to one which had been brought at his command, and rapidly devoured the grain, "shows what a mere morsel his army will prove to mine." Then, giving the ambassador a wild melon, he desired him to tell Darius what he had heard and seen, and to give him that fruit, the taste of which might indicate the bitter lot that awaited him.—Malcolm's *Persia*, vol. i., p. 55.

‡ The Grecian republics, excepting Lacedemonia, were favourable to Alexander's proposition of an Asiatic expedition; and his own hopes of success rested upon the jealousy and dissension which he knew existed among the numerous satraps or viceroys of Damascus, over whom the supreme authority of "the king of kings," as the Persian monarch was grandiloquently styled, sat lightly enough. The zeal of his officers, to whom rewards, almost princely, were held out in the event of success, and the admirable discipline of his troops, would, he trusted, prevail over the opposing force, and probably cause the defection of the bands of Greek mercenaries employed against him, as well as gain the suffrages of the Greek settlements in Asia, whose release from Persian rule was one of his avowed objects.

The consequence of this brilliant opening must have exceeded the hopes even of the Macedonian, who conducted himself with singular moderation—treating the people everywhere as subjects, not enemies; exacting from them no additional tribute to that previously claimed by Darius; and strictly forbidding pillage or massacre. Having obtained the "sinews of war" in the treasury of the Persian monarchs at Sardis, through the treachery of Mithrenes, the governor, Alexander proceeded on his brilliant career, until he became master of the whole of Lesser Asia. The possession of Cilicia was the next point necessary to his purpose, as it comprised the most practicable route between Greater and Lesser Asia, as well as the communication with Syria by land and with Greece by sea. The province was gained without difficulty; and Alexander (when recovered from a dangerous fever, which for a time checked his impetuous career) employed himself in securing his position, while Darius was straining every nerve to form an army, which should decisively defeat his adversary and re-establish the tottering fabric of the Persian empire. According to Arrian, he increased his Greek mercenaries to 30,000, to whom were joined about 60,000 Asiatics, called Cardacs, trained like the Greeks for close fight, and the middle and light-armed made up a total (including the followers) of 600,000, of whom perhaps 150,000 to 200,000 were fighting men. Darius crossed the Euphrates, and with his immense force covered the plains of Cilicia.

After a fierce struggle between the Macedonian phalanx* and the Persian-Greeks, the powerful monarchs met face to face: Darius, in the centre of the line, in a striking costume, and seated on a splendid chariot drawn by four horses abreast, had been from the first a special object of attack: Sabaces, the satrap of Egypt, and many illustrious Persians, perished by his side, until his wounded horses became so ungovernable among the heaps of slain by which they were hemmed in, that the monarch was with difficulty rescued from the mêlée, by the valour of his brother Oxathres, and placed in another chariot, in which he fled, hotly but unsuccessfully pursued by Alexander, who had himself been slightly injured in the thigh.†

The loss of the Persians is stated by Arrian at 100,000, including 10,000 horse; the most valuable part of the baggage had been conveyed to Damascus, but was soon after captured by Parmenio, Alexander's ablest general, through the treachery of its governor.‡ Meanwhile the family of Darius—his mother, wife,§ and children—fell into the hands of the conqueror, who showed them much personal kindness; but when earnestly solicited to release them at the price of any ransom he might name, haughtily replied, that he would listen to that request only if asked in person, and on condition of being addressed as king of Asia, and lord of all once possessed by Darius. The insulted monarch had no resource but once more to prepare for war, which he had still ample opportunities of doing with a fair prospect of success, for the troops of the eastern satrapies, including some of the most warlike in his dominions, were on their way towards Babylon, and a few months might again see him at the head of a more numerous and more powerful host than that defeated at Issus, and Alexander might yet meet the fate of the younger Cyrus. Nearly two years elapsed before the kingly rivals again met. Meanwhile the conqueror pursued his meteor-like course, astonishing the world by his unequalled daring, yet consolidating his successes as he proceeded, by the consummate and thoroughly consistent policy with which he used all things as instruments of his great designs; diligently and ably promoting the material welfare of subjects (made such by the sword),

* The famous Macedonian or quadruple phalanx, as it was sometimes called, to mark its division into four parts, consisted of a body of 18,000 men, each defended by helmet, breast-plate, greaves, and the large shield called the aspis, and armed with a long sword and with the famous sarissa, a spear measuring four-and-twenty feet. The ordinary depth of the phalanx was sixteen ranks, the best soldiers being placed in the foremost and hindmost ranks, which formed as it were the framework of an engine whose efficiency depended on its compactness and uniformity of movement.—Rev. Connop (now Bishop) Thirlwall's *Greece*, vol. vi., p. 147.

† Arrian, lib. ii., cap. xii.

‡ A loyal subject, moved with indignation, slew the traitor, and laid his head at the foot of his injured master.

§ Statira, the beautiful and beloved wife of Darius, died soon afterwards in childbirth, and Alexander caused her to be interred with every mark of honour; his conduct towards her throughout, so different from the usual licentious cruelty of Asiatic conquerors, excited a feeling of lively gratitude in the breast of her ill-fated husband, who never forgot this one redeeming feature in the conduct of his unrelenting opponent.

humouring prejudice, flattering national vanity, rewarding individual service with unbounded munificence, but at the same time violating in every action the recognised rights of men, and showing himself throughout utterly unscrupulous as to the amount of suffering he inflicted, whether in subduing patriots to his will, or inflicting signal vengeance on those who, from the purest motives, ventured to oppose him. The island-city of Tyre, after a seven months' siege, was conquered by him, through the unconscious fulfilment of a scripture prophecy, in joining the island to the main, by a causeway 800 yards in length. The Tyrians defended themselves to the last with unfaltering determination; and, probably to check all thoughts of capitulation, executed their Macedonian prisoners and cast them into the sea in the sight of the besiegers, who, when their hour of triumph arrived, made this cruel act the excuse for the most unmitigated ferocity. With the exception of the king and some of the principal people, all were involved in a fearful doom; 8,000 perished in the first slaughter, 2,000 prisoners were crucified by order of Alexander, and 30,000 (including a number of foreign residents) were sold into slavery.*

Gaza was next subdued: the citizens, to the last man, died in its defence, and their women and children were sold as slaves. Alexander then marched upon Jerusalem, whose high priest Jaddua, had excited his wrath by refusing to violate the fidelity due to the Persian monarch in furnishing the invader with a supply of troops and provisions during the siege of Tyre. The Chaldeans and Phœnicians — ancient enemies of the Jews—accompanied the conqueror, buoyed up with the hope of sharing in the anticipated plunder, but they were witnesses of a very different result. When the army approached the Holy City, the High Priest, attended by the priests and Levites in their sacerdotal vestments, followed by a multitude of the inhabitants, decked in white feast-day robes, came out to meet Alexander, who, recognising, as he afterwards declared, in Jaddua, a figure shown to him in a dream at Dios, struck with pious awe, went up to the temple as a worshipper, and sacrificed according to the Jewish ritual. The priests informed him of his position as the fulfiller of the prophecy of Daniel,† than which nothing could be more gratifying, either to the ambitious designs or superstitious tendencies of Alexander, who took his departure, after making munificent offerings, and bestowing extraordinary privileges on the Jewish nation.‡

In January, 331, the Greeks penetrated into Egypt; and the people, whose religious prejudices had been cruelly insulted by their Persian masters, welcomed the approach of the conciliating conqueror, whose late worship of the God of Israel did not hinder him from sacrificing to their monstrous idols—even to Apis. Sailing down the western or Canobic arm of the Nile, he proceeded to found the greatest of the many noble cities which bore his name, on a site§ which he saw would render it an emporium for the commerce of the eastern and western world; it was colonised with a mixed population of Greeks and Romans—the abolition of the alienating prejudices of race being a marked feature in his mighty plan for the establishment of an universal empire.

After imitating the exploits attributed by Greek legends to his famous predecessors, Hercules and Perseus, braving the bare rocks and burning sands of the Libyan desert, and questioning the oracle of the temple of Ammon, erected in its famed Oasis, he returned to Memphis, completed the arrangements needful for the peaceable government of Egypt, and proceeded to Tyre, the appointed rendezvous of his fleet and army, to prepare for a final contest with Darius. In the autumn of the same year (331) he crossed the Euphrates, advanced at full speed towards the Tigris, where he had expected to meet the hostile force, but being disappointed, rested a few days on the left bank, and then, continuing his march, came up with Darius, whom he found encamped in one of the wide plains between the Tigris and the mountains of Kurdistan, at a village named Gaugamela (the camel's or dromedary's house), about twenty miles from the town of Arbela, which gave its name to the battle. To the last, Darius had endeavoured to make peace with Alexander, offering him the hand of

* Arrian. Curtius, however, states that 15,000 persons were rescued by the Sidonians.

† They probably showed him Daniel, chaps. 7 & 8.

‡ Whiston's *Josephus*, book xi., chap. viii.

§ The approach to the harbour of Alexandria was dangerous; for this reason the famous beacon tower, reckoned among the seven wonders of the world, was built by the first Ptolemy, on a rock near the eastern point of the island of Pharos, and threw a light to a distance, it is said, of nearly forty miles.

his daughter, with a dower of 30,000 talents in gold, and intimating even willingness to divide the empire; indeed it was probably the hope of some such compromise being effected that induced him to allow the Greeks to cross the Euphrates and Tigris unmolested. The numbers of the respective armies would seem to have warranted him in the expectation of being able to dictate rather than solicit peace; but his munificent terms were not the less unhesitatingly rejected by the invader, though Parmenio and the Council urged their acceptance. According to Arrian, Alexander's force amounted to no more than 40,000 foot, and 7,000 horse; but this is evidently exclusive of the Asiatic levies, which there is reason to believe he had raised. The Persian army has been variously stated by Curtius, Diodorus Siculus, and others, at from 200,000 to 800,000 infantry, and from 40,000 to 200,000 horse, besides the Indian contingent of 200 war chariots and fifteen elephants, ranged in the centre of the mighty host, near the person of the monarch. During the weary night preceding the combat, Darius passed along the line by torch-light, cheering his soldiers, all of whom were, by a mistaken policy, kept continuously under arms, from momentary fear of a surprise. The dreaded attempt is said to have been actually suggested by Parmenio to his sovereign after the latter had retired to his tent, but rejected on the ground that it would be alike ignoble and impolitic to steal a victory, instead of gaining it by a fair trial of strength. In the morning the battle commenced, and was long and stoutly contested; the Indo-Scythian troops being, we are expressly told by Arrian, among the flower of the Persian army, and fighting valiantly to the death. The strife became very intricate, hostile bodies intermingled with each other in fierce combat, and the issue seemed to promise little short of annihilation to both parties, when a circumstance, slight in itself, turned the scale. A dart flung by Alexander, who was on horseback, killed the charioteer of Darius; and the confusion thus occasioned gave rise to the general belief that the king himself was slain. A complete panic ensued; the Persians fled in irremediable confusion, followed by Alexander—who was, however, obliged to renounce the pursuit and return to rescue Parmenio, who commanded his left wing, from the critical position in which he had been placed by the resistless onset of the Massagetian horse. There is no credible statement of the amount of life sacrificed on this eventful day; for that of Arrian, which records the loss of the Persians at 40,000, and the Greeks at 100, can scarcely be entertained. This contest sealed the downfall of one powerful empire, and crowned the conqueror with the fallen diadem, although the escape of Darius was still felt as affording serious cause for anxiety.

After allowing his army a brief revel among the luxuries of Babylon, and draining the treasury of Susa of its vast stores of unwrought ingots and golden darics, Alexander proceeded to Persepolis, and though he met with no resistance, suffered the stately city to be plundered by his soldiers, excepting only its magnificent palace, (which he afterwards set on fire with his own hand,)* and the citadel, which ancient writers agree in stating to have contained the prodigious sum of 120,000 talents, or more than £27,000,000 sterling.† Four months elapsed before he resumed the pursuit of Darius, who had meanwhile gathered together a small force, and intended to take refuge in the Bactrian satrapy of Bessus; but this disloyal servant, considering his master's fortunes desperate, conspired with the satraps of Arachosia and Aria either to kill or to deliver him to the Greeks, according as might best serve their private purpose—the securing independent possession of their satrapies. Alexander, after marching rapidly through Media, had reached a mountain pass called the Caspian Gates, before intelligence arrived of the plot; he exclaimed bitterly against the treachery to which his own ambition had subjected the royal fugitive, and pressed eagerly onwards to his rescue. The conspirators fled before him, and Darius resolutely refusing to accompany them, was left mortally wounded in his chariot, where his lifeless body was found by Alexander, who buried it with regal honours, provided for the maintenance of Sisygambis (his mother), married his daughter Statira, took charge of the education of his other children, and declared his determination of punishing the assassins. Artabazus, the faithful and long-tried adherent of Darius, then ninety-five years of age, he took into his own service, and evinced his respect for his fidelity by unremitting kindness to him and to his sons.

* At the suggestion, it is said, of Thais, an Athenian courtesan, made to him when heated with wine. Both Plutarch and Arrian record his immediate and undisguised regret for the deed.

† Quintus Curtius, lib. v., cap. 5; Diodorus Siculus, lib. xvii., cap. 18; Justin, lib. xi., cap. 14.

Bessus finding himself disappointed in his hopes now braved the worst, by boldly assuming the tiara, and the title of Artaxerxes King of Asia, in defiance of the pretensions of Alexander, who wished to be considered as the avenger and rightful successor rather than the conqueror of Darius, and to receive even from his Macedonian subjects the species of adoration offered by the Persians to their king, as a preliminary to the divine honours, to which an oracle had declared him entitled. The Macedonians viewed these pretensions with undisguised aversion, and several of his bravest subjects, including Philotas and his father Parmenio, the beloved general of Philip,* became, under different pretences, victims to their opposition to this glaring impiety.† Barzaentes, one of the confederates of Bessus, took refuge among the Indians on the border of his eastern satrapy of Arachosia, but was delivered up by them to Alexander, who caused him to be put to death; Sartabarzanes, another of the traitors (and a double-dyed one, for he had voluntarily sworn allegiance to the conqueror), was slain in battle, and the arch conspirator Bessus alone remained. He had consulted his personal safety by fleeing across the vast mountain barrier of India, a part of which is there called the Paropamisus,‡ trusting that the natural difficulties of the country would greatly impede, if not entirely block up, the pursuit of a hostile force. He probably little knew the zeal with which, from very childhood, Alexander had striven for accurate geographical knowledge, eagerly questioning the ambassadors of his father's court as to the routes they had traversed, or heard of, so as to give the wisest of them some partial insight into the schemes even then passing through his brain. On arriving at the root of the chain, he was probably well acquainted with its general direction, as well as the defiles by which it might be traversed, especially since, during his sojourn in Phœnicia, he had had abundant opportunity of ascertaining the nature of the trade with India, and the means by which it was carried on, by land as well as by sea. At the foot of the pass by which he intended crossing, Alexander founded another Alexandria (ad Caucasum), where he planted a colony of Macedonian veterans; then, undeterred by the severity of the yet unexpired winter, he avoided the dangerous period of the melting snows, by commencing his mountain march, which lasted fifteen days, and was rendered arduous and harassing, not only from the natural causes of cold and fatigue, but also by scarcity of provisions. Bessus had laid waste the whole country between the lower valleys on the northern side, and the left bank of the Oxus, before he passed over with his troops, after which he burned the boats which had conveyed them. Alexander having captured the town and fortress of Aorni, and Bactra the chief city of Bactria (supposed to be the modern Balk), committed the charge of the newly-acquired territory to the venerable Artabazus; then dismissing some of the more infirm, or least willing, of the Macedonian troops and Thessalian volunteers, he proceeded across a strip of the great desert, which stretches from the Caspian to the high table-land, containing the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes. On arriving at the former river, no boats or building materials could be procured, and the breadth was little less than 800 yards; but even this obstacle was overcome, and the whole of the troops transported safely over on skins stuffed with straw. The passage being accomplished after six days' labour, the Greeks pushed across the desert in a northerly direction, but were met by envoys from two of the chief followers of Bessus, who fell a victim to the same treachery he had practised towards Darius; and being delivered up by his followers, Spitamenes and others, suffered a cruel and ignominious death.§ The obtainment of the avowed object of the expedition did not put a stop to Alexander's progress. According to Plutarch it was about this period that he first entertained

* It is recorded by Plutarch, that Philip once said the Athenians were lucky to be able to find ten generals every year; he, in the course of many years, had only found one, Parmenio.

† The famous quarrel in which, during a carousal, Alexander slew his tried friend Cleitas, who had preserved his life in battle at the risk of his own, arose from the same cause; as did also the execution of Callisthenes, though on the avowed charge of having incited a conspiracy among the royal pages.

‡ This range (according to Masson) is distinct from the true Indian Caucasus, or Hindoo Koosh;—the name is derived from "par" and "pam," signifying *hill* and *flat*—the region around consisting of flat-topped hills.

§ He was publicly stripped and scourged, his nose and ears were cut off, and (according to Curtius and Diodorus) he was eventually surrendered to Oxathres and other kinsmen of Darius to be executed; but by some accounts he is represented as having been, by order of Alexander himself, torn limb from limb, by means of two trees, to which he was bound, being first bent and then suffered to spring back.—See Langhorne's Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, vol. iv., p. 186.

the idea of following up his conquests by that of India. He had now reached a delightful region of great beauty and exuberant fertility, whose pastures afforded him fresh horses to supply the loss sustained in marching through mountains and deserts; thence he advanced to the capital of Sogdiana, called Maracanda, since known as Samarcand, in whose citadel he placed a Greek garrison. Still proceeding northwards, he founded another Alexandria on the Jaxartes, and was involved in some sharp contests with the Asiatic Scythians, in one of which a body of Macedonian horse were surprised and slain, and in another he was himself wounded. After repressing disturbances among the Sogdians, on whom he wreaked a cruel vengeance for what he thought fit to call rebellion to his self-constituted authority, he proceeded at the close of 329 to take up his winter quarters at Bactria or Zariaspa. For the next twelve months he found ample employment in stifling the efforts for independence of the Scythians, Sogdians, and the Bactrians, incited by Spitamenes, the most active and determined enemy he had yet encountered in Asia. This chief's motive appears to have been dissatisfaction at receiving less reward than he had expected for the surrender of Bessus. By a remarkable retribution he was in turn betrayed by his own troops, who, desirous of conciliating their powerful foe, cut off the head of their leader, and offered it as their own propitiation. Several of his confederates still lived and took refuge in the mountainous region about the upper valleys of the Oxus, with other chiefs who persevered in the struggle for liberty. They were not, however, of sufficient importance to detain Alexander any longer in the countries where he had already spent nearly two years, and which had been subdued only with much difficulty and large expenditure of blood and treasure, as well as by diplomacy; for example, by his marriage with Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes, an influential Bactrian chief, he converted a dangerous enemy to a firm friend.

Greek Invasion of India.—In the spring of 327, Alexander prepared to attempt the conquest of the almost unknown countries bordering and beyond the Indus. The prestige of his success, and the generosity with which he treated all who submitted to his sway, induced a native ruler to send a friendly embassy before the army quitted Sogdiana. The name of this prince was recorded by the Greeks (who are unfortunately proverbial for the manner in which they distorted foreign words to suit their own pronunciation) as Omphis, or Mophis; but he was commonly called Taxiles, from Taxila,* the capital of his country, which lay between

* Taxila must have been a large and splendid city, but its site is still a matter of dispute. Schlosser places it at Attock, and Rennell at or near the same place. On the route leading thence to Lahore, are the ruins of a very ancient town of unknown name and origin, which is also supposed to have been Taxila. Abundance of Greek and Bactrian coins have been found in the numerous ruins and cupolas or topes which are scattered over the plain on which the present small village of Manikyala stands. One of these topes or tumuli (examined in 1833-34, by Mons. Court, an engineer officer then in the service of Runjeet Sing) was 80 feet high, with a circumference of 320 feet, solidly built of well-dressed quarried stones, some of huge size, cemented with lime; while a range of small columns, the capitals ornamented with rams' heads, surrounded the base. The Hindoos resort to the spot to offer up the first cuttings of the hair of their male children, a custom said to have been prevalent in ancient Greece. There are about fifteen smaller topes near the principal one; and, indeed, similar tumuli abound in different parts of Affghanistan, at Cabool, Jellalabad, in the Khyber hills, &c. They are generally constructed of sandstone, and of a nummulitic limestone (full of shell impressions), such as is found in the Egyptian pyramids. In one of the topes, which had a height of sixty or seventy feet, a cell was discovered at ten feet from the ground-level, whose four sides corresponded with the cardinal points; it was constructed in a solid manner, and covered with a massive slab containing inscriptions, some resembling the writings of the Rajpoots of the Himalaya, others the Ethiopian character. In the centre was a copper urn or cylinder, encircled by eight copper medals, (some apparently of the Winged-cap Sassanian dynasty,) with a wrapper of white linen tightly adhering to the surface, which fell into shreds on being exposed to the air. The copper enclosed a silver urn, the intervening space being filled with a moist paste, devoid of smell, of the colour of raw umber, in which lay a thread of cotton gathered up into a knot. The silver, from age, had become quite brittle, and crumbled into bits between the fingers, as the metals found at Nineveh have since done. Within the silver vessel was a much smaller golden one, and seven silver medals with Latin characters. The gold cylinder contained four small, worn, golden coins of the Græco-Scythian, or Græco-Indian type, but of a far inferior fabrication to the silver ones; there were also two precious stones and four perforated pearls (which had been pendants of ear-rings), fragments o a vitreous nature, and small transparent yellow substances, with decayed organic matter. The country around, as proved by the quantity of ruins of old houses, must have once been very populous. Whether these topes or mounds served for royal mausolea, or Boodhistical shrines, or both, is doubtful: they were possibly the consecrated tombs of kings or of persons of distinction. Some curious coincidences are observable between the ancient monuments and the sepulchral tumuli or *barrows* discovered in Essex

the upper Indus and the Hydaspes (Behut or Jhelum), the westermost of the five great tributaries, from which the whole eastern basin of the Indus, down to their confluence, is called the Punjaub (five rivers).

From Bactria and Sogdiana, as also from the neighbouring Scythian hordes, auxiliaries were raised to the amount of 70,000 persons, of whom 30,000 were youths, levied to serve at once as hostages and soldiers. Altogether the Greek force (exclusive of a corps of 10,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry left in Bactria, under the command of the satrap Amyntas) consisted of 120,000 foot and 15,000 horse. After crossing the Parapamisan chain, in ten days, (apparently by a different route to that which had been taken in the winter of 329,) through a pass described by Arrian as "high, narrow, and short," the troops reached Alexandria ad Caucasum, and from thence proceeded to a town named Nysa,* which would appear to have been the same city alleged to have been founded by the Indian Bacchus, or Dionysus. The inhabitants are said to have dexterously turned Alexander's claim to be considered as a son of Jupiter to advantage by entreating him to spare and protect the city founded by his "celestial brother;" and as an evidence of the truth of their statement, they pointed to the abundance of vines, wild and uncultivated, growing in their valleys, and to the ivy and laurel first planted by the hand of Bacchus, of which the Macedonians had, until then, seen none since they left Greece. Alexander offered sacrifices in honour of his divine predecessor, and permitted Nysa, which is described as an aristocratical republic under a discreet ruler named Acuphis, to retain its liberty and laws.† On proceeding to the banks of the river Cophenes, he was met at his own request by Taxiles, and several chiefs from the region west of the Indus; they brought him presents, and promised to gratify his desire for trained elephants, by the gift of all they possessed, which, however, amounted only to five-and-twenty. The army was then divided; one portion, under Hephæstion and Perdiccas, took the direct road to the Indus, with orders there to prepare a bridge of boats for the passage of the main body, which Alexander conducted by a more northern route over difficult mountain paths, to meet the hardy and warlike tribes, mentioned by Arrian under the names of the Aspii, the Thryæi, and the Arsæi. In a contest with the inhabitants of one of the towns, he was wounded, and the Greeks in their rage (having carried the double walls,) gave no quarter, but slaughtered all without distinction, and reduced the place to ashes. The whole of this campaign in the high lands of Affghanistan was marked by determined bravery on the part of the mountaineers, and sanguinary cruelty on that of the invader, who had no other plan for subduing a people, who desired—not generosity but justice, not to be well governed after his fashion, but to remain independent after their own. In the country of the unoffending Assacenes‡ he behaved with especial barbarity. Having encamped before their capital, Mazagu, he made three determined attacks with battering-engines on different days, during which he was wounded in the leg and arm; the result of a fourth assault was yet doubtful, when the Affghan chief was slain, and the garrison were suffered to capitulate on the condition that 7,000 mercenaries from the Punjaub, who had been engaged in the service of the deceased leader, should join the Greek army. They accordingly marched out and encamped on a hill for the night, but evinced so much reluctance at the thought of fighting against

and other parts of England, which contained, like those of the Punjaub, various bronze urns, enclosing fragments of burnt bones, coins, glass, and even a similar brown or light yellow liquid or paste. Virgil, also, in the *Æneid* (vi., 215), describes the Roman custom of burning the dead; milk, wine, blood, and other *munera*, supposed to be grateful to the deceased, were poured on or mingled with the ashes, and money was usually added to defray the fee of Charon for ferrying the departed spirit across the Styx.

* The locality of the different towns and rivers mentioned by Alexander's historians, is much contested by modern geographers. The site of Nysa is pointed out by M. Court, at Ashnagur (whose suburbs are scattered over with vast ruins of unknown date); that of Alexandria ad Caucasum is variously placed at Ghuznee and at a place called Siggan; while the *Cophenes* is supposed to denote either the river formed by the confluence of the *Cabool* with the *Pendjsher*, or else the eastern branch of the *Helmund*, now known as the *Tarnuck*. The reader desirous of understanding the grounds upon which these and other opposite opinions rest, will find them fully discussed by the highest Indian authorities, in the pages of the various Asiatic journals, and in the works of Rennell, Vincent, Elphinstone, Vigne, Burnes, Chesney, Masson, Long, &c.

† Recorded by Arrian, Quintus Curtius, and Plutarch in his *Life of Alexander*.

‡ Arrian says they had been subject to the Assyrians, then to the Medes, and subsequently to the Persians. The *Oritæ* are described by the same authority, as a nation whose country extended along the sea-coast for about 150 miles; and who wore the dress and arms of the other Indians, but differed from them in language and manners.

their countrymen, that Alexander, suspecting them of an intention to desert, caused them to be suddenly surrounded and cut to pieces. He then set at nought the capitulation by storming the defenceless city. The strongholds of Ora and Bazira were next reduced, the inhabitants of the latter place fled to a hill-fort on the right bank of the Indus, whose name seems to have been lost by the Greeks in that of Aornus,* a term indicative of its extraordinary height, above the flight of a bird. Here Hercules was said to have been defeated, and Alexander, desirous of excelling the exploits of even fabled heroes, and of proving himself not to be deterred by natural difficulties, proceeded to the attack; passing, it would appear, through the district of Peucelaotis, and taking possession of the chief city, Peucela, whose ruler, Astes, had fallen in the thirty days' siege of the force under Hephæstion and Perdiccas on their march eastward. Aornus he captured by forming a mound across a hollow of no great depth, but of considerable width, which separated a neighbouring hill from the pyramidical rock itself; thus a vantage-ground was gained to the surprise and terror of the besieged, who endeavoured to escape at night-fall, but were pursued with great slaughter into the plains beneath. The accounts given by Arrian of the next steps of Alexander's progress are scarcely reconcileable with those of Diodorus and Curtius; but it appears that he was compelled to return to the mountains to suppress insurrection, and that the people fled before him. He despatched his generals, Nearchus and Antiochus, to scour the country towards the north-west, while he himself opened a road, which no army had ever before trodden, to the banks of the Indus, and on his way captured some of the fugitives, who, among other information, told him that their elephants had been left in the thickets on the west side of the river. These animals having been obtained by the aid of native hunters, vessels were constructed, in which the force dropped down the stream to the bridge prepared for them by Hephæstion and Perdiccas, with the assistance of Taxiles, who came out with his army and elephants to meet Alexander on his arrival at the eastern shore of the Indus, and conducted him with much pomp to his capital.† Taxiles appears to have been very desirous to obtain the assistance of the

* Aornus was probably a general name for a stockaded mountain, such as that already mentioned in Bactria, and most likely Hellenized from the Sanscrit Awara, or Awarana, an enclosure. Its position is considered by some authorities to have been a little distance above Attock, while others consider it to be found at Peshawer, in front of the Khyber Pass, and reconcile this opinion with the statement of Arrian and Strabo, that the Indus flowed at the base of Aornus, by declaring that these writers evidently deemed the Cabool river the true Indus.

† It seems to have been during his stay at Taxila that Alexander had first the opportunity of gratifying his curiosity respecting the doctrine and practice of the Hindoo ascetics called gymnosophists by the Greeks. At Corinth, struck by the imperturbable stoicism of a man, who had nothing to ask, but that he should stand from betwixt him and the sun, he is reported to have exclaimed, that were he not Alexander he would wish to be Diogenes. In India he must have witnessed a far more interesting spectacle. The Greek philosopher had no higher object in his dogged abstinence from the comforts of civilized life than to place himself beyond the reach of what, in his blindness, he called chance or fortune; but the Brahmins sought, by self-inflicted tortures, and unceasing exposure to the severe influences of their burning sky, to win by slow degrees a release from mortality, and absorption into the Divine essence. Alexander was utilitarian in all his views; it might therefore be supposed he could have little sympathy with men whom he might have considered as visionary enthusiasts, but he was also extremely superstitious: his great intellect groped in darkness, unenlightened by any ray of revealed truth, which could show him the fundamental error of striving to found a universal, or at least an Asiatic empire, by means of unlimited conquests, gained at a terrible cost of blood, tears, and moral degradation. Still he was no mere conqueror; it was not simply a selfish ambition that prompted him—far less any brutal, or rather demoniacal, love of fighting. He ever strove to conciliate strange nations, by respecting their religious observances, as the best means of retaining permanent dominion over them; and it was probably a high political motive which rendered him solicitous to converse with the Brahmins (or rather Yogees), fifteen of whom were congregated in a grove near the city. The eldest and most honoured, called by the Greeks, Dandamis, refused either to visit or write to Alexander, declared (according to Strabo) to a total disbelief of his alleged Divine origin, and expressed equal indifference to persuasions or threats; gifts he needed not, and he added, alluding to the Hindoo doctrine of metempsychosis—"If he should put me to death, he will only release my soul from this old decrepit body, which will then pass into a freer and purer state; so that I shall suffer nothing by the change." One of the Yogees, named Sphines, called Calanus by the Greeks was, however, prevailed upon to go to Alexander, who, being much pleased with his discourse, carried him with him throughout his expedition, and even back to Persia. Calanus was there attacked with illness; and considering it as a summons from above, being then seventy-three years of age, prepared to terminate his life. Alexander having vainly laboured to dissuade him, caused a magnificent funeral pile to be raised, which Calanus, though weak with pain and illness, ascended with unfaltering resolution, singing hymns of prayer and praise. He then calmly composed his limbs, and without moving, was consumed in the sight of the king and the whole army.—(*Vide* Arrian, Strabo, and Plutarch.)

Greeks in carrying on war with a neighbouring and powerful prince, whose proper name has not descended to us, but only that of his family, Porus.* Alexander sent a peremptory summons, requiring tribute and allegiance, to which the Indian prince replied that he would come to the borders of his kingdom to meet the invader, but it should be in arms. His kinsman, a neighbouring ruler of the same name, whether from jealousy or induced by the munificent presents made to Taxiles, despatched an embassy with offers of submission. It is probable that Taxiles received an enlargement of his territory by the annexation of some of the newly-conquered districts on the west of the Indus; but the price paid by him was nothing less than the loss of liberty, since a Greek satrap was appointed for this part of India, and a Greek garrison stationed in his chief city. With forces strengthened by 5,000 Indian recruits, led by Taxiles, Alexander resumed his march in the middle of the year 326; for so it would appear from the statement of Aristobulus, that he experienced the commencement of the summer rains, which are not known to fall in the Punjaub before June or July. On his road to the Hydaspes he was interrupted, in a defile through which his road lay, by a nephew of Porus named Spittacus, or Spitaces, with a body of troops. These he soon dispersed, and arrived without further opposition on the right bank of the river, where he beheld the hostile army drawn up on the opposite side, the intervening stream being deep, rapid, and, at the time he reached it, probably little less than a mile broad. Although well provided with boats, rafts, and floats, Alexander was too prudent to attempt forcing a passage in the face of an equal if not superior enemy, and had therefore recourse to stratagem to disarm the vigilance of his antagonist. After making excursions in various directions, as if uncertain where to attempt crossing, he ordered magazines of provisions to be formed, as if for a long sojourn, and gave out that he intended awaiting the termination of the monsoon, which it is probable he would have really done but for intelligence that auxiliaries were on their way to strengthen the enemy. Night after night, bodies of cavalry rode noisily up or down the right bank, and Porus repeatedly drew up his elephants and proceeded towards the quarter whence the clamour arose; until, wearied by false alarms, he paid no attention to the movements upon the opposite shore. Alexander having selected a spot a day's march distance above the camp,† where the river made a westerly bend, and a thickly-wooded island divided the stream, left a strong division at the first station with orders to remain there until the elephants should be withdrawn from their menacing position, in which case they were to attempt the passage forthwith. The same command was given at the series of posts (horse and foot), stationed between the camp and the place of embarkation. Here preparations were made, under cover of the wood which clothed the projecting bank of the river, the din of axes and hammers, which might otherwise have attracted attention, (notwithstanding the feints previously resorted to) being overpowered by pealing thunder and torrents of rain, that lasted through the night hours, but ceased at daybreak. Alexander set out, accompanied by Perdiccas, Lysimachus, and Seleucus, with the flower of the Macedonian cavalry, and the Bactrian, Sogdian, and Scythian auxiliaries. In passing the wooded island before mentioned, they were first seen by the Indians, who immediately gave the alarm. The invaders landed, on what they thought to be the river bank, but really on another island, separated from the main by a channel swollen by floods into a formidable stream, which however proved fordable, and the whole division was, after some delay, landed, and drawn up in order of battle. The cavalry numbered about 5,000, the infantry probably nearly 20,000. Porus, perceiving

* Tod says that Porus was a corruption of Pooru, the patronymic of a branch of the royal Lunar race (*Rajast'han*, vol. i.); and Rennell states that the predecessor of the prince in question reigned in Canoge or Canouj, on the Ganges, which, according to Ferishta, was then the capital of all Hindoostan (*Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan*, p. 54).

† The precise spots at which the army encamped upon the Hydaspes, and crossed it, are not ascertained. Strabo points out that Alexander marched as near as possible to the mountains, and this useful indication is considered by Masson to establish his having followed the high road from Attock to Jhelum, which probably was then as now the most northerly of the Punjaub routes, and the one almost exclusively practicable during the monsoons. Consequently Porus took up his position on the eastern bank of the Jhelum at the point to which he knew Alexander must come, that is near the present village of that name, in whose locality, the sites of Nicæa and Bucephala, (though on different sides of the river) must be sought for. Rennell places the encampment opposite where the fortress of Rotas afterwards stood; and Vincent (who supposes the wooded island passed by Alexander to have been Jamad) about twenty-eight miles below Rotas.

that Alexander's tent remained in its place, and that the main body were apparently still at the encampment, regarded his actual approach as a stratagem to tempt him from an advantageous position, and merely sent forward his son or brother Hages with 2,000 horse and 120 war chariots, whom Alexander charged fiercely, with the whole of his cavalry. Hages and some 400 of his followers were slain, and the chariots, which had been with great difficulty brought over ground turned into a swamp by the rains, were all captured. Porus, on learning this disastrous commencement, left a part of his elephants to contest the passage of the Greeks stationed under Craterus at the encampment, and advanced to the decisive conflict, with a force (according to Arrian) of 30,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, and 300 chariots. Beyond the swampy ground, near the river, lay an open sandy tract, affording firm footing, and here he awaited Alexander's approach; his 200 elephants, bearing huge wooden towers, filled with armed men, being drawn up in front of the line, at intervals of a hundred feet, occupied with infantry; while one-half of the cavalry was posted at each flank, and the chariots (each containing six armed men) in front of them. After a long and quick march, Alexander arrived in sight with his cavalry, and halted to allow time for the foot to join him. Observing the disposition of the enemy, he instantly apprehended the necessity of depriving Porus of the advantage he must obtain from the almost invincible strength of the elephants and chariots when brought to bear in a direct attack, as well as the superior numbers of the opposing infantry, by a skilful use of the mounted troops, in which his strength lay. An attack on the enemy's left wing, would, he foresaw, draw the cavalry into action for its protection. Therefore, ordering the horse-bowmen to advance, he followed up the slight disorder caused by their arrows, by charging with the rest of the cavalry; while the Indian horse from the right being brought up, as foreseen, Cœnus, in accordance with previous orders, charged them in the rear, and the Macedonian phalanx advanced to take advantage of the confusion that ensued. The engagement became very complex; the elephants hemmed in and maddened by wounds, turned their fury indiscriminately against friend and foe, until many were killed, and the rest, spent with pain and toil, ceased to be formidable. Another general charge of horse and foot was made by the Greeks; the troops of Porus were completely routed, and fled, pursued by Craterus and the division from the right bank, who, having by this time effected their passage, engaged with ardour in the sanguinary chase. As is usual with Alexander's historians,* his loss is stated at an extremely small, and that of the enemy, at a proportionably large amount. The more moderate statement of Diodorus Siculus, gives the number of the slain on the side of Porus, at 12,000, including two of his sons and great part of his chief officers, besides 9,000 taken prisoners. The loss of the Macedonians is given at less than 1,000. Porus himself, mounted on an elephant, to the last directed the movements of his forces; and, although wounded in the shoulder, (his body was defended by a corslet of curious workmanship which was proof against all missiles,) would not retire until his troops were hopelessly dispersed; then he turned his elephant for flight, but, being a conspicuous object, was speedily captured, and carried, while senseless from loss of blood, into the conqueror's presence. Alexander, who had observed his gallant bearing during a conflict of seven or eight hours' duration, asked him how he desired to be treated, but could obtain no other answer than "as a king;" and, on observing that "this a king must do for his own sake," Porus replied that, "nevertheless in that all was included." The quick perception of character, which was one of Alexander's distinguishing and most serviceable qualities, taught him that Porus might prove a valuable and trustworthy auxiliary. He reinstated him in royal dignity, added considerably to his dominions, and brought about a reconciliation, in form at least, with Taxiles. On the Hydaspes or Jhelum, the conqueror founded two cities; one near the field of battle, named Nicæa, and another near his landing-place, named Bucephala, in honour of his famous horse, which, having accompanied him thus far, sank from fatigue, wounds, and old age, in the hour of victory. Craterus was left to superintend the building of these cities; and the main body were allowed a month's rest, probably chiefly on account of the continuance of the heavy rains. Alexander himself, with a select division of horse and foot, pursued his aggressive march through the rich and populous valleys on the north of the

* The details recorded by Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Quintus Curtius, and Plutarch, vary considerably, but the general tenor is the same.

territory of Porus, to the river Acesines or (Chenab,)* receiving, according to the Greek historians, the submission of thirty-seven cities—none containing less than 5,000 inhabitants,—all of which he annexed to the kingdom of Porus. The younger Porus, called the coward, fled from his dominions, from the fear that the favour shown to his kinsman portended his ruin, and took refuge at the court of Nanda, the reigning monarch of the Prachii or Prasii—who swayed nearly the whole of Eastern India. Ambisares, the king or chief of a tribe of mountaineers, and Doxareus, another native rajah or prince are mentioned by Arrian, as tendering their allegiance; the former sent a present of forty elephants. After crossing the *Hydraotes* (*Ravee*), Alexander traversed the country of the Cathæans to attack Sangala, a city of great strength and importance, which seems to have occupied nearly the same site as the modern capital of the Sikh monarchy, Lahore, on a branch of the Ravee, near the edge of a small lake.† The Cathæans or Catheri, (supposed, by Sanscrit scholars, to be a corruption of Cshatra, a mixed race, sprung from females of the warrior class, and men of inferior cast,)‡ had confederated with the Malli and Sudracæ, or Oxydracæ, that is, the people of Moultan and Outch. On approaching Sangala, the Greeks found the Cathæans entrenched on an isolated hill, behind a triple barrier of waggons. Alexander, at the head of the phalanx, forced the three lines, and carried the place by storm; but with the loss of 1,200 killed and wounded. This vigorous resistance was revenged by sanguinary carnage—17,000 of the Cathæans were slain, 70,000 made prisoners, and Sangala razed to the ground. Despatching Porus (who had arrived during the siege with about 5,000 men) to place garrisons in the Cathæan towns, Alexander continued to advance to the south-east, received the submission of two princes, called by the Greeks Sopithes§ and Phegelus, and arrived at the banks of the *Hyphasis* (*Beyah*), just above its junction with the *Hesudrus* (*Sutlej*). The limit of his eastern progress was at length reached, for, even under his leadership, the weary and home-sick army would proceed no farther. He could have given them, at best, but unsatisfactory grounds of encouragement to continue their course. The narrow boundaries assigned by the geographers of the day to India, and the eastern side of the earth, were manifestly incorrect; the ocean which he had been taught to believe was separated by no very vast distance from the banks of the Indus, had receded, as he advanced to an immeasurable distance; and he had learned that beyond the Hydaspes a desert, more extensive than any yet encountered, parted the plains of the Punjaub from the region watered by the tributaries of the Ganges—a river superior to the Indus, having on its banks the capital of a great monarchy, that of the Prasii and Gangaridæ, whose king could bring into the field 200,000 foot, 20,000 horse, and several thousand elephants. The king himself is however represented to have been looked upon as an upstart and a usurper; and Alexander might probably have hoped to be enabled to carry out his object, by similar divisions among the natives to those which had materially aided him in his partial conquest of the Punjaub. The very dangers and difficulties of the attempt were but incitements to one whose object was universal empire—to be attained at the hazard of life itself, which he unhesitatingly imperilled in every battle. With passionate eloquence he reminded the Macedonians that the Hydraotes had already become the limit of their empire, which extended westward to the Ægean Sea, and northward to the river Jaxartes; and he urged them to cross the Hyphasis; then, having added the rest of Asia to their empire, to descend the Ganges, and sail round Africa to the pillars of Hercules.—(Arrian, lib. v., cap. 25.)

Finding this appeal without effect, or at least overborne by the recollection of the fatigues and privations undergone during the preceding campaign in the rainy season, Alexander angrily declared that he should proceed, attended only by those who desired to accompany him; the rest might return home, and say that they had forsaken their king in the midst of enemies. The silence and deep gloom which pervaded the camp at length convinced Alexander that no considerable portion of the army could be prevailed upon to cross the Hy-

* Alexander called it Acesines; the ancient native name was Chandrabagha—the moon's gift.

† Burnes, vol. i., p. 156.—Masson does not consider the Sangala of Arrian to have denoted the Indian city of Sagala, whose site is now indicated by that of Lahore, but places it at Harcepah.

‡ Masson dissents, believing them to have been the Catti, a nomadic Scythian tribe.

§ According to Arrian, Sopithes submitted in the descent of the fleet from Bucephala, whence three days' journey brought Alexander to the territory of this prince, where Strabo says there were famous salt

phasis. He found either a pretext or a reason for yielding to the general wish, in the unfavourable auspices which attended the sacrifices offered for the purpose of consulting the gods respecting his future advance; and, after erecting twelve colossal towers or altars, in token of his gratitude for having been brought thus far safe and victorious, and reviving, by horse-races and gymnastic exercises, the drooping spirits of his troops, he conferred on Porus the government of the country towards the Hyphasis,* and commenced retracing his steps. At the Accsines he found the city which Hephæstion had been ordered to build, ready to receive a colony, and there he left the disabled mercenaries, and as many natives of the neighbouring districts, as were willing to join them. At the Hydaspes, he repaired the injuries caused by floods to Nicæa and Bucephala, and was reinforced from Greece by 6,000 horse and 7,000 infantry.† The fleet, (comprising 2,000 vessels of various kinds, whereof eighty were war galleys, which part of the army had been employed all the summer in constructing, while the rest, wanted for transport and provisions, had probably been seized from the people of the country,) was completed and manned, and the command entrusted to Nearchus. Having divided his army into four corps, of which the main body, with about 200 elephants, were to advance along the eastern bank, Alexander himself embarked, and proceeded without impediment to the confluence of the Hydaspes and Acesines, where, owing to the narrow channel and high banks between which the united rivers were then pent up, rapid and strong eddies were formed, which so astonished the sailors as to deprive them of the self-command necessary to fulfil the instructions previously given by the Indian pilots. Several of the long galleys were much shattered, two sank with the greater part of their crews, but the shorter and rounder vessels sustained no injury.‡ A headland on the right bank afforded shelter to the fleet, which Alexander left to undergo the necessary repairs, while he proceeded on an inland expedition to the westward against the Seevi or Saivas, a people evidently thus named from their worship of the second member of the Brahminical Triad, whose symbol they marked upon their cattle. Then, crossing the river, he marched eastward against the Malli and Sudracæ, the latter of whom appear from their designation to have been derived from the Soodra caste, while among the former the Brahmins decidedly predominated. They did not intermarry, and had little or no friendly intercourse. The sudden danger which threatened their independence had driven them to a partial junction, and their aggregate forces are stated at the lowest at 80,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 700 chariots, but want of unanimity in the choice of a leader had prevented their combination. The Malli especially seem to have relied confidently on the strength of their fortified towns, and on the natural advantages of their peninsula, which was protected to the north by a desert of considerable extent. As it was on this side that they might be expected to feel most secure, Alexander struck across the desert into the heart of the country with a division of light troops, while two separate corps, under Hephæstion and Ptolemy, traversed it in other directions to intercept the fugitives he might drive before him. By marching day and night, with a very short intermission, he appeared early on the second morning before one of the strongholds, in which, as likely to be last attacked, many of the natives had taken refuge. A great number were surprised unarmed without the walls, many were put to the sword, the rest fled into the town, which, notwithstanding a gallant defence, was speedily stormed, and the people massacred without distinction. The inhabitants of the neighbouring villages forsook them, and some fled to the Hydraotes, pursued in a forced night march by Alexander, who, on coming up to the ford, made considerable slaughter among those who had not yet crossed, and then, plunging in the stream, pursued the fugitives on the opposite side. Many took refuge in another fortified town, which is described by the Greeks as if inhabited by Brahmins only, and these are mentioned as a different race from the Malli, who fled to them for shelter. Here the most determined resistance was offered; when the besieged could no longer defend their walls against the

mines;—this seems to refer to the Salt range of Pindi Waden Khan.

* According to Arrian (lib. vi., cap. 2), by the final arrangement of the affairs of the northern Punjaub, Porus gained a fresh addition of territory, and became lord of (in all) seven nations and 2,000 cities.

† Quintus Curtius, lib. ix., cap. 3.

‡ The chief obstructions appear to have been worn away, for the passage is no longer formidable.

superior skill of the assailants, they retreated to the citadel, and this being stormed, set fire to their houses; and almost all, to the number of 5,000, perished fighting, or in the flames. The last memorable contest with the Malli, occurred in the taking of their capital, which Burnes considers to be represented by Moultan, but Rennell supposes to have been at Tolumba, nearer the Hydraotes. Having dispersed the hostile army drawn up on the high and steep banks of this river, Alexander encircled the town with his cavalry, and the next morning commenced the attack on two sides. The besieged retreated to the citadel, and the king and his troops, cutting their way with the hatchet through a postern, arrived at the foot of the wall. Here Alexander eagerly called for scaling ladders, but these, from the supposition that all resistance was over, had been mostly left behind. Two or three were however brought; seizing the first, Alexander fixed it himself, mounted and gained the top of the wall, which it seems was narrow and without battlements. The soldiers, alarmed for his safety, crowded after him with such impatience that the ladders broke with their weight, and Alexander, in his splendid armour, with but three companions, stood a mark for the enemy's missiles from the nearest towers and the adjacent parts of the fortress. The Macedonians beneath, entreated him to throw himself into their arms. He hesitated a moment, but to turn his back upon his foes, even under such circumstances as these, was a step he could not bring himself to take; and, probably remembering that his guards would dare a thousand deaths for his rescue, he leapt down into the citadel, and alighting on his feet, took his stand against the wall, sheltered also by the trunk and spreading boughs of a tree. Here he defended himself, until joined by his three associates, one of whom (Abreas) speedily received a mortal wound from an arrow, in the face. Almost immediately afterwards another arrow pierced Alexander's corslet, lodging deep in the right breast; and, after a short struggle, fainting through loss of blood, he sank upon his shield. His remaining companions, Peucestes and Leonnatus, though both wounded, stood over him until they were joined by their friends, who, by various expedients, (such as driving pegs into the clay walls,) had climbed the top, and forced a gate from the inside, through which numbers poured in, carried off their king, and in their fury slaughtered every man, woman, and child without exception. For some time the conqueror lay in his tent, reduced to the last extremity by the great loss of blood which followed the extraction of the barbed steel, while deep anxiety prevailed in the camp—inspired partly by true affection, and partly by fear for themselves, in the event of the death of the only man they believed capable of leading them back safely through the strange lands they had traversed as victors. At length Alexander rallied; during his tedious convalescence, such of the Malli and Sudracæ as had remained in arms, tendered submission. The envoys consisted of above 100 of their chief men; they were persons of lofty stature and bearing, all rode in chariots, were clad in linen robes embroidered with purple and gold, and bore magnificent presents. According to Curtius, a tribute of the same amount as they had previously paid the Arachosians was imposed upon them; and a thousand of their bravest warriors were demanded as hostages, or, if they were willing, to serve in the Greek army. These were immediately sent, together with 500 chariots as a free gift, and, among other rarities, several tamed lions and tigers. Alexander, pleased with their readiness, accepted the chariots and sent back the hostages. At the confluence of the Acesines with the Indus, he ordered a city,* with docks and arsenals, to be constructed; and sailed down the latter river to the chief place of a people, called, by the Greeks, Sudracæ or Sogdi. Here he planted a colony; changed the name to Alexandria, built an arsenal, refitted a part of his fleet, and, proceeding southward, entered the rich and fertile territories of a powerful ruler, whose real name has been apparently perverted into that of Musicanus. This prince proffered allegiance, which Alexander accepted, but ordered a fortress to be built in his capital, which was occupied by a Macedonian garrison; thence, marching to the westward, he advanced against a chief, spoken of under the name of Oxycanus, or Porticanus, who was con-

* It must be remembered that cities, so called, are very easily founded in the east. For this purpose a fort or castle, and walls of brick or mud, marking out the limits of "the Pettah" or town suffice for a commencement, and population soon follows, brought either by compulsion or attracted by the natural advantages of the site, to erect there the mud hovels which form their ordinary dwellings.

sidered to have held himself suspiciously aloof, and stormed two of his cities—in one of which, Oxycanus was himself taken or slain; upon this all the other towns submitted without resistance. In the adjacent high-lands, a chief, called Sambus, whose territory is now known as Sinde, fled from his capital (according to Arrian) at the approach of the invader; who took possession of his elephants and treasure, and proceeded to capture a town which ventured to oppose him, at the instigation of some Brahmins, whom he slew. The same influence, during Alexander's absence, had been exerted in the court of Musicanus, and he revolted, in an evil hour, for himself and his country: Being taken prisoner he was crucified with the leading Brahmins, and the chief towns razed to the ground, or subjected to the stern surveillance of foreign garrisons. The submission of the king of Pattala, named or entitled Mœris, whose rule extended over the Delta of the Indus, completed Alexander's command of that river. At Pattala, (thought to be now represented either by Tatta or Allore,) he immediately prepared to fortify a citadel, form a harbour, and build docks sufficient for a large fleet, and likewise to dig wells in the neighbouring districts, where there was great scarcity of water, to render the country habitable, and suitable for the passage of troops or travellers. According to a modern writer, (Droysen,) Alexander's object in so doing was nothing less than to facilitate the communication between Pattala and the east of India, and to open it for caravans from the countries on the Ganges and from the Deccan; but even supposing him to have obtained sufficient geographical knowledge for the formation of this plan, he had no present means of executing it, and must have contented himself meanwhile in surveying the mouths and delta of the Indus, and taking measures for the establishment of commercial intercourse with the West. With a squadron of fast sailing galleys he prepared to explore the western branch of the river to the sea; but the voyage proved disastrous, the native pilots brought from Pattala made their escape, and on the second day a violent gale meeting a rapid current of the Indus, caused a swell in which most of the galleys were severely injured and many went to pieces. While the shipwrights were engaged in repairing this misfortune a few light troops were sent up the country in search of pilots, who being obtained, conducted Alexander safely almost to the mouth, when the wind blew so hard from the sea, that he took refuge in a canal (*nullah*) pointed out by them. Here the Macedonians, first beheld the phenomenon called the "Bore," and witnessed with extreme consternation the sudden rush of a vast volume of water from the ocean up the river-channel, with such violence as to shatter the galleys not previously firmly imbedded in the mud. After again refitting, the fleet was moored at an island named Cilluta, but Alexander, with the best sailors, proceeded to another isle, which lay beyond in the ocean. Here he offered sacrifices to various deities; then, putting out in the open sea, to satisfy himself that no land lay within view to the southward, he celebrated different rites in honour of the sea-god Neptune, whose proper realm he had now entered. The victims, and the golden vessels in which the libations had been offered, having been thrown into the deep, he rejoined the squadron, and returned by the same arm of the Indus to Pattala.

The navigation of the rivers had employed about nine months; and nearly four appear to have been spent in and near Pattala. It was toward the end of August 325 B.C.,* when the preparations were completed for the departure of the fleet and army from the Indus; the former, under Nearchus the Cretan, being destined to undertake a voyage of discovery to the Persian Gulf; the latter, under Alexander, to march along the coast—an enterprise of little less danger, in which, according to tradition, the armies of Semiramis and Cyrus had perished almost to a man. Of the real difficulties of the route Alexander had probably but a vague conception, but he was incited to encounter them, by a desire to provide for the exigencies of the fleet, and to explore and consolidate a portion of the empire which he had hitherto at most but nominally subjected. The force of either armament is not recorded. On invading India it would appear the army had consisted of 120,000 men, and while there had received reinforcements; allowing therefore for the numbers lost or left behind in garrisons and colonies, and for the division previously sent from Pattala under Craterus, (through Arachosia to Carmania,) probably, at least

* Dr. Vincent in his *Voyage of Nearchus*, vol. i. p. 180, fixes the time of departure at a year earlier, but I have preferred following Thirlwall's reading or rather correction of Arrian's chronology.

50,000 remained under the immediate command of the king. Respecting the squadron under Nearchus, we have no other guide than the list of the thirty-three galleys before referred to as equipped on the Hydaspes; many of these were fitted out by individuals at their own cost, for it would appear that at that period the finances of their leader were at a very low ebb, probably owing to the unbounded munificence with which he lavished upon his friends what he had acquired by the sword. Some weeks had yet to elapse before the trade-winds would set in from the north-east, and so become favourable to the voyage. The departure of the army was not however delayed on this account, and Alexander set out on his return to the West, leaving the admiral and fleet to follow at leisure. His route need be here but briefly noticed. Crossing the chain of mountains which descends west of the Indus from the Paropamisus to the sea, he entered a region surrounded on three sides by lofty ranges, traversed by a river called the *Arabius*, (*Pooralee* or river of *Sonmeany*,) which separated the territory of two independent tribes—the Arabitæ and Oritæ, the former of whom fled to the adjacent desert, but the latter, who were more civilised and their lands better cultivated, offered a formidable resistance, fighting desperately with poisoned arrows. Their country was however overrun by the cavalry; and, in what seems to have been the largest of the villages in which they lived, named Rambacia, Alexander planted a colony. Thence advancing through a difficult pass in the western mountains, he arrived at about the beginning of October in the wild barren region of Gedrosia, the southern Mekran; the whole coast of which as far as Cape Jask, is called by the Greeks, the land of the Ichthyophagi or Fish-eaters. The heat, though beginning to subside, was still excessive; the troops generally moved during the night, but often at daybreak were obliged to prolong their weary march under a burning sun, until they should reach the next watering-place. Yet their road seems to have seldom diverged more than two or three days' journey from the sea—being frequently within sight of it—without crossing any part of the Great Sandy Desert, bounded by the mountains of southern Mekran; except perhaps for a short distance near the confines of Gedrosia and Carmania (Kerman). In the latter fruitful* and well-watered province, Alexander was soon after his arrival joined by Craterus and his division, and all anxiety respecting Nearchus was subsequently dispelled by tidings that the admiral had landed on the coast within five days' march of the camp. He had been compelled by the hostility of the natives at Pattala, to start before the proper season had arrived; and, though he waited four-and-twenty days on the Arabite coast, three of his vessels were afterwards lost in the adverse monsoon. On the coast of the Oritæ† he met Leonnatus, who had been left in Rambacia to furnish him with a ten days' supply of corn, and who had been meanwhile engaged in a sharp conflict with the natives. Nearchus does not appear to have lighted on any of the magazines stored at various points by Alexander for his use; but, after manifold hardships and perils from the dangers of an unknown sea, the barrenness of the coast, the hostility of the people, and the despondency of his own crews, he at length with the aid of a Gedrosian pilot reached the mouth of the Persian Gulf, and eventually landed near the mouth of the river *Anamis* (*Ibrahim*), not far to the west of the island of Ormuz. These happy events were celebrated by a solemn festival and triumphal procession—enlivened, as usual, by gymnastic games, musical and poetical contests, which probably gave rise to the idea of the march through Carmania having been one continued Bacchanalian revel. The king urged Nearchus to allow some other officer to conduct the fleet to the mouth of the Tigris and not expose himself to further danger and fatigue; but he would not consent to let another complete his glorious expedition, and rejoined the squadron with orders to meet Alexander at Susa. As it was winter the main body of the army proceeded thither along the Persian Gulf where the climate was mild, and Alexander with some light troops and cavalry took the upper road through Persepolis. At Susa we take leave of this great man; his career so far as India was concerned was quite ended, indeed life itself was fast ebbing away. In the spring of 323 B.C., in the second year after his return to Babylon, while planning a fresh capital for his Asiatic empire, he caught a fever in the Mesopotamian marshes, and this disorder being increased by one of the drinking matches

* Strabo says the grapes hung in clusters three feet long.

† See note to page 27.

which disgraced his court, abruptly terminated an eventful career at thirty-two years of age, the solace of his last days being to hear Nearchus relate "the story of his voyage, and all that was most observable with respect to the ocean."* The long and sanguinary contests which ensued among his generals,—commencing while his body lay unembalmed and ending not until the majority of those disputants themselves, as well as all of his kin, (including his half-brother and successor Arridæus, his wives Statira and Roxana, his posthumous son Alexander, and his beloved though wicked and intriguing mother Olympias,) had fallen victims to the treacherous plots formed by the majority of them against each other—have no place in these pages. The history and triumphs of Alexander have been narrated at some length, for the sake of showing the manner in which he was led on, first by the pursuit of Darius, and afterwards of Bessus, to Bactria and to the verge of India. His progress is no mere matter of antiquarian research,† but exercises an important bearing on the political question of the present time, respecting the possible advance of an European army through central Asia to the Indus, or *via* Syria, the Euphrates, and the Persian Gulf, to the shores of the Indian Ocean; a subject which will be discussed when examining the motives of the British incursions into Afghanistan, in 1839-40.

In the history of the civilized world, the epoch of Alexander would ever be memorable were it only for his exploits in India, since by them this great country was first placed as it were within reach, and some firm ground afforded to European geographers whereon to set foot in future investigations. The Greek historians though often contradictory, and censurable in many respects, have yet recorded much valuable information respecting the Indians (as they term the Hindoos), the accuracy of which is attested by the ancient records revealed to us by the labours of oriental students, and further by the striking resemblance which their descriptions bear, even after the lapse of two thousand years, to the existing characteristics of the inhabitants of the countries then visited. Thus Arrian, whose account of Ancient India is unquestionably the most to be relied on of any now extant, notices among other points the slender form of the Hindoos, the classes or sects into which they were divided, and the prohibition of intermarriage, widow burning,‡ perpetuation of trades in families, vegetable diet, faces streaked with colours, men wearing earrings, veils covering the head and shoulders, parti-coloured shoes, umbrellas carried only over principal personages, cotton manufactures of great fineness and whiteness, two-handed swords, and other matters. The people appear to have been extraordinarily numerous, and to have made considerable progress in the arts of civilised life. Their bravery was strikingly manifest; and it is remarkable, that notwithstanding the numbers recorded as having fallen in their engagement with Alexander, are as usual incredibly greater on their side than

* Langhorne's *Translation of Plutarch's Life of Alexander*, p. 218.

† It may be here well to observe, that in the foregoing brief sketch of Alexander's march, written for general readers, no attempt has been made to enter upon the discussion of the disputed localities at which he conquered or founded cities. One such point would involve as much space as can here be devoted to the whole march—at least, if the varying opinions of the several authorities ancient and modern, were to be fairly and fully stated. I have, therefore (with some slight exceptions), merely given the probable sites, leaving the reader to prosecute further inquiries in the pages of the oriental scholars already repeatedly named. It is greatly to be regretted that the works of none of the primary historians have descended to us, save some fragments preserved by their successors. Of these last, Arrian, who wrote in the early part of the second century B C., is recognized as the most trustworthy, though his bald outline contrasts forcibly with the more highly-coloured pictures of Quintus Curtius, who seems to have followed Alexander's campaigns with much diligence. Strabo also is a most valuable authority on this as on other geographical questions. Yet the loss of the writings of Bæton or Biton the authorised recorder of the marches, is irreparable, (especially when we consider the importance attached by Alexander to accurate geographical information) as also those of the first Ptolemy, and of Apollodorus the famed historian of Bactria. No conclusive opinion can be formed regarding the knowledge possessed by the Hindoos of this invasion, until we are better acquainted with the records still stored up and hidden from us in various places. Thus, the literary treasures of the libraries of Patan (a city in Rajpootana) of Jessulmer (a town north-west of Joudpore) Cambay, and the Thibetian monasteries remain to be explored, as also many other valuable MS. collections, including those of the travelling Jain and Boodhist bishops. According to Tod and other writers, Alexander is known in India under the name of *Escander Dhulcarnein* (two-horned), in allusion to his dominions in what they considered the eastern and western extremities of the earth. The rajahs of Chittoor are also said to boast of descent from the sovereign termed Porus who opposed the Macedonian conqueror.

‡ In the country of Taxiles, but only however as an exceptional instance.

his; yet he lost a larger proportion of troops in battle with them than had previously fallen in the Persian war. The office of the husbandman was invariably held sacred among the Hindoos, he was never disturbed in his labours, and to root up or wilfully injure growing crops was a breach of a recognised natural law no native prince would have ventured to commit. On the whole the impression of the Indian character left on the mind of the Greeks was decidedly favourable; the people were described as sober, moderate, peaceable, singularly truthful, averse to slavery in any form, and attached to liberal municipal institutions.

The productions of India had by tedious routes (which it will be necessary to point out in a subsequent section, when depicting the present state of their commerce), long found a ready market in Europe. The desire for them now increased tenfold. The foresight of Alexander was fully vindicated by the rapidity with which the Egyptian Alexandria began, under the first Ptolemy, to receive and pour forth its full tide of wealth; and Babylon also became a great emporium. His characteristic policy* in freeing the Euphrates and Tigris from the physical impediments to navigation placed by a weak restrictive government, shattered the fetters which had long bound the enterprising spirit of trade in these countries, and enabled it to find vent in the passage opened up with India, both by sea and land.

The cities or military stations placed near the Indus soon languished, for the Europeans left there by the king, on hearing of his death hastened to escape from what they had from the first considered no better than hopeless exile. But commerce had received a powerful stimulus, and cotton and silk manufactures, ivory, gems richly set, costly gums, pepper and cinnamon, dyes and drugs, were poured rapidly into Europe in return for the precious metals,† which entered India in coins of many forms (now vainly sought for by antiquarians), and were there melted down to be shaped into idols, or to deck unhallowed shrines, and be thus stored up to an incalculable extent, to gorge eventually the avarice of the ruthless Mussulmans of a later age.

THE GREEK TO THE MOHAMMEDAN INVASIONS.—The king of the Prasii (as the Greeks termed the *Prachi* or *East*) at the time of Alexander's campaign in the Punjaub, was the last Nanda, who, as has been shown, both Greek and Hindoo writers agree in describing as of low birth. He was slain by his successor, Chandra Gupta, or Sandracottus, about 310, B.C., who appears to have spent a short time when a youth in the Macedonian camp, whence he fled to avoid the wrath of Alexander, which he had roused in some unexplained manner. Chandra Gupta was king when Seleucus, to whom in the division of power Syria and the Bactrian and Indian satrapries had fallen, proceeded to claim the sovereignty, though at first under the name of the governorship of these territories. He marched in person to reduce the local authorities to obedience, and flushed with victory proceeded at the head of a considerable force to India, B.C. 303. The brief and conflicting accounts of his progress which have descended to us, indicate that he advanced even to the Ganges, but was deterred from warlike proceedings, either by the necessity of turning back with his strength unimpaired to defend another portion of his dominions attacked by Antigonus, or else by the formidable array drawn out against him by Chandra Gupta, who had previously greatly extended and consolidated his kingdom. The result appears to have been that Seleucus made over to the Hindoo sovereign, not only all the country conquered by Alexander eastward of the Indus, but also that to the westward as far as the river *Arabius;* while Chandra Gupta on his part acknowledged this concession by a present of 500 war chariots. How far Porus and Taxiles, or their successors, were consulted in this proceeding, or how they acted, is not stated; but in their conduct immediately after the king's death, they showed themselves faithful and much attached to the Greeks. A family connection is alleged to have been formed between Seleucus and Chandra Gupta, by the marriage of a daughter of the former with the latter, (who being a Soodra might marry as he pleased;) and it is certain that friendly intercourse existed between them, an ambassador named

* Alexander's conquests were intended, as has been repeatedly stated, as a means of carrying out his vast commercial schemes. He hoped out of war to bring peace; and one of his favourite plans to promote this ultimate object was, the founding of several new cities in Asia and in Europe, the former to be peopled with Europeans, and the latter with Asiatics, so that "by intermarriages and exchange of good offices the inhabitants of those two great continents might be gradually moulded into a similarity of sentiments, and become attached to each other with mutual affection."—(Diod. Sic., lib. xviii., c. 4.)

† Pliny, writing in the first century of the Christian era, complains that Rome was exhausted by a

Megasthenes having been sent to Palibothra, the capital of the Prasii, where he resided many years. It is further stated that the Hindoo monarch had Greek mercenaries in his service, and placed Greek governors in some of his provinces; that during his reign the foreigners were much respected, but afterwards brought general odium upon their nation throughout Western India by their treacherous and cruel rapacity. Their language must have spread and taken root in the land—for according to Masson, one of our best authorities on this head, "there is sufficient testimony that the Greek language was studied and well known by the fashionable and higher classes during the first and second centuries of the Christian Era." The embassy of Dimachus to the son and successor of Chandra Gupta (called Allitrochidas by the Greek writers), is the last transaction recorded between Syrian and Indian monarchs, until the lapse of about 80 years, when Antiochus the Great, after the close of his war with the revolted provinces of Bactria and Parthia, entered India, and made peace with a king named Sophragasenus (supposed to be Asoca), after exacting from him elephants and money.

The descriptions given by Megasthenes,* who had the best means of judging correctly on the subjects of which he wrote, are calculated to convey a high opinion of the wealth and power of the kingdom generally, but especially of Palibothra.† Yet, according to this writer, India comprised no less than 118 independent states; but this however he only gives on hearsay, and, supposing the number to be unexaggerated, we cannot tell how small the territories may have been which this enumeration included.

The Soodra successors of Chandra Gupta certainly exceeded him in power—and in the hyperbolical language of the Puranas, are said to have brought the "whole earth under one umbrella."‡ Asoca, the greatest of that line, exercised command over the states to the north of the Nerbudda river; and the edicts§ graven on columns at remote points prove not merely the extent of his dominions but also the civilized character of his government, since they include orders for the establishment of hospitals and dispensaries throughout his empire, as well as for planting trees and digging wells along the public highways. And this too was to be done, not only in Asoca's own provinces, but also in others occupied by "the faithful," (meaning the Boodhists, of whom this king was the great patron), "even as far as Tambapanni; (Taprobane, or Ceylon,)" and "moreover within the dominions of Antiochus the Greek [Antiochia Yôna Raja] of which Antiochus's generals are the rulers." An edict found on a rock, and from its shattered state only partially legible, expresses exultation at the extension of the doctrines of Asoca (?) Pryadarsi (especially with regard to sparing the life of animals, which however is not a Boodhist tenet) in foreign countries; and contains a fragment translated thus:—"and the Greek king besides, by whom the chapta (?) kings Turamayo, Gongakena, and Maga."|| Turamayo was considered by the late Mr. James Prinsep to denote Ptolemy Philadelphus, who had a brother named Magas, married to a daughter of Antiochus I., which would establish that the Antiochus referred to in the edict previously quoted, was either the first or the second of that

drain equal to £400,000 per annum, required for the purchase of luxuries—the produce of India, Seres, and Arabia; and Robertson, writing in 1791, says—"India, from the age of Pliny to the present time, has been always considered and execrated as a gulf which swallows up the wealth of every other country, that flows incessantly towards it, and from which it never returns."—(*Historical Disquisition*, p. 203.) Since the commencement of the present century, the golden current has changed its course, and flowed with increasing volume from Hindoostan to Britain, not, however, by the channel of commerce merely, but of compulsory tribute, to an extent and in a manner which will be subsequently shown.

* Megasthenes wrote many works, of which only scattered fragments have been preserved. His disposition to exaggerate, and undue love of the marvellous, were urged as reasons for this neglect; but it is to be doubted whether the critics were always competent judges of what they rejected. As it is, enough remains to testify, in connection with existing Hindoo records, ruins, and inscriptions, that the writer was a keen observer, and a valuable witness, although occasionally led into the narration of fables, or at least gross exaggerations.

† Palibothra was described by Megasthenes as being eight miles long, and one-and-a-half broad, defended by a deep ditch, and a high rampart, with 570 towers and 64 gates. Its site is placed by Rennell at Patna, by D'Anville at Allahabad, and by Wilford at Raj-mehal.

‡ Wilson's *Hindoo Theatre*, vol. iii., p. 14.

§ Similar mandates are inscribed on a rock on Girnar, a mountain in Guzerat; and on a rock at Dhauli in Cuttack on the opposite side of India. They were deciphered by Mr. Prinsep, and are written in Pali, the dialect in which the sacred books of the Boodhists are composed.

|| At Kapur di Ghari, the entire edict exists in the Arian language, the word translated by Prinsep "Chapta" is there "chatare," *four*, Gongakena reads *Antakana* and Maga, *Maka*.—*Masson.*

name; that is, either the son or grandson of Seleucus. It is remarkable that Asoca, in his youth, was governor of Oojein or Malwa, which must therefore have been possessed by his father. The reigning family was succeeded by three other Soodra dynasties, the last of which, the Andras, acceded to power about the beginning of our era; and, according to two Puranas, terminated in Pulimat or Pulomarchish, A.D. 436. By a curious coincidence, the Chinese annals* translated by De Guignes, notice in A.D. 408, the arrival of ambassadors from the Indian prince, Yue-gnai, King of Kia-pi-li, evidently Capili (the birth-place of Boodha or, according to Colonel Sykes, the seventh Boodha, Sakya-muni), which the Chinese have put for all Magadha. Yue-gnai again bears some resemblance to Yaj-nasri, or Yajna, the king actually on the throne of the Andras at the period referred to. A confused enumeration of dynastics succeed, with little attempt at historical order, from which a foreign invasion, followed by a long period of disorder, has been inferred, though perhaps not on sufficient grounds. At length, after an interval of several centuries, Magadha is spoken of as subject to the Gupta kings of Canouj, and from that period is no more distinctly noticed; but its fame has been preserved, from its having been, as before mentioned, the birth-place of Boodha, and from its language (Magadhi, or Pali) being employed in the writings of that extensively diffused religion, as well as in those of the Jains. The claim of universal monarchy in India, is found advanced in records and inscriptions, not only by princes of the Magadha dynasty, but also by those of Cashmere, of Delhi, Canouj, Bengal, Malwa, Guzerat, and other places; but the evidence cited in favour of their respective claims, is pretty generally deemed insufficient, and is frequently contradictory. To attempt reducing the histories of these kingdoms and their pretensions into form, would be a long and tedious task; which, even if successfully accomplished, could have little interest for the general reader, for at best, it would be but like arranging the scattered fragments of a child's puzzle, of which the chief pieces are wanting. At a future but perhaps not distant day, the patient and able research already so successfully directed to the study of oriental literature, may enable us to decide upon many points now involved in numberless difficulties and to draw a correct picture of India, without the danger, at present inevitable, of giving undue prominence to events of minor interest, and omitting altogether many important features. Before passing entirely from the subject of the condition of India between the time of Alexander and the Mohammedan era, it is, however, necessary to add a few remarks on the chief kingdoms of Hindoostan and the Deccan, so as to afford the reader

* Chi-fa-Hian, a Chinese Boodhist priest, visited India at the beginning of the fifth century, on a pilgrimage to the chief seats of the religion of Boodha, where he spent six years. His travels have been translated from the Chinese by M. Remusat. The Boodhistical religion, according to his account, had then suffered a serious and irreparable decline at Mathura and in the eastern districts of Hindoostan; and the Brahminical faith was in the ascendant. Temples and towers of past ages still existed, but the population had disappeared, and the country was in many such places a wilderness. Rajagriha, the abode of Jarasandha, the first of the Magadha kings, and the ancient capital, then exhibited the ruins of a large city, of which traces were still visible to Dr. Buchanan, in 1807-1814. The palace of Asoca, or A-yu, at Patali-pootra, or Kusuma-pura, built of stone, was entire when seen by Fa-Hian, and presented such superior specimens of sculpture and engraving, that they were ascribed to superhuman architects—genii, who laboured for the patron of *Fo*. The city of Ni-li, built in the neighbourhood by Asoca, was embellished by a handsome column, surmounted by a lion. Other columns, with lion capitals, were seen in different places. Central India is spoken of as under the government of one king; the cities and towns large, the people rich, charitable, and just in their actions, but given to discussion. In the month of May (the birth-day of Sakya-muni) four-wheeled cars were drawn about the streets; they had each a building of five stages which looked like a tower, were ornamented with gold, silver, coloured glass, and embroidery, and hung with carpets and white felt, adorned with painted figures of the celestial divinities; on the summits were a figure of Boodha. This was a season of great festivity, the streets were filled with people who flocked in from the neighbouring country; there were theatrical representations, feats of the athletæ, concerts of music and nightly illuminations; hospitals were opened for the sick, cripples, and orphans, who were solaced and relieved by the representatives of the different chiefs. At Magadha the priest sat himself down in a monastery for three years to study the sacred language and copy the MSS. Bengal then carried on extensive maritime traffic with the south-west regions and other places. Fa Hian took a passage in a large trading ship to Ceylon, which he reached (during the north-west monsoon) in fourteen days; thence he sailed for Java in a Hindoo ship, with 200 people, provisioned for ninety days. Altogether the travels of this intelligent Chinese abound in curious information; they corroborate the accounts of cities, and of the manners and customs of their inhabitants, given by native writers, and prove the Hindoos were then merchants, and even navigators on a considerable scale.—(Abstracted from *notes on Ancient India.* By Colonel Sykes. London, 1841; p. 6 to 76.)

some slight clue to their relative importance, antiquity, and position.*

That of *Bengal* is mentioned in the Maha Bharat, and the Ayeen Akbery continues the succession through five dynasties up to the Mohammedan conquest. These lists are to some extent supported by the inscriptions found in various places, which among other matters refer to a series of princes with names ending in Pala, who reigned apparently from the ninth to the latter part of the eleventh century, and are asserted to have ruled all India from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin, and from the Brahmapootra to and even beyond the Indus. They are also asserted to have subdued Tibet. The dynasty of Pala was succeeded by one whose names ended in Sena, and this last was subverted by the Mohammedans about A.D. 1203.

The kingdom of *Malwa* is far less ancient than those already mentioned. Its famous monarch, Vicramaditya, is the Haroun al Raschid of Hindoo tales, of which a great number have been collated by the indefatigable zeal of Colonel Wilford. He is said to have passed the early part of his life among holy men in austere seclusion, and even when arrived at regal power, to have eschewed all pomp, using utensils of earth rather than of gold, and sleeping on a mat instead of a bed. There is reason to believe that this hero of romance was really a powerful monarch and conqueror, who ruled a civilised and prosperous country, extended his sway over the Deccan and even over Cabool, and was a distinguished patron of literature. Oojein became populous on account of the great image of Maha-Cali, or Time, which he erected there; but he himself worshipped only one invisible God. He was slain, 56 B.C., in old age, in battle with Salivahana, a prince of the Deccan, who will be subsequently referred to; and his death formed the commencement of an era, which is still current among the countries northward of the Nerbudda. It is of Vicramaditya that the traditions of universal empire are most common in India. A long period of anarchy ensued in Malwa upon this abrupt conclusion of his able government. The next epoch is that of the renowned Rajah Bhoja; whose reign of forty years terminated about the end of the eleventh century. His grandson was taken prisoner, and his country conquered by the Rajah of Guzerat; but Malwa soon recovered its independence, which was finally destroyed by the Mohammedans, A.D. 1231.

In *Guzerat*, from its having been the residence of Crishna, and other circumstances, an early principality would appear to have existed; and the whole is spoken of as under one dominion, by a Greek writer of the second century.† Colonel Tod mentions another principality, founded at Ballabi, in the peninsula of Guzerat, in the middle of the second century, B.C., by an emigrant of the Solar race, which reigned in Oude. This dynasty was expelled in 524, by an army of barbarians, variously conjectured to have been Parthians, Persians of the Sassanian dynasty, and Indo-Bactrians. The second supposition is probably correct, as Sir John Malcolm asserts on the authority of various Persian writers, that Nousheerwan, who reigned at or about this period, carried his victorious arms into India; but that the tribute, which was the fruit of his conquest, was after his death no longer paid to his degenerate son and successor.‡ Another Rajpoot tribe, called the Chauras, succeeded to the rule of Guzerat, and finally established their capital in A.D. 746, at Anhalwara, now Pattan. Failing Chaura, in A.D. 931, through the death of the last rajah without male issue, the succession devolved on his son-in-law, a prince of the Rajpoot tribe of Salonka; whose family were chiefs of Callian, in the Deccan, above the Ghauts. The kingdom was absorbed by the Mussul-

* The authorities mainly relied on being the valuable summary contained in Elphinstone's *India*, vol. i., pp. 388 to 425; the *Ayeen Akbery;* Brigg's translation of Ferishta; Todd's *Rajast'han;* and Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas.*

† Vincent's translation of the *Periplus*, p. 111.

‡ Malcolm's *Persia*, vol. i., p. 112.—"The countries beyond the Oxus, as far as Ferghana, all those to the Indus, *some provinces of India*, and the finest districts of Arabia, acknowledged the sway of the mighty monarch of Persia." Sir John adds that the emperors of China and India sent presents, the description of which reads more like a chapter from the *Arabian Nights* than the page of even a Persian historian. Among the gifts of the first potentate was the image of a panther, the body covered with pearls, and the eyes formed of rubies; a wonderful robe, the border of which was of celestial blue, while the centre was occupied by a representation of the king himself, clothed in his royal robes, and surrounded by his attendants; and lastly, enclosed in the same golden box as the robe was a female figure, the beauty of the face veiled by long tresses, and "overpowering as a flash of day during a dark night." The Indian offerings were a thousand pounds' weight of aloe-wood, a vase filled with pearls, and formed of one precious stone, on which was engraven the figures of a maiden seven hands in height, and of a lion; and a carpet made of a serpent's skin, delicately fine and exquisitely tinted.

man conquests of 1297. *Canouj*, in early times, was called Panchala, and seems to have been a long but narrow territory, extending on the east of Nepaul (which it included); and on the west, along the Chumbul and Bunnass as far as Ajmeer. Notwithstanding the notice it has attracted as one of the most ancient, wealthy, and magnificent places in India, its early history is very little known.* Its wars with the neighbouring state of Delhi contributed to accelerate the ruin of Hindoo independence; and it was conquered by the Mussulmans in 1193. *Cashmere* is asserted, by its historians, to have existed 2,600 years B.C. Its last monarch was subdued by Mahmood, A.D. 1015. Its annals, as before stated, have been written carefully and at length; and placed within reach of the British public by Professor Wilson.

Delhi is first named in the Maha Bharat; it was governed by a Rajpoot line, whose last prince was dethroned, A.D. 1050, by an ancestor of the Prithwi Rajah, conquered by the Mussulmans, A.D. 1192.

The earliest mention of *Benares* is found in the same poem; and its independence terminated contemporaneously with that of Delhi. *Mithili* existed in Rama's time, and was the capital of his father-in-law, Sita. It was famous for a school of law, and gave its name to one of the chief Indian languages. *Gour*, named in the Maha Bharat, seems to have lasted up to about A.D. 1231.

Sinde, referred to in the same record, was independent in the time of Alexander (325 B.C.); and was finally conquered by the Mohammedans. *Mewar*, *Jessulmer*, and *Jeipur*, founded respectively in A.D. 720, 731, and 967, still exist as distinct states. *Ajmeer* is traced back by Tod, for seven generations before A.D. 695; it fell at the same time as Delhi. The *Punjaub* can hardly be spoken of as a distinct kingdom, since it appears to have been generally broken up into various small states; but from a very remote time a great city is thought to have existed near Lahore,† though under a different name.

Our insight into the history of the *Deccan* commences, for the most part, at a much later date than that of Hindoostan. The five distinct languages—Tamul, Canarese, Telugu, Mahratta, and Urya, are considered to denote an equal number of early national divisions, the first-mentioned indicating the most ancient, viz., the country of Dravira, which occupied the extreme south of the peninsula; the earliest colonists from Hindoostan having traversed the bleak plateaux of the upper Deccan, and settled down on the fruitful plains of the Carnatic and Tanjore. The kingdom of *Pandya* was formed about the fifth century. In the time of the "Periplûs" it comprehended a part of the Malabar coast; but it was usually bounded by the Ghauts to the westward, and occupied only the territory now known as the districts of Madura and Tinivelly. The seat of government was at Madura, in Ptolemy's time, and remained there until about a century ago. The last prince was conquered by the nabob of Arcot, in 1736. The neighbouring kingdom of *Chola* was at one time of considerable extent, its princes having, it is supposed, about the middle of the eighth century, possessed large portions of Carnata and Telingana. Their sway was greatly diminished in the twelfth century, being reduced to the limits of the Dravira country. Chola lost its separate existence about the end of the seventeenth century. The capital was, for the most part, at Conjeveram, west of Madras. *Chera* comprehended Travancore, part of Malabar, and Coimbatore, and seems to have existed about the commencemencement of our era. It was subverted in the tenth century, and its lands portioned among the surrounding states.

Kerala included Malabar and Carnara. About the first or second century of the Christian era a colony of Brahmins from Hindoostan settled here, divided the country into sixty-four districts, and governed it by means of a general assembly of their cast; renting allotments to men of the inferior classes. The executive government was held by a Brahmin elected every three years, and assisted by a council of four of the same tribe; but in the course of time, a chief of the military class was appointed. The northern division appears to have been ruled by a dynasty of its own till the twelfth century, when it was overturned by the Belala rajahs; and subsequently became subject to the rajahs of Vijayanagar.

The *Concan*, in early times, was a wild forest tract (as great part of it still remains), thinly inhabited by Mahrattas.

Carnata seems to have been originally

* The Pala dynasty at Canouj are thought to have displaced as paramount rulers in India, the Gupta dynasty of Prayaga and Delhi. Prayaga or Allahabad, the ancient Gupta capital, contains a column with an inscription of Samadras Gupta's, which has been translated by Mr. Prinsep.

† When the Pala princes held Canouj, members of the family ruled at Lahore, and thence extended

divided between the Pandya and Chera princes and those of Carnara (the northern half of Kerala). It was afterwards partitioned among many petty princes, until the middle of the 11th century, when one considerable dynasty arose—the family of Belala—who were, or pretended to be, Rajpoots* of the Yadoo branch, and whose power at one time extended over the whole of Carnata, together with Malabar, the Tamul country, and part of Telingana. They were subverted by the Mussulmans about A.D. 1310. The eastern part of Telingana appears to have been, from the beginning of the ninth to nearly the end of the eleventh century, in the hands of an obscure dynasty known by the name of Yadava. A Rajpoot family of the Chalukya tribe reigned at Callian, on the borders of Carnata and Maharashta. They are traced by inscriptions, from the tenth to the end of the twelfth century; are supposed to have possessed the whole of Maharashta to the Nerbudda,† and even to have been superior lords of the west of Telingana.‡ The last king was deposed by his minister, who was in turn assassinated by some fanatics of the Lingayet sect, which was then rising into notice, and the kingdom fell into the hands of the Yadoos of Deogiri (Doulatabad). Another branch of the Chalukya tribe ruled over *Calinga*, the eastern portion of Telingana, which extends along the sea from Dravira to Orissa. The dynasty perhaps began about the tenth century, and certainly lasted through the whole of the twelfth and thirteenth; it was greatly reduced by the Ganapati kings of Andra, and finally subverted by the rajahs of Cuttack.

Andra is the name of all the inland part of the Telingana country, the capital being at Varangul, about eighty miles north-east of Hyderabad. Its kings, Vicrama and Salivahana, alleged to have been connected with the Andra race in Magadha, are among the earliest mentioned. After them, according to local records, the Chola rajahs succeeded; then a race called Yavans,§ who reigned from 515, A.D., till 953; next came the family of Ganapati, who attained great power about the end of the thirteenth century, and are even affirmed to have possessed the whole of the peninsula south of the Godavery. In 1332 the capital was taken by a Mohammedan army from Delhi, and the state merged at length in the Mussulman kingdom of Golconda.

The history of *Orissa*, like all others in the Deccan, begins with princes mentioned in the Maha Bharat, describes in a very confused manner the successive occupation of the country by Vicramaditya and Salivahana, and the repeated invasions of Yavans from Delhi, from a country called Babul (supposed to mean Persia), from Cashmere and from Sinde, between the sixth century before, and the fourth after, Christ. The last invasion was from the sea, and in it the Yavans were successful, and kept possession of Orissa for 146 years, being expelled, A.D. 473, by Yayati Kesari. This point is thought to be the first established, for the traditions regarding the Yavans cannot be satisfactorily explained. The natives suppose them to have been Mussulmans, but the first Arab invasion was not till the seventh century after Christ. Others apply the story to Seleucus, or to the Bactrian Greeks; while Masson suggests the possibility of the people of Yava or Java being meant. The Kesari family lasted till A.D. 1131, when their capital was taken by a prince of the house of Ganga Vansa; his heirs were supplanted by a Rajpoot dynasty, of the Sun or Surya race. The government having fallen into confusion about 1550, was seized on by a Telingu chief, and ultimately annexed to the Mogul empire by Akber, in 1578. The greatest internal prosperity and improvement seems to have been enjoyed towards the end of the twelfth century; but during several years before and after that date, the people of Orissa claim to have made extensive conquests, especially to the south. In the middle of the fifteenth century the government of Orissa sent armies as far as Conjeveram, near Madras; and about the same time their rajah advanced to the neighbourhood of Bidr to assist the Hindoo princes of those parts against the Mohammedans.

their sway to Cabool, where they remained up to the time of Sultan Mahmood, the then rajah being named Jaya Pala.—*Masson.*

* "Some of the Hindoos assert that the tribes of Brahmin and Kshetry [Cshatriya] existed from time immemorial, but that the Rajpoots are a modern tribe, only known since the beginning of the Kulyoog [Cali Yuga, A.M. 3215.] The rajahs, not satisfied with their married wives, had frequently children by their female slaves, who, although not legitimate successors to the throne, were styled Rajpoots, or the children of the rajahs."—(Briggs' *Translation of Ferishta.*—Introduction, p. lxiii.).

† *Vide* Mr. Walter Elliot's contributions to *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. iv., p. 1.

‡ Wilson, *Introd. to Mackenzie papers*, p. cxxix.

§ The country north of Peshawer was anciently called Yava, perhaps these Yavans came thence.

Maharashta or the *Mahratta country,* though situated on the frontier of the Deccan, and of great size, if we may judge from the wide extent over which the language bearing that name is spoken, is only vaguely noticed in early records. After the legends regarding Rama, whose retreat was near the source of the Godavery, the first fact mentioned is the existence of Tagara, which was frequented by Egyptian merchants 250 years B.C. It is alluded to in inscriptions, as a celebrated place in the twelfth century, and is still well known by name. It is mentioned by the author of the "Periplûs,"* but in such a manner as to certify little more respecting its site than that it lay about 100 miles to the eastward of Paitan, on the Godavery. Grant Duff supposes it to have been somewhat to the north-east of the modern town of Bheer.† It is said to have been a very great city, and one of the two principal marts of Dachanabades, a country so called from Dachan, which in the "Periplûs" is stated to be the native word for *south.* The other mart was named Plthana.‡ Tagara, wherever situated, became the capital of a line of kings of the Rajpoot family of Silar. The reign of their most famous monarch, Salivahana, gave rise to a new era, commencing A.D. 77. He is stated to have been the son of a potter, and to have headed an insurrection which overturned the existing government (whatever it might have been), and removed the capital to Prutesthan or Paitan, on the Godavery. From this period nothing is known of the history of Maharashta (except by the inscriptions of the petty princes of Callian and Pernala) till the beginning of the twelfth century: a family of Yadoos then became rajahs of Deogiri, and continued to reign until 1317, when the country, which had been previously invaded by the Mohammedans from Delhi, was finally subjugated. About this time the Mussulman writers begin to mention the Mahrattas by name; before they had been noticed only as inhabitants of the Deccan. Our information regarding their early attainments so utterly fails to elucidate the testimony which the famous cave temples of Ellora and elsewhere, bear to the capabilities and numbers of the people by whom such mighty works were planned and executed, that, notwithstanding the useful labours of their historian (Grant Duff), we may believe there is yet much to be learned respecting them, probably a very interesting portion of their existence as a nation. Recently they have played a prominent but desolating and destructive part, which has drawn from the pen of a modern writer a denunciation of "those southern Goths, the Mahrattas."—(Tod's *Rajast'han.* Introduction.)

Concerning the social condition of the inhabitants of Hindoostan and the Deccan during these dark middle ages, we have certainly not sufficient data on which to found any general conclusions, except those which may be deduced from the edicts of such exemplary monarchs as Asoca—unhappily rare in all countries—and other collateral evidence. Our present information divides itself into two classes; and comes either through the channel of poetry, that is, of history travestied into fable; or else through the medium of Brahmin or Boodhist priests: it must consequently be well searched and sifted before it can be relied on as unbiassed by political motive or sectarian prejudice. But search and sift as we may, little light is thrown on the condition of the people, nor probably ever will be, at least in the sense given to that phrase in the present era of European and American civilization. The states noticed in the foregoing sketch would each one of them afford matter for a volume, full of wars, usurpations, change of dynasty, and, above all, extension of dominion; all this resting on local records, and reading on smoothly enough; but much of it entirely incompatible with the equally cherished traditions of neighbouring states. The code of Menu is perhaps an exception to this censure, but the uncertainty attached to the epoch at which it was written, and the extent to which its

* The "Periplûs [description] of the Erythrean Sea," is the title of a Greek work, issued in 1533, from the printing-press of Froben, at Basle. It contains the best account extant of the commerce carried on from the Erythrean or Red Sea and the coast of Africa, to the East Indies, during the time that Egypt was a Roman province. Dr. Vincent, the learned Dean of Westminster, who, in 1800, wrote an elaborate treatise, in two vols., 4to., to elucidate a translation of the "Periplûs," says—"I have never been able to discover from what manuscript the work was first edited;" neither could he ascertain the name of the author, generally supposed to be Arrian the historian, but who, in his opinion, must have lived a century before. There is internal evidence, according to the Dean, that the writer was a Greek, a merchant of Alexandria, and that he actually made a voyage on board the fleet from Egypt as far as the Gulf of Cambay, if not to Ceylon.—(*See* Vincent, vol. ii.)

† *History of the Mahrattas,* vol. i., p. 25.

‡ Elphinstone conjectures Plithana to be a mistake of the Greek copyist for Paithana or Paitan. The word occurs but once in the "Periplûs."

institutes were ever observed, greatly impairs its value. The first objection applies also to the Ramayana and Maha Bharat.

Thus much perhaps may be reasonably inferred, from the concurrent testimony of Hindoo and foreign records, of inscriptions, and much incidental evidence of various kinds—that, at a period long antecedent to the Christian era, and while the natives of Britain were nude, nomadic savages, the people of India had attained a high position in arts, science, literature, and commerce, and lived under the hereditary rule of their own kings or rajahs; the evils attendant on the otherwise irresponsible power of a patriarchal and despotic ruler being probably counterbalanced by the respective rights of the chiefs of the sacred, and of the warrior casts, but still more by the municipal institutions which seem to have been general throughout the country. In many smaller states the government appears to have been a sort of oligarchical republic. The manners and customs of the Hindoos, the influence of cast, and the changes gradually brought about by Mussulman and British conquerors, will, if space permit, be specially though briefly narrated in another section. Between the time of Menu and the Mohammedan epoch, the religious and social habits of the people had sadly deteriorated. Their belief in an omnipresent or "all-pervasive" God had gradually been warped by perverted but plausible reasoning, into a belief that because God was in everything, therefore anything might be worshipped, not simply as His representative, but actually as Himself. Beginning probably with those glorious natural objects of the Sabæan heresy, the sun, moon, and stars, they had at length become so degraded as to fall down before images of wood and stone, and had lost sight almost wholly of their original doctrine of an indivisible triad, by ignoring Brahma (the creating principle) and according to Vishnu (the preserving) or Saiva (the destroying),* a paramount place in the pantheon of hero-gods, sacred animals, and grotesque, or often (to European eyes) immodest figures, which gradually arose, and swallowed up in the darkness of heathenism the rays of light which possibly shone upon the earliest of the Hindoo race in the patriarchal age. Their *religious observances* involved a tedious and almost impracticable ritual, with abstinence from many things which in the christian dispensations are treated as harmless—but the character of Brahmin and also of Boodhist teaching, generally distinct, was alike in being, with some great and glaring exceptions, merciful and even comparatively moral.

The laws of the Hindoos, especially for civil judicature, have been eulogized by Sir W. Jones, Munro, and other authorities, though severely criticised by Mill, who on this subject was prejudiced, and in fact possessed but a small part of the information since revealed. The equal partitionment of property, and the consequent disability of willing away land or money, has been much canvassed as to its effect in preventing the accumulation or improvement of possessions. It undoubtedly stimulated the dedication of large sums to religious, charitable, or public purposes; to the building of temples, of 'choultries or houses of refreshment for travellers,' and to the formation of tanks and canals—most necessary works in a land where such means, under Providence, can alone prevent hundreds, nay thousands, not only of cattle, but of human beings, from perishing by the maddening pangs of thirst, or in the more prolonged agonies of hunger, when the parched earth, gaping in deep chasms, plainly bids man, if he would be sustained by her increase, use the energy and ability with which God has blessed him, to supply as best he can, the want of kindly dew and rain, to renew her strength and fertility.

The *position of women* was decidedly superior to that of the weaker sex in almost any other ancient nation, with regard to the hereditary laws of property: they were, if unmarried, to receive portions out of their brothers' allotments. Menu ordains that whoever accosts a woman shall do so by the title of "sister," and that way must be made for her, even as for the aged, for a priest, for a prince, or a bridegroom; and in his text on the laws of hospitality he enjoins that "pregnant women, brides and damsels, shall have food before all the other guests." The seclusion and ignorance to which females are now subjected had their origin in the like Mohammedan custom. Formerly they were taught to read and write, they were the ornament and delight of the social circle; and historic or traditionary annals abound in records of their virtuous and noble deeds. Suttee or widow-burning; infanticide; the carrying out of the sick, when deemed past recovery; suicide under the same or different

* These are mythologically represented as having wives, namely, Seraswati or Devi, Lakshmi or Bhavani, and Parvati or Durga, considered metaphysically as the active powers which develop the principle represented by each member of the triad.

circumstances, including immolation beneath the car of Juggernaut and self-inflicted tortures are almost entirely innovations which gradually crept in: Juggernaut especially—being of quite modern date.

The extent of scientific knowledge acquired by the Hindoos and the date of its attainment, is a source of endless discussion; yet the subject is too important to be wholly passed over, even in this intermediate stage of their history.

In *astronomy*, much merit is assigned them by Cassini, Bailly, and Playfair, who assert that a considerable degree of progress had been made 3,000 years before the Christian era, as evidenced by observations still extant. La Place, De Lambre, and others dispute the authenticity of these observations, but all agree in admitting a great antiquity. Mr. Bentley, who has examined the calculations very minutely, and is one of the most strenuous opponents of the claims of the Hindoos, pronounces their division of the Ecliptic into twenty-seven lunar mansions, to have been made B.C. 1442. Mr. Elphinstone is of opinion that the Indian observations could not have commenced at a later period than the fifteenth century, B.C., or one or two centuries before the first mention of astronomy in Greece. In the fifth century the Brahmins discussed the diurnal revolution of the earth on its axis, and they were more correct than Ptolemy in their notions regarding the precession of the Equinoxes.

In an Indian work (the *Surya Sidhanta*) to which the date of the fifth or sixth century is generally assigned, a system of *trigonometry* is laid down which involves theorems that were not known in Europe until the sixteenth century. *Geometry* was probably studied long previous to the date of the above book, as exemplified in the demonstrations of various properties of triangles, the proportion of the radius to the circumference of the circle, and other problems. The invention of *decimal notation* is ascribed to the Hindoos, who, even in *algebra*, so early as the sixth century,* under a celebrated teacher, (Brahma Gupta,) excelled all their cotemporaries, not merely in propounding problems, but in its application to astronomical investigations and geometrical demonstrations. Their *chronology* has long been a stumbling-block (see p. 15), but it is nevertheless considered by several critical inquirers to admit of satisfactory explanation by means of astronomical and arithmetical calculations. Megasthenes expressly declares that the Indians and the Jews were the only nations possessed of a rational chronology, and that they agreed. Mr. Masson remarks, on this statement,—"when I look at the enormous sums given of millions of years elapsed during the three first *yugas*, and ask how can they be reconciled with the dictum of Megasthenes, I call to mind a verse somewhere in Menu, which tells us that a year of a mortal is but a day with the gods, and conceit that these large numbers have been calculated on some such base as there suggested—just as in the Hebrew Prophets, Daniel, &c., periods are expressed by days, weeks, &c.—only in these, multiplication is needful, and with the Hindoos division." In the private letter from which I have ventured to quote the preceding passage, Mr. Masson adds, that by the use of the multiple 360 and the divisor nine (the sacred number of the Tartars and other nations), the Hindoo statement can be made to agree with that found in one (? the Samaritan† version) of the Scriptures within a single year.‡ And he considers that the system of Indian chronology was framed in some manner intelligible to the initiated,§ by whom the sacred writings were solely, or at least particularly, intended to

* "Mr. Colebrooke has fully established that algebra had attained the highest perfection it ever reached in India before it was known to the Arabians, and, indeed, before the first dawn of the culture of the sciences among that people."—(Elphinstone, vol. i., p. 250).

† The Samaritan is the most ancient of the oriental versions of the Scriptures, but its exact age is unascertained; it contains only the Pentateuch.

‡ The anonymous writer of a *Key to the Chronology of the Hindoos*, whose opinions are set forth in 2 vols. 8vo., printed at Cambridge in 1820; undertakes to convince his readers that "the Hindoo dates correspond with the Hebrew texts of our Scriptures, and that they date the *Lotos* or creation 5,817 years from the present time, which is only six years from the true period, according to the best calculations we have, and only two years according to the vulgar era of Christ, A.M. 4004." In an elaborate disquisition he contends that the commencement of the fourth historical age, *Cali yuga*, "is correctly placed at B.C. 3182;" the three previous ages "contain a period of 900 years only;" and by adding 900 years to the current year of the fourth, or *Cali* age, we get the true epoch of creation, according to all oriental chronology." The *year of the world* is computed by the Greek church at B.C. 5509; by the Abyssinian church, 5492; by the Jews, 3760. The Bible chronology gives it as 4004 B.C.

§ It is stated in the "*Key*" that some European suggested to Sir W. Jones an explanation by cutting the ciphers off the numerals.

be read, the Brahmins in this respect differing essentially from the Boodhists.

In *geography* they had, as a nation, made little progress, and though unquestionably engaged in traffic more or less direct with the nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa, probably entered, at the utmost, only as individuals on the carrying trade beyond their own coast, and gave little thought to the position or affairs of other countries; and this accords with the metaphysical, rather than practical, turn of their minds. There is, however, a passage in Menu which shows that marine insurance was practised his time; and various writings, poems, plays, and tales written during different periods from the first to the twelfth century, detail adventures at sea, in which Indian sailors and ships are immediately concerned. That the Hindoos established colonies in Java and other places there is reason to believe, though we cannot tell at what time, or under what circumstances. Bryant, who contends that Chaldea was the parent country of the Hindoos, asserts, in his *Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, that these people were found in Colchis, in Mesopotamia, and even in Thrace. Recently they have been met with in Arabia, Armenia, and Astracan.

In *medicine* they had not merely studied the virtues of simples, but had also attained considerable skill in chemistry, and knew how to prepare (for the most part in modes peculiar to themselves) sulphuric, nitric, and muriatic acid; oxides of copper, iron, lead (of which they had both the red oxide and litharge) tin, and zinc; the sulphurets of copper, zinc, and iron, and carbonates of lead and iron. They employed minerals internally, giving both mercury, arsenic, and arsenious acid; cinnabar was used for fumigations, to produce safe and speedy salivation. They also practised inoculation for small-pox. Their *surgery* is still more remarkable, from their ignorance of *anatomy*—dissection or even the touch of dead bodies, being deemed the extreme of pollution—yet they cut for the stone, couched for cataract, and performed other delicate operations;* and their early works enumerate no less than 127 sorts of surgical instruments, which, however, were probably always rude.

Of the *languages* and *literature* of India, it would be impossible to convey any idea in few words, without appearing to assume a dogmatic attitude on the many difficult questions involved therein. The translations of Sir William Jones from the Sanscrit, of *Sacontala*, a pastoral drama of great antiquity, and other poems, together with the *Hindoo Theatre* of Professor Wilson, enable English readers to form their own opinions of the degree of dramatic excellence very early attained in India. Portions of the Ramayana, of the Maha Bharat, and the whole of the Sama Veda have also been translated; the fourth, or Antharva Veda, (whose authenticity is disputed), being still sedulously withheld by the Brahmins, and denounced as a "Black Book," teaching astrology and witchcraft. The six Angras or Shastras, are supposed to have been written by inspiration to elucidate the sublime mysteries contained in the Vedas. They treat of theology and ritual observances; of grammar, metre, astronomy, logic, law, the art of government, medicine, archery, the use of arms, music, dancing, and the drama. With the eighteen Puranas we are not immediately concerned, for two reasons. They must be subsequently referred to as explanatory of the present (would to God that we could say the past) idolatrous polytheism of the Hindoos; and moreover in the opinion of Professor Wilson, none of them assumed their existing state until the time of Sankara Acharya, the great Saiva reformer, who flourished about the eighth or ninth century, and consequently, subsequent to the period of which we are now treating: Wilson traces several of them to the twelfth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries of our era. The Puranas have been already frequently quoted, because they comprise the genealogies of various dynasties, especially of the solar and lunar races; which are valuable, although sometimes misleading, being evidently a compilation of fragments obtained from family records. Many historical documents probably yet remain uninjured, hidden away from the desolating torch of the soldiers of the Crescent, who generally did their utmost to destroy the writings of an idolatrous people, at least any that might appear connected with their creed, which all were more or less. Doubtless much valuable data has thus utterly perished; and the loss is now irreparable. The remark made by the people of Rajast'han to Colonel Tod, when he complained of the numerous deficiencies in their annals, was sufficient explanation and apology. "When our princes," said they, "were in exile, driven from hold to hold, and com-

* *Vide* Dr. Royle's Essay on the *Antiquity of the Indian Materia Medica.*

pelled to dwell in the clefts of the mountains, often doubtful whether they would not be obliged to abandon the very meal preparing for them—was that a time to think of historical records?"*

In the lighter department of literature they excel; and, indeed, in tales and fables appear to have set the example to the rest of mankind, since to them may be traced the subjects of the most popular Oriental and even European fictions.†

Their *music* is said to have been systematic and refined, but it has since greatly deteriorated: *painting* was probably always at a low ebb, unless beautifully illustrated manuscripts may form an exception—in which, however, the figures are the worst executed portion of the ornaments. Their ancient *sculpture* often presents spirited and sometimes exceedingly graceful groups; but is generally rendered unpleasing, not only by the grotesque and many-limbed forms of the gods and goddesses, but also by their ignorance of anatomy, and inattention, even as copyists, to the symmetrical arrangement of the limbs and muscles, and to the maintenance of proportion between different figures.

Architecture early became a favourite and practical study,‡ but varied greatly in different parts of India (*vide* section on topography). It is said that the arch was not understood before the Mussulman era, but this seems to be contradicted by the age of some specimens which still exist. Tanks or reservoirs for irrigation or for bathing were made on a scale of great extent and magnificence, and also wells of considerable depth and breadth, the more ancient of which were square and surrounded by galleries, with a broad flight of steps from top to bottom. Their triumphal columns and massive gateways and pagodas take rank among the finest specimens of the architecture of any nation.

Their *manufactures* and *commerce* have been noticed sufficiently for the present purpose: their mode of *agriculture* was so nearly what it is at present, that that subject, together with their rights in the land and the *revenue system* generally, may be best deferred for examination to a future chapter.

Chariots were drawn in war by horses, but on a march by oxen and sometimes by camels. Elephant chariots were also kept as a piece of extraordinary magnificence, used in their famous festivals, when well appointed troops marched in procession; and thrones, tables, goblets, lavers, set with precious stones, and robes of exquisite colours richly embroidered with gold, were borne along in state. Tame lions and panthers formed part of the show which birds, remarkable for gorgeous plumage or sweet song, were made to enliven; being conveyed on trees transported on large waggons. In short, a Hindoo fête in the ancient days, was a thing that even a Parisian of the time of the second Buonaparte might sigh for—always excepting fireworks, for it does not appear that they had any knowledge of gunpowder, although in war they are said to have used arrows tipped with some combustible or explosive compound.

The *police system* Megasthenes declared to be excellent; *royal roads* are spoken of by Strabo, in one place, and mile-stones in another.§ The *dress*, as described by Arrian,|| was precisely the two wrappers of cotton cloth, still worn by the people of Bengal and by strict Brahmins everywhere.

It is asserted that no *Indian coinage* existed prior to the introduction of that of the Greeks or Bactrians. This, if proved, would be no criterion of barbarism: the Chinese, at the present day, have no gold or silver pieces—their only coin being a small alloyed copper "cash," of which about a thousand are equal to one Spanish dollar. All sales have for ages been regulated by bars or blocks of the precious metals, with a stamped attestation of their respective purity; and it is possible that in ancient times a similar course was pursued in India. There are however passages in a Sanscrit play and in the penal code of the Hindoos which refer, not only to the standard, but to the fabric and stamp of coin, and to the punishments due to the fabricators and falsifiers of the public monies. Small flat pieces of silver, square, round, or oblong, weighing from forty-eight to fifty grains, with a rude punch, symbolical of a sun, moon, or star, or a nondescript figure, of an unknown age, have been found in considerable quantities in various localities.

Hindoo gold and silver coins, tolerably well executed, have been discovered at Beghram, Cutch, Benares, and other places appertaining to the Balhara dynasty; which is thought to have ruled the country from Oojein to the Indus, 375 years posterior to the

* *Rajast'han*, vol. i. p. ix.

† *Vide Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 166, on the Indian origin of European fables.

‡ *Essay on Hindoo Architecture* by Râm Râz, published by the Oriental Translation Fund.

§ Strabo, lib. xv., pp. 474—404, ed. 1587.

|| *Indica*, cap. xvi.

Vicramaditya era. Coins of the Chandra Gupta dynasty have been collected from the ruins of Behat near the Doab Canal, and at Canouj; others, of a Jain or Boodhistical type, have been procured at Rajast'han and at Hurdwar on the Ganges.

Recent investigations* have brought to light no inconsiderable quantity of Indo-Scythian and Sassanian coins, which gradually mixed with and at length merged into a distinct Hindoo type. This, with modifications, lasted to the time of the Mohammedan conquerors. A very curious English collection of Hindoo silver monies connects two dynasties; indeed, there are not many links wanting to form an entire series of Greek, Bactrian, Nysæan,† Sassanian, Indo-Scythian, and Hindoo‡ (Guzerat, Rajpoot, Canouj, or Rahtore, &c.) coins, from the time of Alexander to that of the Moslems in the eleventh century. The Roman coins discovered in India extend in antiquity through a period of more than 1,000 years, from the Augustan age down to the decline of the Lower empire; those generally found are of the smaller denominations, consisting of the common currency of the eastern parts of the empire: many of the copper coins are of Egyptian fabrication.

Bactria, Aria, and Parthia.—The two first-named countries, comprising the territory lying on either side of the Hindoo Koosh, between the Oxus and Indus Rivers, are on the high road of Asiatic conquest, and have been the battle-field of every tribe and nation that has risen to dominion in the East. Parthia has been always intimately connected with them, and the three have jointly and severally exercised an influence in India, the extent and nature of which is still but imperfectly understood.

Recent discoveries of coins (above referred to) have confirmed and augmented the information bequeathed by ancient authors, and thrown a new light on the connection which existed with the kingdom of Bactria—that is, of the country watered by the Oxus and its tributaries, and separated from Hindoostan by the range of mountains whence the Oxus and Indus derive their respective sources. It has been already stated, that after the first contest for the partition of the vast empire of Alexander, all his eastern conquests, including Hyrcania, Parthia, Bactria, Aria,§ &c., were appropriated by Seleucus. Bactria remained subject to his descendants, until civil wars and the impending revolt of the Parthians induced Diodotus, or Theodotus, the satrap or governor of the province, to assert his independence and become the first king, about 250, or, according to Bayer, 255, B.C. Parthia also successfully revolted from the sway of the Seleucidæ, under Arsaces,|| who, according to Strabo, was by birth a Bactrian, but is called by other writers a Dahian, that is, a native of Sogdiana:¶ whoever he was, he appears to have used Greek only on his coins and in his public letters and correspondence.

Bactria itself, however, cannot be supposed to have been colonised by any great body of Greeks, but probably received many of the partially-disciplined recruits raised by Alexander during the later part of his progress. Even the Greeks, by intermarriage with Persian, and doubtless with Indian wives, would soon lose their distinctive character; and after the establishment of Parthian power, the immigration of adventurers from Greece, and, indeed, all communication with that country would cease. This accounts for the total silence of Greek authors respecting the termination of the Bactrian kingdom. Its limits, during the most flourishing period, included some parts of India. Strabo quotes an ancient author, who asserts that the Bactrians possessed

* See *Ariana Antiqua*, a descriptive account of the antiquities and coins of Afghanistan, with a memoir of the buildings, called topes, by C. Masson, Esq. Edited by Prof. Wilson, 4to, 1841. Also the expositions of J. Prinsep in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*; and H. T. Prinsep's *Hist. Results.*

† The features of the sovereigns of the various dynasties stamped on these coins are quite distinct, and they are generally well executed. The Nysæan have a fillet or diadem round the head; reverse, a horseman; the Indo-Scythian an erect figure of Hercules resting on his club: the Sassanian, a fire altar on the reverse. The legends are generally in Greek, or in Pehlevi, a language which was contemporary with the Parsi (of Persia), and the Zend (of Media), five or six hundred years, B.C. It was used in the region round Assyria, and probably in Assyria itself,—but together with the Zend has been a dead language for more than two thousand years.

‡ The ancient Hindoo coins have various devices—a horseman, a horse, an elephant, a lion, a bull, an antelope, a goat, the Sankh, or sacred shell, or the hieroglyphic called *Swastika.*

§ Aria is the territory of which Herat is the capital. Ariana (Eeran) is the general name for the country east of Persia and Media to the Indus.

|| Sogdiana designates the mountains which feed the Jaxartes and divide that river from the Oxus.

¶ Arsaces was the title of Parthian princes. The Parthians were the Sacæ of Asia, and Saca-dwipa (the country of the Sacæ) lay about the fountains of of the Oxus.—Conder's *Modern Traveller.* (*India.*)

"the most conspicuous part of Ariana" (Khorasan), and conquered more nations in India than even Alexander. In this last achievement the principal actors were Menander, Appollodotus, and Demetrius, who are mentioned together by Strabo; but their date and the limits of their sway are not clearly stated. Demetrius is a puzzle, or rather the site of his kingdom, for he once had one, and was a conqueror besides. Two or three of his coins have been found in Cabool, not sufficient to establish the fact of his rule there, but rather the reverse; two or three others — of silver — have been brought from Bokhara. Appollodotus and Menander* certainly ruled over Cabool, their copper coins being found in such numbers, and so constantly, as to prove they were once a currency there; but then, as regards Appollodotus, Cabool is held to have been merely a province, his capital being established elsewhere, to be looked for, perhaps, where his copper money was circular instead of square, as at Cabool, and such circular coins are discovered more eastward in the Punjaub, and even at Muttra (the old Methora), on the Jumna. Masson strongly suspects the kingdom of Appollodotus and Menander to have been rather Indian than Bactrian; and Professor Lassen supposes three kingdoms to have existed besides that of Bactria, of which the eastern, under Menander and Appollodotus, comprehended the Punjaub and the valley of the Indus, with Cabool and Arachosia, or Candahar, added in times of prosperity. The western kingdom, he places conjecturally at Heerat and in Seestan, and the third would include the Paropamisan region, which, however, Prinsep inclines to attribute to Bactria.† Unfortunately, no information has been obtained to prove how far north or west of Cabool the currencies of the aforesaid kings spread, otherwise the limits of their rule might have been partially traced in those directions. The Greeks, under Menander, made extensive conquests, subduing the Seres and Shauni to the north and north-east of India; crossing the Hypanis (Hyphasis, or Beyah), and proceeding as far as the Isamus to the south-eastward; and on the south-westward reducing Pattalene, that is, the country about Tatta, forming the Delta of the Indus. All the intermediate territory appears, from the statement of Strabo, to have been vanquished; and we might form a tolerably satisfactory conclusion as to its extent, but for doubts suggested of the meaning of the word *Isamus*. This is by some considered to denote the Jumna River, by others the Himalaya Mountains (sometimes called Imaus), and, thirdly, with perhaps better reason, the Isamutti River, which falls into the Hooghly, a western branch of the Ganges.

Bactria Proper, as established by Diodotus, appears to have continued through his successors Diodotus II., Euthydemus, Eucratides, and his successor (supposed by De Guignes and Bayer to have been his son and murderer, Eucratides II., but by Masson, Heliocles), until about 125 years B.C., when, (according to Chinese records, quoted by De Guignes) a great movement which took place in Central or Eastern Tartary impelled across the Jaxartes (Sir) an irresistible torrent of Scythian hordes. This statement is corroborated by the testimony of Strabo, who gives the names of the four principal tribes by whom the overthrow of the Greek kingdom was effected. From these names they would appear to have been composed of a mixture of Getæ or Goths, Dahi or Dacians, Sakarauli or Sakas, and Tochari, perhaps, but not certainly, Turks. All seized portions of Bactria; and after some time the Getæ subdued the others, and advanced upon India. Crossing the Hindoo Koosh, they dispossessed the successor of Hermias, if not the old king himself; and their presence is very clearly indicated by those coins bearing the name of that king, with the prefix Su. Soon after the coinage was varied; busts probably intended to represent their own kings or chiefs were introduced, and Bactro-Pali legends on the reverse, much differing from the Greek ones encircling the busts—the latter, indeed, becoming unintelligible. The Getæ, moreover, we are assured, retained power in the countries bordering on the Indus for four centuries—liable, necessarily, to vicissitudes,

* Whether Appollodotus succeeded or preceded Menander is uncertain, but an opinion may be raised that although always mentioned first, he really followed Menander, because his circular coins so closely resemble in style and fabric those of Azes (in Bactro-Pali, Aya) that it is evident the one currency followed the other, in the Punjaub and to the east, but not in Cabool, where that of Hermias prevailed. For this remark, as well as other information interwoven in the text conveying a brief sketch of Bactrian affairs, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Charles Masson.

† Because of the bilingual as well as pure Greek coins of Heliocles and Antimachus, kings of Bactria. —*Historical Results deducible from recent discoveries in Afghanistan*, by H. Prinsep, Esq., p. 66.

but still maintaining themselves until finally overcome by the Huns. The Parthians benefited by the occasion of attacking Eucratides, and deprived him of two satrapies; but although certain coins bearing a national tinge, with an attempted imitation of the names and titles of Heliocles are found in Cabool, there is little other evidence of Parthian rule there—while in the Punjaub, immediately on the banks of the Indus, there is more. It is not improbable, that they contested the possession of Cabool with the Getæ, but were unsuccessful, and directed their attention rather to Sinde, and thence ascended the Indus; but it may be doubted if these Parthians were those established in Persia—although of the same or kindred race—they may have been Dahæ. Though weakened and disorganised, Bactria cannot have been entirely overwhelmed by Scythian or Parthian incursions, that is not in the time of Eucratides or Heliocles, since Horace, 120 years later, deemed it of sufficient importance to engage the attention of Augustus. Its final disruption by Parthian agency must have been of considerably later date.

The fortunes of *Parthia* likewise underwent considerable vicissitudes. Arsaces possessed only Parthia and Hyrcania, the nucleus of his sovereignty being the colonies planted by Alexander eighty years before. His immediate successors were brave and valiant, and their empire at one time extended from the Euphrates to the Jaxartes; but whether it included or received tribute from the ancient soil of the Hindoos is little better than matter of conjecture.* The sceptre of Persia continued to be wielded by this line until A.D. 235, when Ardeshur Babakun, or Artaxerxes, a distinguished officer of the Parthian army—having been slighted by the reigning monarch, Arsaces-Artabanus—revolted, and after three severe battles, conquered and slew Artabanus, and established his own dynasty, the Sassanian, being crowned at Balkh, where his last victory was gained. Thus closed the Greco-Parthian dominion in central Asia, after a continuance of very nearly 500 years; and the same date marks the end of the transition of Parthia back from Hellenism to an entirely Asiatic sovereignty and condition of society. The system of government had been always purely Asiatic; that is, by subordinate satraps or viceroys invested with full and absolute authority over the person and property of the people committed to their charge. Alexander had experienced the evils of thus forming an *Imperium in imperio* in every province, in the misconduct of several satraps during his absence in the Indian campaign; and, had he lived, would probably have introduced a sounder system; but his successors had neither the ability to plan, nor perhaps opportunity to execute, any such radical change in their respective governments. They lacked, moreover, the prestige of their great master's name and character, which had alone enabled him to check the ambition or rapacity of his vicegerents, by the exercise of an arbitrary power of removal. After his death, the method generally adopted of controlling, removing, or punishing a military satrap, was to turn against him the arms of a rival neighbour. The result was, of course, the origin of a number of irresponsible despots. Keeping this in mind, it is the less surprising that Parthian coins should be found, asserting independence and bearing arrogant titles, in Afghanistan, since these may indicate nothing but the temporary successes or pretensions of various petty satraps.† The most celebrated of the later Sassanian kings was Chosroes, who reigned from 531 to 571; his grandson was deposed in 628, and after a few years of tumult and distraction, Persia fell under the power of the Caliphs, by whom it has ever since been ruled.

* Mithridates II., who reigned in the early part of the century before the Christian era, and whose death was followed by an interregnum of civil war, or doubtful sovereignty, in Parthia, was the first of the Arsacidæ who adopted the title of "Great King of Kings," which is believed to be of Indian origin, and was probably assumed after the acquisition of countries bordering on India.—Prinsep's *Historical Results*, p. 67.

† *Vide* Prinsep's *Historical Results*, for much interesting discussion regarding Bactrian coins, especially the opinions of Wilson, Masson, and Lassen; also regarding the newly-deciphered language generally used in writing, when Greek became quite extinct, called Arian, Arianian, Bactrian, and Caboolian, according to the supposed locality of its native use. Mr. James Prinsep, (whose laborious investigations had before been mainly instrumental in restoring the language of the ancient Indian kings who made treaties with Antiochus and Seleucus,) while examining coins with bilingual inscriptions, used the names given in Greek on one side, to find out those of the unknown language on the other. He thus obtained a key to the alphabet, and deciphered words which proved to be Pracrit (the vernacular form of Sanscrit), written semitically from right to left. There are still, however, some inscriptions in the Arian characters upon rocks and on the relics of topes and tumuli, remaining to reward further research.

Mohammedan to British Epoch.—In the beginning of the seventh century, when the Christian church was torn by dissensions and perplexed by heresies, and when the greater part of the inhabitants of Asia and of Africa were sunk in barbarism, enfeebled by sensuality, or enslaved by idolatry, there arose on the shores of the Red Sea, a Power, at once religious and militant, which rapidly attained and has since continued to exercise an extraordinary influence on the condition of one-third of the human race.

Arabia is considered by oriental writers to have been originally colonised by the posterity of Shem and Ham, the former having followed pastoral, the latter agricultural pursuits; to these were subsequently added a mixed race—the descendants of Abraham, through Ishmael, the son of Hagar the bondwoman.* The posterity of Ham, through Cush and Nimrod, his son and grandson, brought with them from Mesopotamia one of the most ancient languages (supposed to be the Himyaritic, still spoken in parts of the country), and the creed of the Patriarchs, or at least a portion of it; that is, the existence of one God, the Creator and Governor of the world, and the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, of future rewards and punishments. A sense of sin and unworthiness probably induced "the adoration of heavenly spirits as mediators between man and one immutable Holy Being; and to these they raised temples and altars for sacrifices and supplications, to which were subsequently added fastings."† The sun and moon next became the objects of worship, at first probably as symbols; next followed the seven planets, the twelve signs of the zodiac, and the twenty-four constellations. Almost every tribe had its peculiar idol, dead men were worshipped, and also angels or genii; some even denied all kinds of revelation, having sunk into the lowest depths of idolatry; but the descendants of Shem passed from pure Theism into Sabæism, or a belief in the peopling of the heavenly bodies with superior intelligences, by whom the lives and actions of men were regulated. The immigration of a few Jewish and Christian tribes had introduced among the more thoughtful, purer notions both of faith and practice; but these had made little progress among the mass of the people, who, as regarded their political and social state, were still, as they had been for ages, to a great extent isolated by poverty and by geographical position, from the rest of the world. Their country, consisting of some mountain tracts and rich oases, separated or surrounded by a sandy desert, has been aptly compared to the coasts and islands of a sea.‡ The desert was thinly scattered with small camps of predatory horsemen, who pitched their tents wherever a well of water could be found; and aided by the much-enduring camel, overspread extensive regions, to the great peril and anxiety of peaceful travellers. The settled inhabitants, though more civilized, were scarcely less simple in their habits; the various tribes formed distinct communities, between whom there could be little communication except by rapid journeys on horseback or tedious marches, in the present caravanseray fashion. Each tribe acknowledged as its chief the representative of their common ancestor; but probably little check was ever imposed upon the liberty of individuals, save in rare cases, when the general interest imperatively demanded such interference. The physical features of the land and its scanty agricultural resources helped to foster the hardy and self-reliant character of its sons, who, unconnected by the strong ties of religious or commercial fellowship, and never compelled to unite against a foreign foe, found vent in the innumerable feuds which constantly spring up between independent tribes and families, for the warlike and roving instincts which seem so inseparably bound up with the wiry, lithesome, supple frame, and the fiery, yet imaginative and sensuous temperament, of the Arab.

Such a people, united for a common purpose under a common leader, might, it was evident, accomplish extraordinary results; and purpose and leader were presented to them in the person of a man, whose fame as a subjugator may be mentioned in the same page with that of Alexander the Great, and who, as a lawgiver, takes much higher rank—higher, that is, in the sense of having used and abused powers never entrusted to the Macedonian. Mohammed the False Prophet, was, beyond all doubt, intimately acquainted with both the Jewish and Chris-

* Ishmael is said to have married the daughter of Mozauz or Modhaugh, the sovereign of Hijaz.—(See tabular genealogies of these three tribes in Colonel Chesney's work on the Euphrates and Tigris, vol. i.) The sons of Ham, *Cush*, *Mizraim*, *Phut*, and Canaan peopled parts of Western Asia, as well as Africa.

† *Ecchellensis, Chron. Orien.*, App., c. 6, p. 148.

‡ Elphinstone, vol. i., p. 488.

tian scriptures, he recognised the mighty truths they contained, and the sharp weapons those truths would afford, wielded against idolatry. Incited by strangely-blended motives of ambition and fanaticism, he boldly defied the curse pronounced on those most impious of all deceivers, who shall dare to add unto, or take away from, the revealed word of God. (*Revelation, ch.* xxii. *v.* 18, 19.)

It is necessary to know something of his private life, before we can understand the steps by which an unknown enthusiast sprang suddenly into importance; and, gathering together with marvellous skill and energy the scattered tribes, formed them into a nation, prohibited retaliation without the previous sanction of a trial and a sentence, and in short, induced them to abandon intestine strife and combine in a religious crusade. Mohammed was born A.D. 569, at Mecca, one of the oldest cities in the world, and belonged to the head family of the tribe of Koreish, who were the hereditary guardians of the great temple of Caaba, which is built round a well, supposed to be that miraculously pointed out to Hagar to save the life of Ishmael. Tradition declares the temple itself, or at least the first temple which existed on this site, to have been vouchsafed in answer to the prayer of Adam, who implored that he might be permitted to have a sanctuary like that in which he had worshipped in Eden. The prayer was granted, and in curtains of light a model of the paradisaical temple was let down, precisely beneath the spot where the original had stood. On this model Seth built a temple, which was swept away by the deluge, but rebuilt by Abraham and Isaac. The worship offered in the Caaba was at the beginning of the sixth century idolatrous, the chief objects being Abraham and Ishmael, to whose images, each holding a bunch of arrows, such as the Arabs use for divining, regular worship was offered. Thus Abraham, the divinely-commissioned witness against idolatry, became in process of time the object of the very crime he had so zealously condemned. With him and his son there appear to have been in all 360 gods, the number having probably reference to the days of the Persian year.

The chief command of the Caaba and of the city were vested in the same person, and to this double office of priest and chief Mohammed was presumptive heir, when the death of his father Abdallah before his grandfather, cut him off from the succession, and threw him a destitute orphan on the care of his uncle, Abu Taleb, who taught him the business of a merchant, and carried him on long trading journeys into Syria, thus giving him early insight into foreign countries and creeds. When but fourteen, Mohammed entered into a rancorous war that had broken out among the tribes, and greatly distinguished himself for courage and ability. Till twenty-five he remained in the service of his uncle, and then married Kadijah, the richly-endowed widow of a merchant of Mecca. Thus raised to independence, he was enabled to pursue the objects most congenial to his own mind; but the nature of his occupations for many years is unknown. Some suppose him to have employed that long interval in the study of various manuscripts, although throughout his life he constantly affirmed himself unable to read or write* a single word. It is very possible that, by the aid of a retentive memory, he might have obtained orally a great part, or even the whole, of the information he possessed, especially with regard to the unity of God, by intercourse with a cousin of his wife's, named Warka ben Naufel, who was skilled in Jewish learning, and is said to have translated the Scriptures from Hebrew into Arabic. He withdrew himself at length from all society, and spent long periods in complete solitude in the cave of Hara, near his native city, giving free scope to meditations, which brought him to the verge if not actually into the abyss of insanity, and opened a door for fancied visions and every species of mental delusion. At length, when about forty years of age, he declared his alleged mission to his wife, and afterwards to a few of his family; and, some three or four years after, publicly announced himself as "the last and greatest of the prophets." He is represented as having been a man of middle size, singularly muscular, with a very large head, prominent forehead, eyebrows nearly meeting, but divided by a vein, which in times of excitement throbbed violently, black flashing eyes, aquiline nose, full and florid cheeks, large mouth, and small teeth of the most exquisite whiteness; glossy black hair fell over his shoulders, and a full beard flowed down upon his chest. His countenance is alleged to have been beautiful in the extreme, and to

* Perhaps the strongest presumption against the truth of this assertion, is the circumstance of his calling for a pen that he might write, while delirious, during his last illness. The request was refused.

have added not a little to the effect produced by his insinuating address and consummate eloquence upon the impressionable natures of his countrymen.* The creed he first taught was simply this:—"There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet;" and all who received and repeated this comprehensive formula were styled "true believers." The Koran he declared to be a perfect book, already written in heaven, but communicated to him in portions only, through the medium of the angel Gabriel. This provision enabled him to disseminate his doctrines gradually, to observe the manner in which they were received, and to modify and even change them at successive periods; but, at the same time, the very facility of obviating immediate difficulties, led to many discrepancies and contradictions in his pretended revelations. In spite, however, of much extravagance, of the wildest dreams related as if sober realities, and, worse than all, of the glaring impiety of pleading the Divine command as a reason for intolerance and immorality, many chapters of the Koran are still remarkable as compositions.† They stamp their author as far superior to any existing writer of his country, and even exhibit him in the light of a reformer—for his religion was founded on the sublime theology of the Old Testament, and his morality, faulty indeed in comparison with the Christian code, was yet far purer than that then general in Arabia, for it must be remembered that Mohammed represented himself as privileged to break through at pleasure the very rules he most strenuously enforced on others. The Koran abounds in admonitions to spiritual and moral excellence, enunciates the necessary laws and directions for the guidance of Mohammedans, and especially enjoins the worship and reverence of the only true God, and resignation to his will. In the course of its 114 chapters, Adam, Noah, Moses, Joseph, David, Solomon, and other patriarchs, prophets, and kings, are referred to by name, the facts being evidently derived from the Jewish Scriptures, the fictions in which they are enveloped, from tradition, or more frequently from the teeming brain of the impostor. It seems almost profanation to mention the sacred name of the Great Redeemer in connection with the lying tales of the False Prophet. Suffice it to say that His divine mission is recognised in the Koran, but His divinity denied.

For ten years after the first public announcement of his alleged calling, Mohammed continued to play the part of a zealous and enduring missionary, suffering himself "to be abused, to be spit upon, to have dust thrown upon him, and to be dragged out of the temple by his own turban fastened to his neck."‡ Persecution had its usual effect of drawing its object into notice; his doctrines gradually took root, until, upon the death of his uncle and protector, Abu Taleb, the rulers of Mecca determined on his destruction. He lost his faithful wife and earliest convert, Kadijah, about the same time, and a complete change came over him.

At Medina, 270 miles from Mecca, his doctrines had been favourably received, and a deputation from that city invited him to become its governor. He gladly fled thither, escaping, by stratagem, from a conspiracy formed in Mecca, leaving his young cousin Ali lying on his bed, covered with his well-known green robe. The Hejira or flight forms the era from which Mohammedans date; it occurred A.D. 622. On his arrival at Medina, whither all his converts followed him, he was immediately made governor. Many Jews and Christians then resided there, the latter he rather favoured, but the former as a nation incurred his bitter enmity, by indignantly rejecting his overtures to become proselytes, or to aid in making Jerusalem the head-quarters of the new creed. Once established at Medina he built a mosque, threw off his submissive attitude, and declared his intention of having recourse to arms in his own defence, and also for the conversion or extermination of infidels. He strengthened his cause by several marriages, and subsequently added to the number, as policy or inclination prompted, until he had fifteen, or as some say, twenty-one so-called legitimate wives—other men being allowed four at the utmost. The true secret of his success probably lay in the

* For a graphic and condensed account of the impostor and his early proceedings, see a published lecture on Mohammedanism, by the Rev. W. Arthur. Major Price's compendious *Mahommedan History* is an excellent book of reference, as well as of agreeable reading.

† "The style of the Koran," says its able translator, Mr. Sale, "is generally beautiful and fluent, especially where it imitates the prophetic manner and scripture phrases: it is concise and often obscure, adorned with bold figures after the Eastern taste, and in many places, especially where the majesty and attributes of God are described, sublime and magnificent."—(*Preliminary Discourse*, p. 44.)

‡ *Tarikhi Tabari;* quoted by Col. Kennedy, in the *Bombay Literary Transactions*, vol. iii.

force of his grand doctrine of the unity and omnipotence of God, as contrasted with idolatry. This he declared was to be insisted upon everywhere, at the cost of life itself, which it was meritorious to lavish freely, whether that of believers in spreading the right faith, or of infidels to lessen their number. The enthusiastic Arabs were easily induced to unite as fellow-workers in an enterprize they believed enjoined by the direct command of God, and eagerly dared the fiercest contest in the battle-field, intoxicated by the lying words which asserted that "the sword is the key of heaven and of hell; a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, or a night spent under arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting or prayer. Whoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven at the day of judgment; his wounds shall be resplendent as vermillion and odoriferous as musk; the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubims."*

The first contest, which took place at Beder between 300 of the Mohammedans and 900 of the Koreish tribe, terminated in favour of the new sect, and laid the foundation of a great military empire, of such rapid growth, that when in the tenth year of the Hejira, and the sixty-third of his age, Mohammed lay writhing in the last struggles of the long agony of four years' duration, which followed the eating of the poisoned dish prepared by the persecuted Jews of Chaibar—not only was all Arabia united under his sway, but the king of Persia, the emperor of Rome, and the king of Ethiopia had been called upon to acknowledge his divine mission and receive the Koran: the dominions of the emperor (Heraclius) had indeed been actually invaded by a successful expedition into Syria. Yet this was but the nucleus of the singular power exercised by his successors, for instead of falling to pieces like a snow-ball in the contest for its possession, as might have been expected, since Mohammed, like Alexander, left no undoubted heir, the reins of government were placed by his followers in the hand of Abubekir, one of the earliest of the so-called "true believers," in spite of the opposition of Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of Mohammed, who had expected to be chosen caliph and imaum.† Abubekir, fearing the revival of the domestic feuds of tribes or clans, forthwith proclaimed anew throughout the Arabian peninsula the favourite and convenient doctrine of the False Prophet, that fighting for religion was the most acceptable service which man could render to his Maker, and declared his intention of sending an army for the complete subjugation of Syria. The life and rule of Abubekir terminated in two years. In accordance with his desire, Omar, a noble citizen of Mecca, acceded to the supreme authority, with the title of "commander of the faithful." Under his vigorous rule the Arabs invaded Persia and utterly destroyed the second or Parthian empire, gained complete possession of Syria, after defeating 40,000 Greeks in a severe contest on the *Yermuk,* a river running into the lake of Tiberias, and, as a crowning triumph, compelled the surrender of Jerusalem, for which, as the "city of the prophets," Mohammed had always professed high veneration.

Egypt was over-run by Khaled, a general whose victories had procured from Mohammed the title of "the sword of God," and Alexandria was speedily added to the brilliant roll of Mussulman conquests. The great abilities, united to extreme simplicity and purity of life, which distinguished Omar, doubtless contributed to the spread of the doctrines and temporal sway of the people he governed. At the expiration of ten years he was slain while praying in the mosque, by a Persian, whose rage was excited by being obliged to pay two pieces of silver daily, as a penalty for refusing to abjure his faith—the alternatives offered by the Mohammedans, being "the Koran, tribute, or the sword." The large majority of the conquered chose the first, especially in Persia, where a lifeless form of government and a fantastic and superstitious creed, needed but a slight shock to hasten the progress of decay, and crumble into dust, to be moulded anew and receive vital energy, in greater or less degree, according to the will and ability of the first dominant power which might be brought to bear upon it. The doctrine of the unity and omnipotence of God was received by the Persians as a mighty truth, divinely revealed to man, as it really was, notwithstanding the false and distorted medium through which it reached them, and it must have peculiarly commended itself to all who had seriously considered the

* The *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* contains a detailed account of the rise and progress of the Moslem empire, written with all the power and caustic irony peculiar to Gibbon.

† That is, civil and spiritual ruler, or high-pontiff.

subject of religion, by freeing them from the enthralment of a cowardly and degrading system, which taught men to seek the aid or deprecate the wrath of beings who added to superhuman influence the worst vices of fallen creatures.

Othman succeeded Omar, but quickly displeased his generals, and at the close of a turbulent reign of twelve years, was besieged in his own house, and after a long defence, murdered with the Koran on his knee. Ali was at length elected caliph, notwithstanding the rivalry of Mauwiyah, the lieutenant of Syria, but assassinated within five years in Persia, while entering a mosque for evening worship. His son and successor Hassan, was defeated by Mauwiyah and abdicated in his favour. The new caliph, the founder of the dynasty of the Ommiades, extended the dominion of the Arabs to the Atlantic, having subjugated all Roman or Northern Africa.

In A.D. 713, Spain was subdued, and the Mussulmans continued to advance until they had reached the heart of France, but were met on the Loire, in 732, between Poitiers and Tours, by Charles Martel, and utterly routed.

The last caliph of the dynasty of the Ommiades (Merwan) was slain in a sedition raised by the descendants of Abbas, Mohammed's uncle. The second prince of this dynasty built the city of Bagdad and removed the seat of government thither; the fifth was the famous Haroun al Raschid. Under the Abbassides learning flourished and the original simplicity of the court gave way to luxury and magnificence, but the coherent strength of the now vast empire was on the decline, and a gradual but sure progress of dismemberment commenced. In Spain, a branch of the Ommiades maintained an independent sway; Khorassan and Transoxiana became virtually independent, and in Egypt, descendants of Fatima, (daughter of Mohammed and wife to Ali,) established a distinct caliphate. The fortunes of these new powers will be noticed when connected with India, as also those of the Seljuk tribe, whose barbarities at Jerusalem (under the dreaded name of Saracens) provoked the nations of Christendom to attempt the rescue of the Holy Land; but the struggle carried on there for nearly three centuries, never immediately affected the centre of the Mohammedan empire, which continued at Bagdad for about 500 years. Mustassem was caliph when Hulaku, a descendant of the celebrated Jengis Khan, besieged and captured Bagdad. The cruel victor, after mocking his wretched prisoner with vain hopes until he had obtained his hidden treasures, exposed him for some days to the lingering torments of starvation, and then, under the pretence of unwillingness to shed his blood, caused him to be wrapped in coarse camlet, and rolled about on the ground until he expired. Thus perished the last of the Abbassides, A.D. 1258. In the city alone, 800,000 persons, or according to some authorities, a much greater number were slain, so that the Tigris was dyed with gore.

Indo-Arabic Conquests.—In A.D. 664, a large force marched from Meru to Cabool, and made converts of upwards of 12,000 persons. At the same time, Mohalib, (afterwards an eminent commander in Persia and Arabia,) proceeded thence with a detachment in the direction of India, penetrated to Moultan, and having plundered the country, triumphantly rejoined the army at Khorassan, bringing with him many captives, who were compelled to declare themselves converts to the Moslem* creed. No further attempt is recorded as having been made on the north of India during the continuance of the Arab rule, but the prince of Cabool appears to have been rendered tributary, if not subject to the caliphs, since his revolt is mentioned by Ferishta,† as the occasion of a new invasion of his territories eighteen years later. The Arabs at this period met with an unexpected check: they were drawn into a defile, defeated, and compelled to surrender, and to purchase their freedom by an ample ransom. One old contemporary of Mohammed is said to have disdained all compromise, and to have fallen by the swords of the infidels. This disgrace was immediately revenged by the Arab governor of Seestan,

* Islam, derived from an Arabic root, signifies "the true faith," Moslem or Mussulman a believer therein.

† Mohammed Kasim, surnamed Ferishta, resided at the court of Ibrahim Adil Shah II., at Beejapoor, about the close of the sixteenth century, and, sustained by royal patronage and assistance in collecting authorities, wrote a history of the rise of the Mohammedan power in India till the year 1612, which has been ably translated from the original Persian by Colonel Briggs. A considerable portion of it had been previously rendered into English by Colonel Dow, but the value of his work is lessened by mistranslations, and also by being largely interspersed with reflections and facts collated from other sources, which, though often interesting and important in themselves, are so closely interwoven with the text as to leave the reader in doubt regarding the portion which actually rests on the testimony of Ferishta.

and yet more completely by Abdurehman, governor of Khorassan, who in A.D. 699, led a powerful army in person against the city, and reduced the greater part of the country to subjection. A quarrel with Hejaj, the governor of Bassora, led Abdurehman into rebellion against the reigning caliph (Abdel-melek, one of the Ommiades), whereupon he formed an alliance with his former enemy, the prince of Cabool, in whose dominions he was compelled to take refuge, and at length, to avoid being given up to his enemies, committed suicide.*

The nation to which this prince of Cabool belonged is rendered doubtful by the position of his capital at a corner where the countries of the Paropamisan Indians, the Afghans, the Persians, and the Tartars are closely adjoining each other. Elphinstone supposes him to have been a Persian, and considers it very improbable that he could have been an Afghan, as Cabool is never known to have been possessed by a tribe of that nation.

At this period the northern portion of the tract included in the branches of the Hindoo Coosh, and now inhabited by the Eimaks and Hazarehs, was known by the name of the mountains of Ghor, and probably occupied by Afghans, as also the middle part, all of which seems to have been included in the mountains of Soliman.† The southern portion, known by the name of the mountains of Mekran, were inhabited by Beloochees as at present; and the other ridges connected with the same range as those of Ghor, but situated to the east of the range of Imaus and Soliman, were probably tenanted by Indians, descendants of the Paropamisadæ. Ferishta seems to have been led by their traditions to believe the Afghans‡ to have been converted to Mohammedanism in the life-time of its originator, and represents them as invading the territory of the Hindoos as early as A.H. 63, and as afterwards continually engaged in hostilities with the Rajah of Lahore, until, in conjunction with the Gukkurs (a people on the hills east of the Indus), they obtained from him a cession of territory, secretly engaging in return to protect him from the attacks of other Mussulmans. It was owing to this compact that the princes of the house of Samani never invaded the north of India, but confined their predatory incursions to Sinde. Ferishta further mentions that the Afghans gave an asylum to the remains of the Arabs who were driven out of Sinde in the second century of the Hejira.§

This account is on the whole sufficiently probable. The Afghans may have willingly received the Koran‖ long before their subjugation by Sultan Mahmood. On the subject of their early religion, Mohammedan historians afford no light, owing to their not distinguishing denominations of infidels. Arab descents on Sinde by sea are mentioned as early as the caliphate of Omar, but they were probably piratical expeditions, undertaken for the purpose of carrying off the women of the country, whose beauty seems to have been much esteemed in Arabia. Several detachments were also sent through the south of Mekran (the Gedrosia of Alexander), during the reigns of the early caliphs, but all failed owing to the impracticable character of this barren region.

At length, in the reign of the caliph Walid, an Arab ship laden with slave-girls and rarities from Sinde having been seized at Dival or Dewal, a sea-port connected with Sinde (supposed to be the site of the modern Kurrachee), the rajah, named Dahir by the Mussulmans, was called on for restitution. The capital of this prince was at Alor, near Bukkur, and he possessed Moultan and all Sinde, with, perhaps, the adjoining plain of the Indus, as far as the mountains at Calabagh. His territory was portioned out among his relations, probably

* *Kholasat al Akhbar*, and the *Tarikhi Tabari*, quoted by Price (vol. i., pp. 455—463).

† Elphinstone, vol. i., 496. I am informed by Mr. Masson, on the authority of Mirza Sami, the minister of Dost Mohammed, who corrected the mistake made by Sir A. Burnes on the subject in his presence, that the term Hindoo Coosh is especially given to the high peak of the range to which it belongs, immediately overhanging Ghosband, although it is applied, in ordinary parlance, to some extent of the range stretching east or north-east.

‡ Ferishta records, on the anthority of the Mutla-ool-Anwar, a work supposed to be no longer extant, but which he describes as written by a respectable author, that the Afghans are Copts of the race of the Pharaohs, many of whom, after the overthrow of the infidel monarch and his host in the Red Sea, became converts to the true faith; but others, stubborn and self-willed, continued obstinate, and, leaving their country, came to India and settled in the Soliman Mountains under the name of Afghans. (Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i., p. 6.) The people themselves claim descent from Afghaun, grandson of Saul, king of Israel.

§ A quarter of the Balla Hissar, or citadel of Cabool, retains the name of Arabah, and its occupants are of Arabic descent.

‖ The Tartar nations, China, the Malay country, and the Asiatic islands, afford evidence of the propagation of the religion of the Mussulmans, independent of their arms.

on the feudal tenure still common among the Rajpoots. Dahir refused compliance with the demand of Walid, on the ground that Dewal was not subject to his authority; the excuse was deemed unsatisfactory, and a body of 1,000 infantry and 300 horse were despatched to Sinde; but this inadequate force perished like its predecessors on the road. Hejaj, the before-mentioned governor of Bassora, prepared a regular army of 6,000 men at Shiraz, and entrusted the command to his son-in-law, Mohammed Casim, then only twenty years of age. By him the troops were safely conducted to the walls of Dewal, A.H. 92 (A.D. 711). Casim, being provided with catapultas and other engines, commenced operations by attacking a celebrated pagoda without the city, surrounded by a high enclosure of hewn stone, and occupied, in addition to the numerous Brahmin inhabitants, by a strong garrison of Rajpoots. The Arab leader having learned that the safety of the place was believed to be connected with that of the sacred standard displayed on the tower of the temple, directed his engines against this object, and having succeeded in bringing it to the ground, the dismay of the besieged soon terminated in surrender. The town was likewise taken, and a rich booty obtained. The Brahmins rejected the proposed test of conversion—circumcision: all above the age of seventeen were put to death, and the remainder, with the women, reduced to slavery. Brahmanabad, Neron Kow (now Hyderabad), Sehwan, and Salem* were in turn reduced, and Casim, strengthened by a reinforcement of 2,000 horse from Persia, continued to advance, notwithstanding the opposition of a powerful force under the rajah's eldest son, until he reached the neighbourhood of Alor or Abhor, where he was confronted by the rajah himself, at the head of 40,000 men. The disproportion of numbers rendered retreat or advance equally hazardous for the invader, who prudently ensconced his small force† in a strong position, and awaited the attack of the Hindoos, anxiously watching for any error or disaster which might create disorder among their unwieldy ranks. Such a circumstance occurred at an early period of the engagement. A naptha fire-ball struck the rajah's elephant, and the terrified animal becoming absolutely ungovernable, rushed from the field of battle and plunged into the adjacent river Indus. Dahir, although severely wounded by an arrow, mounted his war-horse and returned immediately to the scene of action, but the disappearance of the leader had produced its usual effect on an Asiatic army; the fortune of the day was already decided; and the brave rajah, after vainly attempting to rally his panic-stricken forces, plunged into the midst of the Arab cavalry, and, with a small band of trusty followers, fell covered with wounds. His son fled to Brahmanabad, but his widow collected the remains of the routed army and successfully defended the city, until famine within the walls proved a more powerful enemy than the sword without. Inflamed by her example, a body of Rajpoots resolved to devote themselves and their families to death, after the manner of their tribe. When all hope of deliverance had fled, they bathed, and with other ceremonies took leave of each other and the world; the women and children were then sacrificed on a funeral pile, and the men, headed by the widow of Dahir, flung open the gates of the fortress, and all perished in an attack on the Mohammedan camp. The city was then carried by storm, those who remained in arms were slaughtered, and their families reduced to bondage.

A last desperate stand was made at Ashcandra, after which Moultan seems to have fallen without resistance, and every part of the dominions of the ill-fated Dahir‡ was gradually subjected. Each city was called upon to embrace the religion of Mohammed or to pay tribute; in default of both, an assault was commenced, and unless saved by timely capitulation, the fighting men were put to death and their families sold for slaves. Four cities held out to the last extremity; and in two of them the number of soldiers who were refused quarter is esti-

* The site of Brahmanabad is supposed by Burnes to be marked by the ruins close to the modern town of Tatta (*Travels*, vol. iii., p. 31), but Captain M'Murdo (*R. A. S. Journal*, No. I., p. 28), thinks it must have been situated on the other side of the present course of the Indus, much farther to the north-east. Sehwan still retains its ancient name. The site of Salem is doubtful.

† It is stated in a work, abstracted from the family annals of Nawab Bahawal Khan, and translated and published by Shahamet Ali (a native gentleman in the service of the British government), under the title of the *History of Bahawalpur* (London, 1848), that a Brahmin of great ability forsook his master, the rajah, previous to the final conflict, and afforded great assistance to Casim; if so, he was probably accompanied by other deserters.

‡ In the history of Sinde, translated by the late Captain Postans, it is asserted that Dahir ruled Cabool, as well as Sinde, and coins have been found

mated at 6,000 each. The merchants, artizans, and such like were exempt from molestation, beyond what must have been inseparably connected with the storming of a town. When the payment of tribute was agreed to, the sovereign retained his territory, simply becoming amenable to the usual relations of a tributary prince, and the people retained all their former privileges, including the free exercise of their religion.

Casim himself, notwithstanding his extreme youth, seems to have united to military talents of the first order, discretion and ability to keep by conciliatory measures what he had gained by violence.* Several Hindoo princes were induced to join him during the war, and at its conclusion he re-appointed the Hindoo prime minister of Dahir to his previous office, on the express ground that he was best qualified to protect old rights, and maintain established institutions.

The conquest and occupation of Sinde being completed, the victor organised an army on a large scale.† By some writers he is alleged to have accomplished a triumphant march to Canouj on the Ganges, establishing a Mohammedan garrison in every large town on his route, when a sudden blow from a most unexpected source terminated at once his projects and his life. Among the females captured at Sinde were the two daughters of the ill-fated rajah, who, from their beauty and high rank, were deemed worthy to grace the seraglio of the Commander of the Faithful. There they remained until the year of the Hejira 96 (A.D. 714), when Walid became enamoured of the elder sister, who vehemently declared herself unworthy of his notice, having been dishonoured by Casim before being sent from her own country. The enraged caliph, in the first headlong impulse of passion, wrote with his own hand an order to Casim, that he should cause himself to be sewn up in a raw hide and thus embrace the fate which he deserved. The faithful subject literally obeyed this tyrannical mandate, and his body was sent to Damascus. The caliph showed it to the princess, as evidence of the fate which attended those who dared insult the "deputy of the prophet," upon which she exultingly declared that his ill-fated servant was wholly innocent of the crime attributed to him, and had fallen a victim to her successful stratagem, planned to revenge the death of her father, mother, brother, and countrymen. This strange and romantic incident is recorded with little variation by Mohammedan historians, and it is perfectly consistent with the determined character of the Hindoo women, where the objects of their affections are concerned, and also with the pure and unhesitating self-devotion repeatedly evinced by the servants of the caliphs.‡

The conquests of Casim were made over to his successor Temim, whose family possessed them for about thirty-six years, that is, until the downfall of the house of Ommia, A.D. 750, when the Mussulmans were expelled by the Rajpoot tribe of Sumera, and their territories restored to the Hindoos, who retained possession for nearly 500 years. Part of the expelled Arabs found refuge, (as before stated) among the Afghans.

Such is the account given by Elphinstone, on the authority of Ferishta and the Ayeen Akbery—but in the *History of Bahawalpur*, since published, it is asserted that on the expulsion of the Ommia dynasty and the accession of Abul Abbas, governors were sent out by him to Sinde and the Punjaub. But little resistance was made, and the Abbas house continued in the enjoyment of their Indian acquisitions without molestation, until the caliphate of Kader-Bellah, that is, for a period of 286 lunar years, at the expiration of which the formidable enemy of Hindoo independence, Mahmood of Ghuznee, appeared on the stage.

These statements are quite contradictory; but whatever degree of influence or authority the Arabs may have retained after the check given by the death of their leader, Casim, it is certain that neither their power nor their creed spread, but rather diminished from that moment. The passive courage of the Hindoos generally, as well as the more active bravery of the Rajpoots, associated especially with a devoted attachment to a religion closely interwoven with their laws and customs—opposed great obstacles to invaders, even more desirous of converting than of conquering them. Besides this, the great change which took place in the spirit of the Mohammedan rulers, rendered their antagonism far less dangerous. The rude soldiers of Arabia, who had raised the

with Nagari legends, which Mr. Masson reads as referring to Sri Dahir, but Professor Wilson, to Sri Mahe.

* A Persian MS., the *Tarikhi Hind o Sind*, preserved in the India House, is the source whence most accounts of Casim's military transactions are derived.

† About 50,000 Mohammedans are said to have collected around his standard on this occasion.

‡ Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. iv., p. 410.

wild war cry of Islam, passed away; succeeding generations filled their place, reared less hardily, while their chiefs in an absorbing desire for luxury and magnificence at home, cared little for the dear-bought triumphs of victory and the glory of their standard abroad. Omar set out to join his army at Jerusalem, (in compliance with the stipulation of the Christians that he should personally receive the surrender of the holy place), with his arms and provisions on the same camel with himself; and Othman extinguished his lamp, when he had finished the necessary labours of the day, that the public oil might not be expended on his enjoyments. Al Mahdi, within a century from the last-named ruler, loaded 500 camels with ice and snow; and the profusion of one day of the Abbassides would have defrayed all the expenses of the four first caliphs. Thus it was left to other Mussulman nations, and to dynasties formed during the gradual dismemberment of the great Arab empire, to establish permanent dominion in India.

*House of Ghuznee.**— To understand the origin of this powerful family, it is necessary to retrace our steps, and briefly notice the country from whence they came.

After the conquest of Persia, the Oxus became the northern Arab frontier: on the opposite side lay a tract of country (bounded on the north by the Jaxartes, on the west by the Caspian Sea, and on the east by Mount Imaus,) to which they gave the name of Mawer ul Nahr, literally *Beyond the River*, but commonly translated Transoxania. It comprised much desert ground, intermingled with tracts of remarkable fertility, and was occupied partly by settled inhabitants, who were chiefly Persians, and partly by nomadic and pastoral tribes, comprehended under the vague and general name of Tartars.† To which of the three great nations, commonly included in European writings under this head, the people of Transoxania belonged at this period, whether Turks, Moguls, or Manchoos, is still undetermined; but the first-named people are generally supposed to have formed the bulk of the wandering and also a section of the permanent population. It was more than half a century after the subjugation of Persia and five years before the occupation of Sinde, that the Arabs crossed the Oxus under Catiba, governor of Khorassan, and after eight years spent in a contest, with varying success, Transoxiana was subjected to the sway of the caliphs, A.D. 713. In 806, a revolt occurred, which the son and successor of Haroun al Raschid, Mamoon, was enabled to quell, and afterwards by residing in Khorassan, to retain authority over that province. But on the removal of the court to Bagdad, Taher, who had been the principal instrument of Mamoon's elevation to the caliphate, to the detriment of his brother Ameen, established independent authority in Khorassan and Transoxiana, which were never again united to the rapidly decaying empire.

The family of Taher were deposed after about fifty years' rule, by the Sofarides, whose founder Yacub ben Leith, a brazier of Seestan, commenced by raising a revolt in his native province, afterwards overran Persia,‡ and died while marching to attack the caliph in Bagdad. At the expiration of forty years, the Samanis, a family of distinction, whose members had held governments under Mamoon while he resided in Khorassan, and afterwards under the Taherites, superseded the Sofarides and took possession of their territory, nominally in behalf of the caliph, but really without any reference to his authority. It was in the reign of Abdelmelek, the fifth prince of this dynasty, that Aluptugeen, the founder of the kingdom of Ghuznee, rose into importance. He was of Turkish descent, and had been a slave, but his royal master recognising his ability, had appointed him to various offices of trust, and at length to the government of Khorassan. On the death of his patron, a deputation was sent to consult Aluptugeen respecting the choice of a successor from the royal family, and having given his suffrage against Mansoor the presumptive heir, on account of his extreme youth, he incurred the ill-will of this prince, (who had meantime been raised to the throne,) was deprived of his office, and but for the

* Ghuznee, otherwise spelt *Ghizni* and *Ghazni*.

† Tod, referring to De Guignes, says—the Heong-nou and the Ou-houn, the Turks and Moguls, were called "Tatar," from Tatan, the name of the country from the banks of the Irtish, along the mountains of Altai, to the shores of the Yellow Sea. De Guignes invariably maintains Heong-nou to be but another name for the Turks, among whom he places Attila and the majority of his army, whose hideous physiognomy and savage manners lent a fearful prestige to their desolating marches. Another division of the same branch of the Heong-nou had previously settled among the Persians in Transoxiana, and acquired the name of the White Huns, from their changed complexion.—(*Histoire generale des Huns.*)

‡ He likewise subjugated Cabool.—(*Mr. Thomas.*)

fidelity of a trusty band of adherents, aided by his own military skill, would have lost liberty, if not life. At Ghuznee, in the heart of the Soliman mountains, the fugitive found safety, accompanied by 3,000 disciplined slaves (*Mameluks*). Here he was probably joined by soldiers who had served under him, as well as by the hill Afghans, who, even though they might not acknowledge his authority, would be readily induced by wages to enter his service. In his flight Aluptugeen was attended by a faithful slave named Subuktugeen, brought by a merchant from Turkistan to Bokhara.* Following the example of his early benefactor, he had fostered the abilities of the youth until, on the establishment of a kingdom in Ghuznee, he rewarded the service of his adherent, both as a counsellor and general, by the titles of Ameer-ool-Omra (chief of the nobles) and Vakeel-i-Mootluk (representative). He is even said to have named him as his successor, but authorities differ on this point, some stating that Subuktugeen acceded immediately to the throne on the demise of Aluptugeen, A.D. 975; others, that he was chosen, on the death of that monarch's son and successor, two years later, by general consent of the chiefs, and then married the daughter of his patron. Having been recognised by the caliph Mansoor as governor of Ghuznee, he had, consequently, nothing to dread from that quarter, but was speedily called upon to make preparations against Jeipal (*Jaya Pala*), rajah of Lahore, who, alarmed by the growing power of a Mohammedan ruler so near his frontier, and already harassed by frequent incursions, determined in turn to become the assailant. At the head of a large army he crossed the Indus, marched to Laghman at the mouth of the valley which extends from Peshawer to Cabool, and was there met by Subuktugeen. Some skirmishes ensued, but a general engagement was prevented by a terrible tempest of thunder, wind, and hail, in which some thousands of both armies were said to have perished. This disaster was attributed to supernatural causes;† and the Hindoos, less accustomed than their hardy foes to the extreme vicissitudes of climate, and probably more superstitious, proposed terms of peace, to which Subuktugeen, notwithstanding the opposition of his warlike son Mahmood, then a mere boy, at length consented, on representation being made to him of the determined courage of the Hindoos, especially the Rajpoots, when driven to the last extremity. Jeipal surrendered fifty elephants, and engaged to pay a large sum of money, but on regaining the shelter of his own dominions, fear gave way to resentment, and, forfeiting his pledge, he imprisoned the messengers sent to demand its redemption. Hostilities re-commenced; the rajahs of Delhi, Ajmeer, Calinjar, and Canouj,‡ made common cause with their countrymen; and when the rival forces again met in Laghman, the Ghuznee sovereign, having ascended a height to ascertain the disposition of the enemy, beheld the whole plain covered with an almost countless host, comprising 100,000 horse and a prodigious number of foot soldiers. Undaunted by the prospect, and considering himself "as a wolf about to attack a flock of sheep," Subuktugeen divided his troops into squadrons of 500 men each, and directed them to attack successively one particular point of the dense line of the enemy, which would thus be continually compelled to encounter fresh troops. The manœuvre succeeded in occasioning some disorder, which was the signal for a general assault; the Hindoos gave way, and were driven with dreadful slaughter beyond the Indus, up to which point Subuktugeen at once took possession, levied heavy contributions in addition to the plunder found in the camp, and left an officer, supported by 10,000 horse, as governor of Peshawer. The Afghans and Khljis (a distinct Tartar tribe) tendered allegiance, and furnished useful recruits. He then employed himself in consolidating his own dominions, which now extended on the west beyond Candahar, until an appeal for help from his nominal sovereign Noah (the seventh of the Samanis) against the inroads of the Hoeike Tartars, who then possessed all Tartary as far east as China, induced him again to have recourse to arms.

* He is alleged to have been lineally descended from Yezdijerd, the last of the Persian monarchs, who when flying from his enemies during the caliphate of Othman, was murdered while sleeping at a water-mill near the town of Meru. His family being left in Turkistan formed connections among the people, and his descendants became Turks.

† Prince Mahmood learning that in the camp of Jeipal was a spring, into which, if a mixture of ordure were thrown, a fearful storm would arise, caused this to be done and the predicted result immediately followed.—(*Ferishta.*) The fact of there being near Laghman, a spot subject to tempests of extraordinary severity, renders this tale interesting.

‡ These princes were all of the Pala family, and consequently related to the rajah of Lahore.

So efficient was the assistance rendered, that Noah, reinstated in his authority, recognised the right of Subuktugeen over all his acquisitions, and conferred the government of Khorassan on Mahmood, with the title of Syf-ood-Dowla (Sword of the State). This arrangement was almost immediately disturbed by the death of the two chief parties, and the changes and dissensions which arose in their dominions.

Mahmood, being absent at the time of his father's demise, was supplanted in his claim to the succession by his brother Ismael, whom, after defeating in a pitched battle, he captured and imprisoned for the rest of his life, mitigating however the severity of the sentence by every indulgence consistent with such a situation. During the seven months spent in establishing himself in Ghuznee, events occurred in Bokhara very detrimental to his interests. The new king, Mansoor II., fell into the power of the old enemies of his family, and by the influence of Elik Khan the Tartar sovereign, was compelled to receive Faik, one of his most turbulent and rebellious nobles, as his prime minister or rather master. The application of Mahmood to be continued in the government of Khorassan was abruptly rejected, and soon afterwards some court intrigues led to the unhappy Mansoor's being dethroned and blinded, whereupon Abdulmelek was elected his successor as the instrument of Faik, A.D. 999. On this, Mahmood ordered the name of the Samanis to be omitted in the public prayers; took possession of Khorassan in his own behalf; and having received an investiture from the reigning caliph (the dispenser of powers which he himself no longer enjoyed) proclaimed the independence of his sway. He is henceforth commonly termed Sultan, an old Arabic word signifying king, but this title is not found upon his coins.* He next made peace with, and married the daughter of Elik Khan, who had secured his share in the spoil of a falling dynasty by seizing on Transoxiana, and had thus put an end to the dominion of the Samanis after it had lasted 120 years. Mahmood was now little more than thirty years of age. The vigour and ambition of his mind were in accordance with his athletic and well-proportioned frame, but, greedy of personal distinction of every kind, he considered the *mens sana in corpore sano* insufficient compensation for an ordinary stature, and features disfigured with the small pox in a manner, which at least in his youth, he bitterly regretted, as calculated to mar the effect of the splendid pageants in which he delighted to form the chief object. For Mahmood, famous warrior as he afterwards and had indeed already proved himself, could not as a legislator bear comparison with his vaunted teacher Mohammed, and was very far from uniting the comprehensive ability of the statesman to the sword of the conqueror, like his mighty predecessor in India, Alexander; who, heedless of the externals of royalty, lavished gold and jewels upon his followers until his own coffers were empty,† and—superior to the vanity which led his successors to stamp their resemblance on coins and images, cared so little for this species of notoriety, that of his kingly form no popular notion remains, save that connected with the keen intelligence of the eye, and the peculiar carriage of the head, dwelt on by cotemporaries as his peculiar characteristics.

The vice of covetousness, in the indulgence of which Mahmood's intense selfishness found constant gratification, gradually swallowed up the higher qualities of his intellect, as well as the better feelings of his heart. It had probably been early stimulated by the rich booty captured during his father's war with Jeipal, and by reports of the immense stores of wealth heaped around idolatrous shrines, which it was the duty of every "true believer" to pillage and destroy. The unsettled state of the surrounding nations offered a wide scope for his ambition, but Indian conquest appears to have been his paramount desire. Having therefore, as before stated, entered into a friendly alliance with Elik Khan and made arrangements for the government of his own dominions, he proceeded with 10,000 chosen horse to invade India, A.D. 1001. Near Peshawer he was met by his father's old antagonist, the rajah of Lahore, whom, after totally defeating, he made prisoner. From thence the conqueror pursued his victorious march beyond the Sutlej, to the fort of Ba-

* *Sultan*, first stamped by the Seljuk, Toghral Beg, was assumed in Ghuznee some fifteen years later by Ibrahim, A.D. 1060. (Thomas, on *Ghazni Coins*.)

† Alexander was reproached by his mother for placing his friends on a level with princes, by his unbounded generosity. Mahmood when dying ordered his treasures to be spread out before him, and shed bitter tears at the thought of parting with them, but distributed no portion among the faithful adherents who had assisted him in their acquisition.

tinda,* which he stormed, and then returned to Ghuznee with the rich spoils of the camp and country, including sixteen necklaces, one of which, belonging to Jeipal, was valued at 180,000 dihnars,† or £81,000.

In the ensuing spring the Hindoo prisoners were released on payment of a heavy ransom, but the Afghan chiefs who had joined them were put to death. Jeipal himself returned to his kingdom, and having made over his authority to his son Anung Pal, bravely met the fate a mistaken creed assigned as a duty to a sovereign twice conquered by a foreign foe; and mounting a pyre which he had caused to be prepared, set it on fire and perished in the flames. Anung Pal *(Ananda Pala)* appears to have at first endeavoured to fulfil his father's engagement, but the rajah of Bhatia,‡ a dependency of Lahore, on the eastern side of Moultan, refused to furnish his quota of the stipulated tribute, upon which the sultan proceeded in person to enforce it (A.D. 1004), and drove the offending rajah, first from a well-defended intrenchment, and then from a strong fortress, until the fugitive, in despair, finding himself pursued even among the thickets of the Indus, where he had hoped for refuge, and being at the point of capture, turned his sword against his own breast: the majority of his remaining adherents perished in vainly endeavouring to avenge his death.

After annexing Bhatia and its dependencies the conqueror departed, bearing away as usual much booty of various kinds, including 280 elephants and many captives.

A third expedition into India was soon undertaken against the Afghan ruler of Moultan, Abul Futteh Lodi, the grandson of the chief who had joined Subuktugeen after his first victory over the Hindoos. Abul, although educated as a Mussulman, had "abandoned the tenets of the faithful,"§ and what Mahmood considered of more importance, thrown off his political allegiance, and entered into a close alliance with Anung Pal, who, on learning the approach of their joint foe, advanced to intercept him, but was defeated near Peshawer, pursued to Sodra (near Vizirabad) on the Chenab, and compelled to take refuge in Cashmere. Moultan was then besieged, but at the end of seven days a compromise was effected, the revolting chief promising implicit obedience for the future and the payment of an annual tribute of 20,000 golden dirhems;|| terms which Mahmood was only too glad to grant, having received intelligence of a formidable invasion of his dominions by the armies of Elik Khan. The ties of relationship had not sufficed to prevent the encroaching Tartar from endeavouring to take advantage of the unprotected state in which his son-in-law had left his home possessions, while intent on aggressive incursions abroad. Hoping to acquire Khorassan without difficulty, he despatched one force to Herat and another to Balkh to take possession. But he had formed too low an estimate of the energy of the opponent he had wantonly provoked. Committing the charge of his acquisitions on the Indus to Sewuk Pal, a Hindoo who had embraced Mohammedanism, Mahmood immediately proceeded by long and rapid marches to Ghuznee, and thence to

* Situated in an almost inaccessible tract inhabited by the Bhattis or Shepherds. Though surrounded by a sort of desert, the rajah resided here, alternately with his capital Lahore, probably as a measure of security. Bird's *History of Gujarat*, from the Persian of Ali Mohammed Khan.

† Valuing the dihnar at nine shillings.

‡ Site disputed, generally considered to be the present Bhulneer.

§ Brigg's *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 40. This expression probably alludes to a supposed falling into heterodoxy rather than paganism. Sects and dissensions had early arisen among the Mohammedans, and increased until they amounted to seventy-three, the number said to have been foretold by Mohammed. These may be classed under two heads. The believers, generally deemed orthodox, are included under the term *Sonnites* (or traditionists), because they acknowledge the authority of the Sonna, a collection of moral traditions of the sayings and actions of their founder, which is a sort of supplement to the Koran, answering in name and design to the Mishna of the Jews. The Sonnites regard the Koran as uncreated and eternal, in opposition to the Motazalites (or separatists) and others, who maintain such an assertion to be rank infidelity; and some caliphs of the Abbas family (Motassem and Wathek) endeavoured to suppress it by punishing its advocates with whipping, imprisonment, and even death. An account of the numerous false prophets who sprang up, in imitation of the arch-deceiver himself, is ably given in the introduction to Sale's Koran; among them figures Mokanna, the veiled prophet, the hero of Moore's most popular production. The *Sheiahs*, a term signifying sectaries or adherents in general, is peculiarly applied to the followers of Ali, who hold him to have been the rightful Caliph and Imaum, or high pontiff, (by virtue of his birth, of his marriage with Fatima, and of his having been the first independent person who recognised the mission of Mohammed,) and consider the supreme authority both temporal and spiritual inalienably vested in his descendants. The Persians are mostly Sheiahs; the Turks generally come under the head of Sonnites, and these, like many less conspicuous sects, are in direct opposition to each other.

|| The value of the silver dirhem is about fivepence; that of the golden one, Colonel Briggs states, is not estimated in any work he has examined.

Balkh, whence the intruders fled, as did the troops at Herat, before the force detached for their expulsion.

Elik Khan, alarmed at the turn of affairs, applied for assistance to Kadr Khan of Khoten, who marched to join him with 50,000 men. Thus strengthened he crossed the Oxus and was met near Balkh by Mahmood, who had employed even more than wonted skill in the arrangement of his resources. Not the least of these was a body of 500 elephants, captured at various times from the Hindoos, the mere sight of which would, he rightly conjectured, check the fury of the Tartar charge, and probably succeed in breaking their line: but being well aware that failing in this, these timid and unwieldy, though sagacious and gentle creatures, would, as he had often witnessed, becoming alarmed and injured, rush back furiously on their masters, he stationed them at intervals among the troops, leaving free way for their retreat in the event of a repulse. This forethought, however, proved needless. Both armies advanced with impetuosity to the charge, and Elik Khan, attended by his guards, attacked the centre of the army of Mahmood, who, perceiving his intention, leaped from his horse, and after (as was his wont, on the eve of any great struggle) prostrating himself on the ground and invoking the aid of the Almighty,—mounted an elephant and advanced to meet his assailant. The well-trained animal seizing the standard-bearer of the enemy in his trunk, tossed him aloft, to the dismay of his companions. The Ghuznevides urged on the other elephants and pressed forward themselves to support their leader; the Tartars were driven off the field with prodigious slaughter, and Elik Khan escaped across the Oxus with a few attendants, having received a severe lesson not again to meddle with the dominions of his warlike relative. But for the inclemency of the season, it being the winter of 1006, he might have fared still worse; for Mahmood, after two days' pursuit, was not without great reluctance compelled to return to his capital by the intense cold, from which some hundreds of his men and horses perished.*

Meanwhile Sewuk Pal, the renegade Hindoo governor, had relapsed into idolatry and expelled all the officers appointed by Mahmood, who, marching to India, detached a body of cavalry in advance, by whom the offender was surprised and captured. His sentence was a heavy fine and imprisonment for life.†

In the spring of 1008, the Sultan assembled a large army and set out on his fourth Indian expedition, on the plea of revenging the opposition he had received during the hostilities in Moultan from Anung Pal, who, on becoming aware of his danger, sent ambassadors to the Hindoo princes on all sides, urging them to unite for the protection of their religion and independence. The appeal was successful; the rajahs of Oojein, Gwalior, Calinjar, Canouj, Delhi, and Ajmeer entered into a confederacy, and collecting their forces, advanced into the Punjaub with an army, whose magnitude so astonished Mahmood, that instead of displaying his usual alacrity to meet danger, he halted in the presence of the enemy, took up a position near Peshawer, and remained forty days in a defensive attitude. It must have seemed to him as if the whole male population of Hindoostan had come, *en masse*, to obstruct his progress, and to die, if necessary, in the attempt. Their numbers and enthusiasm daily increased, contributions constantly arrived from the women of distant parts, who sold their jewels and melted down their ornaments to provide ample resources for the defence of their country, and the Gukkurs and other warlike troops rallying round the

* On the third night of the pursuit a violent storm of wind and snow occurred. The army remained unsheltered, but the royal tents had with much difficulty been pitched and heated by stoves, so that many of the courtiers began to throw off their upper garments. One of them came in shivering with cold, which Mahmood perceiving, addressed him with—"Go, Dilchuk, and tell Winter that he may burst his cheeks with blustering—here we defy his power." Dilchuk went out, and returning, declared that he had delivered his message, and the surly season replied, that though he might fail to touch royalty or its immediate retainers, yet he would so evince his power over the army that in the morning the sultan might be compelled to saddle his own horse. With all his faults, Mahmood seems to have been neither irascible nor tyrannical in his bearing towards those about him. The reproof thus wittily conveyed is said to have induced him to renounce the idea of further advance, but the distressing scenes of death and suffering manifested by the dawn of the following day must have sufficed to afford reason for retreat.—(Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i., p. 44.)

† In the text I have followed the example of Elphinstone in adopting the statement of Ferishta; but Mr. Bird asserts, on the authority of older Persian writers, that there was no such person as Sewuk Pal, and that the mistake arose from placing the expedition to Moultan before, instead of after, the war with Elik Khan.—(*History of Gujarat*, p. 23.)

popular standard, encompassed the Mohammedans, who were compelled to intrench their camp. Mahmood perceiving the increasing danger, strove to profit by the strength of his defences, and sent out a body of 6,000 archers to provoke an attack. The success of this stratagem had well nigh proved fatal to the schemer, for the hardy Gukkurs having repulsed the archers, pursued them so closely, that in spite of the sultan's personal efforts, a numerous body of these mountaineers, bare-headed and bare-footed, variously and strangely armed, passed the entrenchments on both flanks, and throwing themselves among the cavalry with irresistible fury, proceeded to cut down and maim both horse and rider, until in a very short space of time between 3,000 and 4,000 Mohammedans were slain. The assailants however, after the first onset, were checked and cut off as they advanced, till, on a sudden the elephant on which the Hindoo leader rode becoming unruly* turned and fled, and his followers thinking themselves deserted, gave way, and were easily routed. Mahmood immediately despatched 10,000 men in pursuit of the retreating army, of whom nearly twice as many were slain before they could reach a place of safety. Then, without allowing the scattered hosts time to reassemble, he followed them into the Punjaub, and on their effectual dispersion, found himself at liberty to give free scope to his plundering propensities in the rifling of the fort of Bheem (now Nagarcot), a fortified temple on a steep mountain connected with the lower range of the Himalaya. This edifice was considered to derive peculiar sanctity from a burning fountain or natural flame, which issued from the ground within its precincts, and was enriched by princely offerings, besides being the depository of the wealth of the neighbourhood; so that, according to Ferishta, such an amount of treasure was never collected by any prince on earth. It would seem incredible that a place of the first importance should be left unguarded, but its garrison having been drawn off during the late effort to free Hindoostan from her persecutor, the rapidity of his movements had cut off any chance of reinforcement; and when, after having laid waste the surrounding country with fire and sword, he approached the walls, no opposition was attempted by the defenceless priests, who gladly capitulated on the condition of their lives being spared. Entering the temple with the chief officers of his court and household, Mahmood gazed in delighted amazement at the vast stores garnered up therein. Gold and silver, wrought and unwrought, in dihnars, plate and ingots; pearls, corals, diamonds, rubies and various other jewels,† accumulated since the time of Rajah Bheema, in the heroic ages, became the prize of the royal marauder, who returned with his booty to Ghuznee, and in a triumphal festival held during three days on a spacious plain, displayed on golden thrones and tables manufactured from his Indian spoils, the richest and rarest of his acquisitions. Sumptuous banquets were provided for the spectators, alms liberally distributed among the poor, and magnificent presents bestowed on persons of distinction; all this display being at once very gratifying to the sultan's love of magnificence, and well calculated to contribute to his popularity, and the maintenance of internal tranquillity during his frequent absence.

In A.D. 1010, Mahmood proceeded against the strong country of Ghor, in the mountains east of Herat. The inhabitants were Afghans, and had been converted and subdued by the caliphs in the commencement of the second century of the Hejira. Their chief, Mohammed Soor, strongly posted, and at the head of 10,000 men, repelled the attacks of his assailant from early morning till noon, but was eventually tempted from his secure position, by the pretended disorderly retreat of the Ghuznevides, in pursuit of whom the Ghorians sallied forth, but were speedily made aware of the trap into which they had fallen, by the sudden halt

* In various copies of *Ferishta*, the cause of the elephant's alarm is ascribed to guns and muskets. As no Persian or Arabic history speaks of gunpowder before the time assigned to its European invention, A.D. 1317, Briggs, by a slight change of the diacrital points in the manuscripts, renders it—"naptha balls and arrows." Elphinstone deems the expression an anachronism of the author; but as there is every reason to believe that this explosive material was then used in China, it seems just possible that it might have been obtained from thence.

† There are said to have been 700,000 golden dihnars, 700 mauns of gold and silver plate, 200 mauns of pure gold in ingots, 2,000 mauns of unwrought silver, and 20 mauns of jewels. There are several kinds of maun; the smallest, that of Arabia, is two pounds; the most common, that of Tabriz, eleven pounds; and that of India, eighty pounds. Taking the smallest weight, we have 1,400 lb. of gold and silver plate, 400 lb. of golden ingots, 4,000 lb. of silver bullion, and 40 lb. weight of jewels.—(Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i., p. 48.)

and fierce onset of the foe, by whom they were compeetely defeated. Their chief being taken prisoner, swallowed some poison, which he always kept about him in a ring, and died in a few hours. His country was annexed to the dominions of Ghuznee, but it is worthy of note that by his descendants the conquering dynasty was at length utterly overthrown.

Two years afterwards, the mountainous country of Jurjistan,* adjoining Ghor, was reduced, and another attack made upon Moultan, which had revolted. In the words of Ferishta, who, as a Mussulman historian, chooses very gentle phrases in which to express the sanguinary deeds of fellow-believers, "a number of the infidel inhabitants were cut off," and Abul Futteh Lodi brought to Ghuznee as a captive, and doomed to languish in the gloomy fort of Ghooruk for life. In the following year, 1011, Mahmood undertook an expedition of unusual length to Tanesur (thirty miles west of Delhi). He was met by the urgent entreaties of the Hindoos that he would spare the temple, which they held in great veneration, and accept a ransom, but he replied, "the Koran declared that the extent to which the followers of the prophet exerted themselves for the subversion of idolatry would be the measure of their reward in heaven,—it therefore behoved him, by Divine assistance, to root out the worship of idols from the face of all India." Proceeding forthwith to Tanesur, before its defenders had time to assemble, he plundered the temple, destroyed the idols, sacked the town, and carried away 200,000 captives and much treasure, so that throughout the camp "no soldier was without wealth or many slaves."†

Two predatory incursions into Cashmere were next attempted, the second of which proved disastrous from the difficulties of a march commenced when the season was too far advanced.‡ A brief interval of repose for India followed, during which Mahmood took advantage of the disturbed state of the affairs of Elik Khan's successor in Tartary to acquire possession of Transoxiana, and extend his dominion to the Caspian Sea. From this period his Indian exploits were on a grander scale, and he seems to have united a much stronger desire for the permanent possession of conquered territories, to his zeal for the destruction of idols, and the appropriation of their spoils. Assembling an army of 100,000 horse and 20,000 foot, drawn more especially from his newly-acquired dominions, he made judicious arrangements for the home government during his absence, placed his two sons in important governments aided by trusty counsellors, and then commenced carrying out the plans which, after much careful investigation, he had devised for the prosecution of a three months' march to the Ganges, across seven great rivers, in an unexplored country. Leaving Peshawer in the spring of 1017, he passed near the confines of Cashmere, and being joined by the prince whom he had established there, proceeded on his way, keeping close to the mountains until he had crossed the Jumna. Then turning south, and driving all opposition before them, the Mussulmans presented themselves unexpectedly before the walls of Canouj; a city, says Ferishta, "which raised its head to the skies, and, in strength and beauty, might boast of being unrivalled." The rajah, taken by surprise, made no attempt at defence, but came out with his family and surrendered himself to Mahmood, who, on this occasion, (either from a motive of policy, or possibly actuated by one of the kindly impulses in which his nature, though warped by bigotry and avarice, was by no means deficient,) showed unusual clemency, and after three days' tarry, left the stately city uninjured.

Other places and their rulers were less fortunate—many were bravely defended. At Mahawan, near Muttra, terms had been entered into, when an accidental quarrel among the troops led to the massacre of the Hindoos, whose leader, conceiving himself betrayed, destroyed his wife and family, and then committed suicide. Muttra§ itself, the famous seat of the Hindoo religion, was completely devastated by the excesses of the troops during a twenty days' halt, the horrors of a conflagration being added to the ordinary sufferings of the people of a sacked city. Idols of gold and silver, with eyes of rubies, and adorned with sapphires and precious stones, were demolished, melted down, and packed on camels; destined perhaps to

* Mistaken by D'Herbelot and others for Georgia.

† Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 53.

‡ Stewart's *History of Bengal*, pp. 10, 11.

§ Mahmood writing to Ghuznee declared that Muttra contained a thousand edifices "as firm as the faith of the faithful," mostly of marble, besides innumerable temples, and considered that many millions of dihnars must have been expended on the city, the fellow to which could not be constructed under two centuries.—(*Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 58.)

excite scarcely less censurable feelings in the breasts of their new possessors, than formerly as the unhallowed mediums, or too often the actual objects, of Hindoo worship. The temples were however left standing, either on account of the excessive, and, in one sense at least, unprofitable labour necessary to their destruction, or else for the sake of their extraordinary beauty. The fort of Munj was taken after a siege of twenty-five days, its Rajpoot defenders at length ending the long struggle by rushing through the breaches on the enemy, springing from the works, or meeting death in the flames of their own houses, with their wives and children; so that not one remained to be enslaved.

Various other towns were reduced and much country laid waste, before the victorious army leaving the beautiful plains of ill-fated, because idolatrous, Hindoostan steeped in blood and tears, returned to their homes in triumph, carrying with them many prisoners.* New tastes had been acquired together with the means for their gratification, and incited by the recollection of the stately structures they had ruthlessly despoiled, the rough soldiers so lately accustomed to make the saddle their seat by day, their pillow by night, now, following the example of their king, employed the wealth, labour, and talents of their wretched captives, in rearing palaces for their private abodes as well as public buildings for the adornment of the capital, which soon became ornamented with mosques, porches, fountains, aqueducts, and reservoirs beyond any city then existing. Mahmood himself erected a magnificent mosque of marble and granite, called "the Celestial Bride," which was in that age the wonder of the East; and founded a university, supplied with an extensive and valuable library, and a museum of natural curiosities. To the maintenance of this establishment he appropriated a large sum of money, and formed a permanent fund for the support of the students and the salaries of qualified instructors. He also set aside a sum nearly equal to £10,000 a-year, for pensions to learned men—and through this munificence his court became as celebrated through Asia for its brilliant literary circle, as was afterwards that of the Medici in Europe. The liberality thus evinced contrasted strongly with his usual parsimony, and it was well directed, for it did much to secure for him the present and posthumous fame which he ardently desired. Large rewards were offered for the production of an historical poem which should embody the achievements of ancient Persian† heroes; and the author who commenced the work (Dakiki) having been assassinated when he had finished about a thousand couplets, the continuation was entrusted to the celebrated Ferdousi, who performed his task with such ability that, although so obsolete as to require a glossary, it is still the most popular of all books among his countrymen.‡ The sultan was delighted with the poem; but when, after thirty years' labour, it was at length concluded, his characteristic failing prevailed over justice, and the proffered reward was so disproportioned to the expectations held out, that the disappointed Ferdousi indignantly rejected it, and withdrew to his native city of Tus, whence he launched a bitter satire at Mahmood, who on mature reflection evinced no ordinary amount of magnanimity by passing over the satire (which is still extant), and remitting for the epic, what even its author must have considered, a princely remuneration. But it came too late; the treasure entered one door of Ferdousi's house as his bier was borne out of another. His daughter proudly rejected the untimely gift, but was eventually prevailed upon by Mahmood to accept it, as a means of procuring an abundant supply of water for the city where her father had been born, and to which he had been always much attached.

In 1022, the sultan was roused from the unusual quiet in which he had remained for five years, by advices from India that a confederacy had been formed against the rajah of Canouj by the neighbouring princes to avenge his alliance with the enemy of his country. Mahmood immediately marched to his relief, but on arriving found that the unfortunate prince had been defeated and slain by the rajah of Calinjar, against whom the Mohammedan arms were directed, but without any remarkable result.§ This campaign is however memorable as marking the establishment of the first permanent garri-

* Ferishta's confused account of their route is discussed in Bird's *History of Gujarat*, p. 31.

† The ruling dynasty was Turkish, but Mahmood was the illegitimate son of a Persian mother, and in language and manners identified with that nation.

‡ The *Shah Namah* or *Book of Kings*.

§ In the kingdom of Ghuznee at this time, many soldiers and magistrates were Arabs by descent, but a great portion of the court and army were Turks, and the rest, with almost all the people, were Persians.

son on the east of the Indus; for the new rajah of Lahore (Anung Pal's successor) having ventured to oppose the invader, was driven from his country, which was despoiled and annexed to Ghuznee. In 1024, Mahmood performed, if not the greatest, at least the most famous of his Indian exploits. At the head of an immense army, swollen by a crowd of volunteers from beyond the Oxus, and attended by 20,000 camels bearing supplies, he set off, nerved to encounter a long march, partly through hostile territories and partly through a desert 350 miles broad, of loose sand or hard clay, almost entirely without water or forage. Having overcome these obstacles he suddenly appeared before Ajmeer to the consternation of the rajah and inhabitants, who fled, leaving the Mussulmans to ravage the country and pursue their desolating course, to Anhalwara, the capital of Guzerat, whose rajah, also taken by surprise, was constrained to abandon it precipitately, and leave the way clear for the invaders to the great object of their hopes, the famous temple of Somnauth, the richest and most frequented place of worship in the country.* It stood at the southern extremity of Guzerat, on a peninsula connected with the main land by a fortified isthmus, the battlements of which were guarded at every point by armed men; who, on witnessing the approach of the Moslems, loudly asserted, in the name of their object of worship, that this great force had been drawn together only to be utterly destroyed as a retribution for the desecrated shrines of India.

Nothing deterred, Mahmood brought forward his archers, who commenced mounting the walls with their accustomed war-cry, "Alla hû Akbur!" (God is supreme!), but the Rajpoots having prostrated themselves before the idol, hurried to the defence and drove back the enemy with heavy loss. The next day brought a more signal repulse, and on the third the neighbouring princes presented themselves in order of battle. In the furious conflict which ensued victory was doubtful, when the arrival of the rajah of Anhalwara with a strong reinforcement brought the invaders to the verge of defeat. Mahmood, leaping from his horse, prostrated himself, invoking Divine aid; then, remounting and taking a Circassian general by the hand, he advanced against the foe, loudly cheering the troops who had so often fought and conquered with him, and who now, excited to renewed exertion, rushed forward with unlooked-for impetuosity, broke through the opposing line, and in a single charge laid 5,000 Hindoos dead or dying at their feet. The rout became general; the garrison of Somnauth beheld it with dismay, and renouncing all hopes of further defence broke up, and, to the number of 4,000, made their way to their boats, some of which were intercepted and sunk by the enemy.

Mahmood then entered the temple, accompanied by his sons and chief nobles, and gazed with astonishment on the stately edifice. The spacious roof was supported by fifty-six pillars, curiously carved and set with precious stones, and illuminated (the light of heaven being excluded) by a lamp suspended by a golden chain, whose flame, reflected from the numerous gems, shed bright gleams around. The idol itself stood in the centre, and was of stone, five yards in height, two of which were sunk in the ground. According to Ferishta, it is a well authenticated fact that Mahmood was entreated by a crowd of Brahmins to accept a costly ransom and spare the object of their veneration, but after some hesitation, he exclaimed that were he to consent, his name would go down to posterity as an idol-seller instead of destroyer, he therefore struck the face of the image with his mace, and his example being followed by his companions, the figure, which was hollow, burst open and exposed to view a store of diamonds and other jewels, far surpassing in value the sum offered for its preservation.† Altogether, the treasure taken is said to have exceeded that acquired on any former occasion. Mahmood next captured Gundaba, a fort supposed to be protected by the sea, by entering the water at the head of his troops during a low tide. He appears to have passed

* For its maintenance, the revenues of 2,000 villages had been granted by different princes; 2,000 priests, 500 dancing-women, and 300 musicians officiated in its ceremonies, at which 200,000 to 300,000 votaries used to attend during the eclipses. The chain supporting a bell which the worshippers struck during prayer weighed 200 mauns of gold, and the idol itself was daily washed with water brought from the Ganges, a distance of 1,000 miles.

† Besides this idol, we are told there were some thousands of smaller ones, wrought in gold and silver, and of various shapes and dimensions; but no description is given of the especial object of worship, a simple cylinder of stone, the well-known emblem of Saiva or Siva, from whose designation Sama Nâtha, *Lord of the Moon*, the temple derives its name. The famous sandal-wood gates carried by Mahmood to Ghuznee will be subsequently alluded to.

the rainy season at Anhalwara, with whose mild climate, beauty, and fertility he was so much delighted, as to entertain thoughts of transferring the seat of government thither, at least for some years, and making it a point of departure for further conquests. Among his projects, was that of the formation of a fleet for maritime invasions; the pearls of Ceylon and the gold mines of the Malayan peninsula offering cogent reasons for the subjugation of these countries.

These schemes his counsellors earnestly and successfully opposed, and as the rajah of Anhalwara still kept aloof and refused submission, Mahmood selected a new ruler, a man of royal descent, who, though living the life of an anchorite, was not proof against the attractions of a throne, though clogged with the humiliating conditions of subjection and tribute to a foreign foe.* The homeward route of the Mussulmans was fraught with toil and suffering—the way by which they had come was occupied by a strong force under the rajah of Ajmeer and the rightful, though fugitive prince of Anhalwara. Mahmood, with an army already wasted by the casualities of war and climate, did not care to risk a conflict, the effect of which, even though successful, would still further thin the ranks and diminish the energy of those who had afterwards a long and weary march to encounter, besides risking the rich booty with which they were encumbered. He therefore avoided further hostilities, by returning a different road, through the sands to the east of Sinde. The hot season was advanced when the troops started, and their sufferings for want of water and forage increased, until they reached a climax in three days of intense agony, during which they wandered through the worst part of the desert, wilfully misled, it is said, by their guides, who after severe torture, were brought to confess themselves disguised priests of Somnauth. Many of the soldiers perished miserably, some died raving mad, and when at length they came upon a pool of water, it was received with inexpressible transport as a miraculous interposition of Providence in their favour.

Eventually they reached Moultan, and from thence proceeded to Ghuznee,† but before the expiration of the year, their restless leader was once more in arms to avenge the molestation offered by a body of Juts,‡ in the Jund mountains, to his forces during their march to Somnauth. Foreseeing the expedient to which the Juts would have recourse, he was provided with an extensive flotilla; and when they took refuge in the islands of the Indus, hoping to elude pursuit by repeatedly shifting their position, he pursued them so pertinaciously that though not without a desperate defence, the men were mostly destroyed and the women and children enslaved.

Thus terminated Mahmood's thirteenth and last expedition to India. Hostilities were then directed against the Turki tribe of Seljuk,§ whose growing power he had incautiously favoured, until they became too unruly to be restrained by his local representatives; nor were they without difficulty compelled to respect his immediate authority. The next act was the seizure of Persian Irak (extending from the frontier of Khorassan, westward to the mountains of Koordistan, beyond Hamadan). This he

* The conclusion of the new rajah's history affords a remarkable instance of retributive justice, even allowing for oriental embellishment. Fearing the rivalry of a relation, he prayed Mahmood to deliver him into his custody, promising to spare his life, and kept his pledge by causing a cell to be dug under his own throne, in which his victim was to linger out the remainder of his existence. A sudden revolution occurred, which is said to have been occasioned by a vulture having flown upon the rajah while lying asleep under a tree with his face covered with a red handkerchief, and totally blinded him by fixing its talons into his eyes; thus rendering him, by the laws of his country, incapable of reigning. The position of the parties was immediately reversed, the cruel schemer being forthwith removed to the dungeon which he had himself prepared; thus, says Ferishta, fulfilling the Scripture, in which it is written—"He who digs a pit for his brother, shall himself fall therein."—(Briggs, vol. i., p. 80.)

† It is surprising that the passage along the Indus should not have been chosen by Mahmood, who must have been acquainted with it, both from the account of Mohammed Casim's proceedings and from the neighbourhood of the Afghans. Elphinstone, in commenting upon this circumstance, suggests the existence of physical obstacles now removed, adding, that the *Runn of Cutch*, now a hard desert in the dry season, and a salt marsh in the rains, was, doubtless, formerly a part of the sea; and remarks, that the changes which have taken place under our own eyes prepare us to believe that still greater may have occurred in the 800 years that have elapsed since the fall of Somnauth. (Vol. i., p. 558.)

‡ Probably a Tartar horde of the Getæ stock, widely disseminated over India, and, according to Tod, called by their ancient name of *Jits* in the Punjaub, *Jats* on the Jumna and Ganges, and *Juts* on the Indus and in Saurashtra.

§ The tribe is supposed to have originated in a chief who held a high station under one of the great Tartar princes, but having incurred the displeasure of his sovereign was driven into exile, and his sons and adherents became subject to Mahmood in Transoxiana, frequently however, carrying on wars and incursions on their own account.

accomplished by taking advantage of the disturbances which occurred in the reign of one of the representatives of a branch of the family of Buya, called also the Deilemites; the person of the prince being treacherously seized in the Moslem camp. The resistance of the people of Ispahan and Cazvin was cruelly revenged by the massacre of several thousands in each city.

The ordinary excuse of zeal for the glory of Islam—that is to say, the bigotry which has sometimes really prompted cruel aggressions, but has far more frequently been assumed as a mask to cover ambition or rapacity, cannot in this case be urged in palliation of these grasping and sanguinary transactions, probably the worst, as they were the last, of the life of Mahmood. Returning triumphant to Ghuznee, he was attacked by a disease which soon completely prostrated his extraordinary physical and mental energies, and of which he died, after a reign of thirty-three years. During paroxysms of excruciating agony, he might well have envied even the wretched slaves whom his marauding incursions had made so cheap that purchasers could not be found for them at ten dirhems (about 4*s.* 7*d.*) a head. At such moments his hundred measures of jewels * could afford but poor consolation; even the delusive doctrine of the Koran condemned alike the means by which they had been acquired, and the master-passion whose strength was never manifested more forcibly than in the closing scenes of his eventful career. When taking a sorrowful leave of his great possessions, the dying Sultan perhaps thought bitterly of a sentiment some of the numerous poets of his court might have rhymed, though scarcely so sweetly as our own Southey:

> "In heaven ambition cannot dwell,
> Nor avarice in the vaults of hell —"

He had ample reason to regret leaving a world in which he had—with reverence for the sacred text be it spoken, "laid up much treasure for many years;" nor is it probable that he could look for reward or even pardon in another, on the ground of faithful service to the cause of Islam.

Notwithstanding his character for bigotry, and frequent and public invocations of Divine assistance, a careful review of Mahmood's actions renders it more than doubtful whether all these were not hollow pretences to raise the enthusiasm of his more truthful followers who, it must be borne in mind, had been accustomed from the earliest times to prayer before battle, and thanksgivings in the hour of victory. If he were really a sceptic† regarding the creed which he made the pretext for destroying or enslaving unoffending multitudes, his condition was wretched indeed; but if he did actually believe it an imperative duty to increase the numbers of "the faithful," at all costs, then at least his conduct, with the exception of some few memorable instances, was very unaccountable; for, besides his apathy in not endeavouring to establish Moslem colonies in India, schools, or other means of instruction, it appears that he never hesitated to exercise perfect tolerance whenever it suited his views. The rajah of Canouj, for instance (his only ally), was an unconverted Hindoo; he appointed a strict devotee to the throne of Guzerat; employed a large body of native cavalry, without regard to their religion, and contrary to orthodox Mohammedanism — circumstances which would testify liberality of feeling, but for their manifest inconsistency with other parts of his conduct, for which excessive zeal is urged in apology.

The house of Ghuznee reached its culminating point in the person of Mahmood's turbulent son, Masaud, who, having deposed and blinded his brother Mohammed, after five months' rule, mounted the throne, and completed the remaining conquest of Persia, except the province of Fars. He made three expeditions into India, during which he captured Sersooty on the Sutlej, quelled a rebellion at Lahore, and stationed a garrison in Sonpat, near Delhi. In the meanwhile the Seljuks completely defeated his general, and compelled Masaud, on his return, to march against them in person. After two years of indecisive operations a battle took place near Meru, in which the Ghuznevides were totally routed. The sultan returned to Ghuznee, but finding it hopeless to restore order there, determined to withdraw to India. All respect for his authority was however destroyed, and soon after crossing the Indus, the remnant of his forces mutinied against him, and placed the injured Mohammed on the throne, A.D. 1040. This prince being rendered incapable by blindness of conducting the government, transferred the administration to his

* Hearing of the wealth of the Samanī princes, who had accumulated jewels enough to fill seven measures, he exclaimed exultingly, that he possessed sufficient to fill an hundred.

† On this point, see Elphinstone, vol. i., p. 569.

son Ahmed, one of whose first acts was to put his uncle the deposed king to death. But the sins of this family, committed on the plea of just retaliation, did not end here. Modood, the son of Masaud, on hearing of his father's murder, quitted Balkh, where he had been engaged in watching the proceedings of the Seljuks, and with a small body of troops made his way from Ghuznee to Lahore. At Futtehabad, in the valley of Laghman, he was met by Mohammed with Ahmed and other relatives, who after a fierce contest were defeated, taken prisoners, and all put to death by the conqueror, with the exception of Prince Abdool, a son of Mohammed's, who was spared for the sake of kindness shown to Masaud during his captivity. Modood had not yet removed all domestic foes—the opposition of his own brother, Madood, was still to be overcome, and it threatened to be troublesome, this prince having obtained possession of Lahore and its dependencies. The armies of the rival brothers were marshalled for action when the dispute for superiority was suddenly terminated by the death of Madood and his vizier (prime minister) apparently by poison. The forces then coalesced under Modood, who contrived not only to occupy Ghuznee, but to recover Transoxiana, which he was perhaps enabled to do the more readily from having espoused the daughter of a Seljuk chief. But while thus successful in the west, the rajah of Delhi recovered the territory seized by Masaud beyond the Sutlej; and elated by this first success, pushed his forces to the very gates of Nagarcot. Volunteers crowded into the Punjaub, and entered with such ardour into the enterprise that the temple-fortress, despite its strong position and garrison, became again their own. The Moslems driven thence took refuge in Lahore, and after a seven months' siege, during which no succour arrived from Ghuznee, were well nigh reduced to despair, when swearing to stand by each other to the last they rushed out upon the enemy, and by one determined effort induced the Hindoos to disperse, and raise the siege. Modood died A.D. 1049, one of his last acts of treachery being to render Ghor tributary and in some sort dependent on himself, by perfidiously murdering the prince whom he had promised to assist in recovering possession of the throne. The speedy decline of the house of Ghuznee from this period would be of little interest but for its important bearing on the fortunes of Hindoostan, nor does it seem necessary to follow in detail the tedious and distasteful accounts of conspiracies and assassinations which too generally form the staple of oriental historians, the progress and condition of the people being rarely even alluded to. Suffice it to say, that the second successor of Modood succeeded in recovering Nagarcot from the Hindoos, but being compelled to oppose the sedition of a chief named Toghral in Seestan, marched to attack the rebels, leaving the bulk of his army in India. His force proved unequal to the task, and he was compelled to shut himself up in Ghuznee, where he was seized and put to death with nine princes of the blood-royal. Toghral seized upon the vacant throne, but was assassinated within forty days; and the army, having by this time returned from India, resolved upon continuing the crown in the family of the founder of the kingdom. Three princes of his lineage were discovered imprisoned in a distant fort, and their claims being nearly equal were decided by lot. The chance fell on Farokhzad, whose brother and successor Ibrahim, celebrated for sanctity, captured several cities on the Sutlej. In the following reign (that of Masaud II.) the royal residence began to be transferred to Lahore (about A.D. 1100.)

Behram, a prince of great literary renown, acceded to the throne in 1118, but after thirty years of peace and prosperity, committed an act of cruel injustice, which led to his own ruin and the extinction of his dynasty. Having had a difference with his son-in-law, the prince of Ghor, he caused him to be put to death; and after a long contest with the brother of his victim, succeeded in defeating and slaying him also, under circumstances of aggravated barbarity. Ala-oo-deen Soor, indignant at the fate of his murdered brothers, entered the territories of their destroyer at the head of a small but determined force, compelled him to fly for his life, and seizing on Ghuznee, devoted the magnificent city, and its miserable inhabitants, for three (or some say nine days) to the desolating effects of flame, slaughter, and pillage. The superb monuments of its kings were utterly demolished, except those of Mahmood, Masaud, and Ibrahim. Behram strove to take refuge in India, but died on his way, worn out by fatigue and disappointment. His son Khosru continued the retreat to Lahore, and there established himself, A.D. 1152. The next king, Khosru Malik, the last of the race of Subuktugeen

reigned in tranquillity for twenty-seven years, and was then defeated and taken prisoner, with his family, and eventually slain by the Ghor princes, from whom his house thus received the final blow, in return for a long series of injuries and aggressions.

House of Ghor.—Shahab-oo-deen, the conqueror of Malik, on taking possession of Lahore, was supported by an army drawn from all the warlike provinces between the Indus and Oxus, and accustomed to contend with the Seljuks and the northern hordes of Tartary. Being at liberty to direct his exclusive attention to India, he probably expected to subjugate extensive territories with ease and rapidity, owing to the peaceful character of the people, the more so as their chief rulers were at variance with one another. Of the existing kingdoms the greatest were those of Delhi, held by the clan of Tomara; Ajmeer, by that of Chouhan; Canouj by the Rahtores, and Guzerat by the Baghilas, who had supplanted the Chalukas. The Tomara chief dying without male issue, adopted his grandson Prithwi rajah of Ajmeer, who thus acceded to the double authority, greatly to the mortification of the rajah of Canouj, another grandson of the deceased ruler's.

These internal differences did not however prevent very determined resistance being offered to a foreign foe, though it probably marred the effect which might have resulted from a more united plan of defence. None of the Hindoo principalities fell without a severe struggle, and some were never entirely subdued, owing chiefly to the essentially warlike habits, and peculiar social position of the Rajpoots, whose almost feudal system of government, led them to contest the ground, not so much in a single great action, as inch by inch, each man fighting for his own chief, and his own hearth and home. The origin of this still powerful and interesting class has been alluded to (see p. 42), and will be more particularly mentioned in commenting on the characteristics of the Hindoo population. Here it may be observed, that had their practical ability and energy in time of peace kept pace with their chivalrous enthusiasm and unswerving resolution under the stimulus of war, India might have spurned the hateful yoke of the Moslems. But the constant use of pernicious drugs, seconding only too effectually the enervating tendencies of an eastern clime, brought indolence and sensuality in their train, and while rendering their victims daily more infatuated with the varied forms of idolatry, which rapidly multiplied, to the extinction of more spiritual aspirations—induced also inertion and listlessness with regard to material dangers, until the hour for preparation was passed, and no alternatives remained save death, slavery, or apostacy. Then indeed they kept the foe at bay with the courage of the lion, and braved their fate with more than Spartan fortitude. Thus Shahab-oo-deen and his successors found their task long and tedious, and repeatedly contested the possession of the same ground. The first attack was directed against Prithwi rajah, and took place at Tirouri, between Tanesur and Kurnaul, on the great plain where most of the conflicts for paramount power in India, have been decided. The Hindoos succeeded in outflanking and completely routing the Mussulmans, who charged after their usual method with successive bodies of cavalry. Shahab himself was dangerously wounded, and after a pursuit of forty miles escaped with difficulty to Lahore, where, having collected the wreck of his army, he crossed the Indus, and after visiting his brother at Ghor, settled at Ghuznee.

Two years later (1193) having recruited a fresh force he again encountered Prithwi rajah, whom he overcame by the dangerous stratagem, so frequently recorded in Mohammedan annals, of a pretended flight. The immense Hindoo army followed in headlong pursuit, when a body of Afghan horse 12,000 strong, suddenly wheeled round and charged upon them with terrible effect; the viceroy of Delhi and many chiefs were slain on the field, and the brave rajah himself being captured, was put to death in cold blood by his merciless opponent, who soon afterwards, having taken Ajmeer, massacred some thousands of its inhabitants, reserving the rest for slavery. In 1194, Jaya Chandra, the rajah of Canouj, was defeated and slain on the Jumna;* Canouj and Benares were taken by Shahab, whose power was thus extended into Behar. In the following year Gwalior, in Bundelcund, and several other strong positions there, as also in Rohilcund, were successively seized, and the invader pursued his conquering career until the death of his brother placed him on the throne of Ghor, A.D. 1202. His four years'

* The body was recognised by the false teeth, or according to other writers, by the golden studs required to fix the natural ones into their sockets, on account of extreme age.

reign was full of vicissitudes. A report of his death during a war with the king of Kharizm,* occasioned the defection of several of his western tributaries, and the wild tribe of the Gukkurs issued from their mountains in the north of the Punjaub, took Lahore, and devastated the whole province. Kootb-oo-deen, originally a Turki slave, but raised by Shahab to the government of his Indian possessions, remained faithful to his patron, aided him in recovering the Punjaub, and induced the Gukkurs to embrace Islamism. Shahab was, however, slain in his camp on the Indus by a band of these mountaineers, who, stimulated by the desire of revenge, having lost relations in the late war, swam across the river at midnight, and entered the royal camp unopposed.† He left no son; and, although his nephew Mahmood was proclaimed throughout the whole of his uncle's dominions, yet these broke up without a struggle into separate states. The deceased monarch had carefully trained several Turki slaves, of whom three were in possession of extensive governments at the time of his death. The most noted, Kootb-oo-deen, was invested by Mahmood with the insignia of royalty, A.D. 1206, and thus commenced the line, named from the seat of government, the *Slave-kings of Delhi*. The whole of Hindoostan Proper (of course excluding the Deccan), except Malwa and some contiguous districts, had now been subjugated in a greater or less degree; Sinde and Bengal were in rapid course of reduction, but in Guzerat little dominion had been acquired beyond that connected with the possession of the capital, which was for a short time retained. Thus an Indian empire was established, of which the Indus formed the western boundary, though before this epoch there seems reason to believe that "India," in the common acceptation of the term, had a far wider extent.

Altamsh acceded in 1211; he was of a noble family, but had been sold as a slave by his envious brothers. During his reign the whole face of Asia was changed by a terrible scourge. Jengis Khan, originally a petty chief among the Moguls, having subdued the three nations of Tartary and swelled his bands with their united hordes, swept like a desolating torrent over the Mohammedan kingdoms. Altamsh, by politic conduct, succeeded in shielding most of his territories from the fury of Jengis and his myriads; but Sinde and Moultan, under the dominion of a refractory Moslem governor, did not escape so easily. In the former place, 10,000 prisoners were massacred on account of a scarcity of provisions in the Mogul camp.

Altamsh employed the last six years of his life in completing the conquest of Hindoostan Proper, that is, in bringing the principalities into partial dependence, in which state they continued during the whole period of Tartar and subsequently of Mogul supremacy, the degree of subjection varying greatly with the character of the reigning prince, and being occasionally interrupted by isolated attempts at freedom on the part of native rulers. The caliph of Bagdad formally recognized the new kingdom, in which, during the general subversion of Mohammedan governments, no less than fifteen sovereign princes (of Ghor, Kharizm, Bagdad, &c.,) took refuge at one time, during the reign of Bulbun or Balin (1266 to 1286). The only monarch of this line claiming especial notice is the Sultana Rezia, who, Ferishta writes, "was endowed with every princely virtue, and those who scrutinise her actions most severely will find in her no fault but that she was a woman." So great was the confidence of her father Altamsh in her practical ability, that during his campaigns he left Rezia in charge of the home authority in preference to his sons. Her administration when raised to the throne (after the deposition of her brother, a weak and incompetent prince) is represented as unexceptionable; but the faction by whom her accession had been opposed raised a rebellion, on the pretext of the undue partiality evinced to an Abyssinian slave who had been elevated to the rank of Ameer-ul-omra. The sultana marched for its suppression, but the army mutinied and delivered up their sovereign to the hostile leader, a Turki chief, who, becoming enamoured of his captive, married her and proceeded to assert her rights against his former confederates.

* Kharizm, the Chorasmia of the ancients, a city which gives its name to the province, became independent under Atziz, the revolting governor of a Seljuk Sultan, by the aid of the Khitans, a Tartar tribe. The Kharizm kings conquered Ghor, and were overthrown by Jengis Khan.

† By another account, the death of Shahab is attributed to one of the Fedeyan or zealots of Almowut (*Eagle's nest*), a famous fortress in the Kohistan, tenanted by a cruel and powerful set of fanatics, who for more than a century and-a-half were the dread of orthodox Mohammedans; the caliph on his throne and the dervise in his cell, alike falling victims to the knives of these midnight assassins, who were at length extirpated by Hulaku Khan. Their chief was termed the Sheikh-ul-Jubbul, or *Old Man of the Mountain*.

After two severe conflicts, both Rezia and her husband were taken and put to death in cold blood, A.D. 1239. The short reigns of the two succeeding kings both ended in deposition and murder: that of the latter is memorable for a Mogul incursion through Tibet into Bengal, the only one recorded from that quarter during the period of authentic history; on the north-western frontier they were frequent and destructive. The assassination of Kei Kobad (a cruel and dissolute monarch) in 1288, paved the way for a new dynasty.

House of Khilji.—Jelal-oo-deen was placed on the throne by his tribe, the (Khilji*) when seventy years of age, in spite of his own reluctance. At the end of his reign the Deccan was invaded by his nephew, Ala-oo-deen, who, diverting the attention of the Hindoo princes by a pretence of having quarrelled with his uncle and being about to join the Hindoo ruler of Rajamundri, succeeded in marching at the head of a chosen body of 8,000 horse to Deogiri (Doulatabad), a distance of 700 miles, great part of it through the mountains and forests of the Vindya range. Deogiri, the capital of Ramdeo, rajah of Maharashta, once reached was taken without difficulty, as Ramdeo, utterly unprepared for an assault, had no means of defending it, but retired to a hill-fort with a body of 3,000 or 4,000 citizens and domestics. The town was pillaged and the merchants tortured to make them surrender their treasures. The fortress might have held out successfully, but that in the hurry of victualling the garrison sacks of salt had been taken in mistake for grain. The rajah was consequently obliged to make the best terms he could, which involved the payment of gold and jewels to an immense amount, and the cession of Elikpoor and its dependencies. Ala-oo-deen returned in triumph through Candeish into Malwa, but his ambition, stimulated by the success of his late unjust proceedings, prompted the seizure of the throne of India. For this end, he scrupled not at the commission of a crime, heinous in itself to the highest degree, and aggravated, if possible, by the circumstances under which it was perpetrated.

The counsellors of the aged monarch had emphatically warned him of the crafty and unscrupulous character of his nephew, but could not shake his faith in one whom he had reared from infancy. He therefore crossed the Ganges with very few attendants to meet and welcome the conqueror, whom he was fondly embracing at the moment when the heartless ingrate, by a preconcerted signal, summoned the assassins posted for the purpose, who, coming forward, stabbed the king to the heart, and fastening his head upon a spear, carried it through the city. The two sons of the rajah he inveigled into his power, and caused to be put to death. He then strove, by lavish gifts and profusion in shows and festivals, to reconcile the people to his usurpation. Public granaries were constructed, prices fixed for all commodities, importation encouraged by loans to merchants, and exportation prohibited; the origin of these measures being a desire to reduce the pay of the troops and the consequent necessity of diminishing the expence of living. Although, during his prolonged administration, Ala-oo-deen showed himself ignorant and capricious, as well as cruel and arbitrary; though his arrogance and covetousness constantly increased, yet his twenty years' reign left the country in a far better condition than it had been under the sway of his kind but weak predecessor: so true it is that in despotic governments, one vigorous tyrant, whose will is the law of all, generally occasions less suffering than the feeble though gentle sovereign, who, incapable of swaying an undivided sceptre, shares his power with a crowd of petty despots, by whose harassing exactions the strength and wealth of the nation is gradually frittered away. Several Mogul invasions from Transoxiana (the last for many years) were repelled by Ala; the most serious occurred A.D. 1299, and was attended with great suffering to the people of Delhi. A fierce contest took place between armies of extraordinary magnitude, and was gained chiefly by the valour of the Moslem general, Zafar Khan, who, having become an object of jealousy to his treacherous master, was purposely left unsupported. Perceiving his situation, the flying foe turned back and cut him and his small detachment to pieces, after a resistance worthy of his character. The Mogul chiefs taken at this and other times were trampled to death by elephants, and the men butchered in cold blood, to the number of 9,000 in a single instance. Fearing, perhaps, the spirit of vengeance to which such ferocity might give rise, Ala suddenly discharged the whole of the Mogul converts

* A tribe of Tartar descent long settled among the Afghans, with whom their name is almost invariably found associated.

from his service, a violent and imprudent measure, for which, though habitually turbulent, they appear to have given no immediate cause. Driven to despair, some of them entered into a conspiracy to assassinate the king, who, detecting the plot, caused the whole, to the number of 15,000, to be massacred, and their families sold into slavery.

Very extensive conquests were made in the Deccan by the Moslems under the leadership of Cafur, a slave and eunuch, taken in the capture of Guzerat, but promoted by Ala to high command. Maharashta and Carnata were subjugated, the princes who still retained their dominions being compelled to pay tribute, while the successor of Ramdeo (the rajah of Deogiri, previously conquered) having refused to do so, was put to death. The spirit of the Hindoos was however yet far from being completely bowed under the Mussulman yoke. Guzerat revolted; Chittore (a celebrated hill-fort in Mewar) was recovered by Rana (prince) Hamir; and Harpal or Hari Pala (son-in-law to Ramdeo) raised an extensive insurrection in the Deccan, and expelled many of the foreign garrisons.

These ill-tidings coming one upon another, produced in the mind of Ala-oo-deen transports of rage, which a constitution weakened by habitual intemperance and unceasing anxiety could ill bear. Conspiracies and insurrections, real and imaginary, embittered every hour of his life; and the well-nigh successful attempt of his nephew prince Soliman, to seize the throne by a plot similar in its perfidy to his own, inspired constant suspicions of domestic treachery. The only being in whom he trusted, Cafur, his victorious general, proved to be a hypocrite, designing and ambitious as himself; who, after alienating from his master the chief nobility, induced him, by innumerable artifices, to imprison the unoffending queen and her children, and then hastened his decease by poison.

Under the alleged authority of a forged will, (by which Ala bequeathed the throne to an infant son, and appointed Cafur regent,) the traitor assumed the reins of government, caused the eyes of the captive princes to be put out, and sent assassins to dispatch a third named Mobarik. The plot failed; Cafur was himself murdered by the royal guard; and Mobarik succeeded to the throne, A.D. 1317, after blinding his infant brother, who was immured in a hill-fort for life. Under a government where the extirpation of possible rivals was deemed a matter of *expediency* (that lying word so often used in diplomacy to make wrong seem right, or at least disguise its full wickedness), even such barbarity as this might create little aversion, but to provide against any such feeling, while yet unsettled on the throne, Mobarik set free all prisoners, to the amount of 17,000, restored the lands confiscated by his father, removed his oppressive taxes, and abolished all restrictions on trade and property. He then marched to the Deccan and captured Harpal, who was inhumanly sentenced to be flayed alive. A converted Hindoo slave, styled Khosru Khan, was made vizier; by him Malabar was conquered, and this service so won upon Mobarik, that confiding the whole administration to his favourite, he commenced a course of the most odious and degrading debauchery. A continual succession of disturbances and rebellions followed, attended with all the pernicious excitement of cruel tortures and executions; but the king, like his wretched father, was doomed to receive his death-blow, not at the hands of his indignant and cruelly injured subjects, but from the serpent whom he had cherished in his bosom. Khosru occupied the palace with his creatures, filled the capital with Hindoo troops of his own caste, and then, the web being woven, murdered his infatuated victim and seized the vacant throne. After completely extirpating the house of Lodi, the usurper strove to gain over the *ameers* or nobles, and some of them consented to take office under him. Others refused, and joined Toghlak, governor of the Punjaub, who marched to Delhi, and after the defeat and death of Khosru, was proclaimed king, A.D. 1321.

House of Toghlak.—The new ruler (the son of a Turki slave by an Indian mother) proved a blessing to the people by whom he had been chosen. Order was restored to the internal administration, and the threatened invasion of the Moguls on the north-west checked by a line of defences formed along the Afghan frontier; Telingana was conquered, as also Dacca; Tirhoot (formerly Mithila) reduced, and the rajah taken prisoner by Toghlak, who, when returning victorious to his capital, A.D. 1325, was crushed to death, with five other persons, by the fall of a wooden pavilion, erected to receive him by his son and successor, to whom a treacherous design is attributed. Mohammed Toghlak, on whose reputation the stigma of parricide is thus affixed, was re-

markable for great talents, often wickedly, and sometimes so wildly used, as to render his sanity a doubtful question. In languages, logic, Greek philosophy, mathematics and medicine, his attainments were extraordinary; in war he was brave and active; in domestic life devout, abstinent and moral. Notwithstanding all this, he proved one of the worst kings under whose scourge India has ever bled and suffered. When released from the fear of invasion on the part of the Moguls, whose absence was obtained by an enormous bribe—he completed the reduction of the Deccan; and then gave the rein to his ambitious but ill-digested schemes, by assembling an army (comprising, according to Ferishta, 370,000 horse), intended for the conquest of Persia, but which, after it had consumed his treasures, dispersed for want of pay, carrying pillage and disorganization in every quarter. Next followed an attempt upon China. For this 100,000 men were sent through the Himalaya Mountains, and having with loss and difficulty effected a passage, were met on the enemy's frontier by a powerful force, with whom fatigue and want of provisions rendered the invaders unable to cope. The approach of the wet season compelled a speedy retreat, which the pursuit of the Chinese, the difficulties of the route, famine and heavy rains, made so disastrous, that at the end of fifteen days, scarcely a man survived to tell the tale, and many of those left behind in garrisons during the advance of the ill-fated force, were put to death by the unreasoning rage of the disappointed king. An endeavour to fill the royal treasury, by substituting paper, for copper, tokens,* utterly failed in its object, from the known insolvency of the government, and it seriously injured trade and impoverished the people; who, no longer able to endure the increasing pressure of taxation, deserted the towns and fled to the woods, in some places maintaining themselves by rapine. The infuriated despot ordered out his army, as if for a great hunt, surrounded an extensive tract of country, as is usual in an Indian chase, and then commanded the circle to close and slaughter all within it (mostly inoffensive peasants), like wild beasts. More than once was this horrible performance repeated; and on a subsequent occasion, its atrocities were paralleled by a general massacre of the inhabitants of the great city of Canouj. Famine, induced by cruelty and misgovernment, brought to a climax the miseries of the nation, and various attempts were made to break the fetters of such unbearable oppression. Mohammed's own nephew took up arms in Malwa, but was defeated and flayed alive; the governor of the Punjaub next rebelled, and he also was subdued and slain.

Bengal, and soon afterwards the Carnatic, revolted under Moslem governors, and were never again subdued; Carnata and Telingana combined succesfully under native rajahs for the recovery of their independence; and lesser struggles took place in every quarter. The Ameer† Judeeda, or new nobles (the name given to the Mogul chiefs and their descendants, who, having invaded India, had embraced Islamism and the service of the kings of Delhi at the same time), became seditious in the Deccan; and in Malwa, seventy of them were treacherously massacred by the new governor, a man of low origin, desirous to show his zeal—upon which the officers of the same nation in Guzerat, prevailed on the rest of the troops to join them in insurrection. Mohammed in person advanced for its suppression, and ravaged his own province as if it had been that of an enemy, devoting the rich towns of Cambay and Surat to plunder. With equal vigour he proceeded to quell a general rebellion in the Deccan; but no sooner was seeming quiet restored in one place by a costly effusion of blood, than new disturbances broke out in another. The king, wearied out with marching and countermarching, fell a victim to a fever, caused, it is said, by a surfeit of fish, but more probably by anxiety of mind, added to the unceasing tumult of his own ungovernable passions. He died at Tatta, whither he had proceeded in pursuit of some fugitives from Guzerat, who had taken refuge with the Rajpoot princes of Sinde. The only marvel is, that he should have been permitted to reign twenty-seven years, and yet escape the common fate of Asiatic tyrants—poison or the sword. Few could ever have provoked such an end more pertinaciously than Mohammed Toghlak, who, in spite of his

* With regard to coinage, it may be remarked that at the time of Cafur's invasion, there was, according to Ferishta, no silver coinage in the Carnatic; and colonel Briggs remarks that the same was true, to a certain extent, till very lately, the common coin being the *pagoda;* there was also another gold coin called a *fanam*, in value about equal to a sixpence.

† Ameer, Emir or Mir alike signify noble, commander, chief. Thus, Ameer-ool-omra, means head of the nobles, or commander-in-chief.

intellectual gifts and personal bravery, alternately excited emotions of horror and contempt in the breasts of his subjects, evincing alike in his extensive projects or less disastrous follies, the same utter recklessness with regard to their lives and properties. Thus—desiring to transfer the capital from the magnificent city of Delhi to Deogiri, as being a more central position, he proceeded to attempt the execution of this design, by ordering all the inhabitants of the former, to remove at once to the latter place, to which he gave the name of Doulatabad, and there built the massive fort still existing. After this the people were twice permitted to return to Delhi, and twice compelled, on pain of death, to leave it: these movements being all, more or less, attended with the horrors of famine, occasioning the death of thousands, and ruin and distress to many more. As an instance of his minor freaks, may be noticed that of having a stately mausoleum erected over a carious tooth, extracted during his campaign in the Carnatic, and this too at a time when his troops, ravaged by pestilence and decimated by civil war, found full employment in heaping a little earth over their fallen comrades. In the early part of this reign, the Mohammedan empire east of the Indus, was more extensive than at any other period; but the provinces lost during its continuance were not all regained till the time of Aurungzebe, and the royal authority received a shock which the iron grasp of the Mogul dynasty alone sufficed to counterbalance.

Feroze Toghlak succeeded to the throne, in the absence of direct heirs, chiefly by the influence of the Hindoo chiefs, and after some disturbances raised by the Mogul mercenaries. His reign stands out in pleasing contrast, not only to that of his predecessor, but to despotic rulers in general. Rejecting the pursuit of what is commonly called glory, he recognised the independence of Bengal and the Deccan, and without seeking to extend the empire by the sword, employed himself in its consolidation and improvement. The diminution of capital punishments, the abolition of torture and mutilation, the removal of numerous vexatious taxes, alterations in the collection of the revenue, the abrogation of fluctuating and precarious imposts—all spoke the earnest solicitude of the ruler for the welfare of the people. Reservoirs and canals for irrigation, mosques, colleges, caravanserais, hospitals, public baths, bridges, and many other edifices were erected, and the revenues of certain lands assigned for their maintenance. The chief of these works still remains a noble monument to the memory of its founder—viz., a canal extending from the point where the Jumna leaves the mountains by Kurnaul to Hansi and Hissar. It reaches to the river *Gagar*, and was formerly connected with the Sutlej. A portion, extending about 200 miles, has been restored by the British government, and will be described in the topographical section.

Feroze long retained his energies; but in his eighty-seventh year, increasing infirmities compelled him to abdicate in favour of his eldest son, Nasir-oo-deen, A.D. 1385. This prince was displaced in little more than a year by two of his cousins, who having secured the person of the old king, proclaimed his grandson, Gheias-oo-deen, sovereign; soon after which event, Feroze died, aged ninety. Gheias, in five months, was deposed and murdered by the kinsmen who had placed him on the throne. His successor, Abu-bekir, was displaced by the previously exiled monarch, Nasir-oo-deen, after a long and severe contest, during which Delhi repeatedly changed hands. The Hindoos took an active part in the struggle, and the household troops, who were all foreigners, having shown particular hostility to the conqueror, were banished the city, none being permitted to remain if incapable of pronouncing a certain letter peculiar to the languages of Hindoostan. The rule of Nasir was weak and inefficient, and that of his son, Mahmood, who acceded to power in 1394, while yet a minor, embarrassed yet more the public affairs. Mozuffer Khan, the governor of Guzerat began to act as an irresponsible ruler; while Malwa and the little province of Candeish permanently threw off the yoke, and remained independent principalities until the time of Akber. The vizier of Mahmood, with peculiar disloyalty, seized on the province of Juanpoor and founded a kingdom. The remaining territories were torn with the dissensions of jarring factions, and each party was occupied with its own quarrels, when the fierce onslaught of a foreign foe involved all in a common calamity.

Ameer Timur, better known as Timur Beg (chief or commander) or as Tamerlane, has been designated "the fire-brand of the universe," "the apostle of desolation," and by various other opprobrious epithets, all of which his own autobiography, if its authenticity may

be trusted, proves to have been fully merited.* He claimed a remote descent from the same stock as Jengis Khan, whom he in many points resembled; for, though born near Samarcand, in a comparatively civilized country, and a zealous Mussulman by profession, Timur was as barbarous in his warfare, and as short-sighted (though more treacherous and wily) in his policy as the ferocious Mogul. Both were unprincipled marauders, who overran countries and slaughtered unoffending myriads, for plunder; but the latter, while everywhere carrying anarchy, famine, and pestilence in his train, and sparing neither nation nor creed, invariably asserted zeal for Islam as the main spring of his actions, and by a strange mixture of superstition and egotism, seems to have succeeded in deceiving himself at least, as to the true character and consequences of his career. The Seyeds or legitimate descendants of "his holiness the prophet" (through Ali and Fatima), were the exclusive objects of his protection, and their exemption from a personal share in the horrors of war, he considered, or pretended to consider, a certain means of absolution for a life spent in unceasing aggression on the individual and collective rights of the rest of mankind. Having united the hordes of Tartary in the same manner, though not to the same extent as Jengis had done, Timur, after conquering Persia and Transoxiana, ravaged Tartary, Georgia, and Mesopotamia, with parts of Russia and Siberia. Candahar, Ghuznee, and Cabool, to the frontiers of Hindoostan, were also subjugated and placed under the government of Peir Mohammed, the grandson of Timur, who endeavoured to extend his dominions to the south-east by an attack on the Afghans in the Soliman mountains; which proving successful, the invader eventually proceeded to cross the Indus and occupy the city of Ouch, whence he marched to invest Moultan. The place was bravely defended, and Peir lay for six months before its walls. Meanwhile Timur, learning the doubtful state of affairs, renounced his intention of invading the more distant provinces of the Chinese empire, and conducted his forces to India, A.D. 1398, being, he alleged, stimulated thereto by accounts of the gross idolatry still suffered to extend its influence throughout the countries swayed by Moslem rulers. Following the usual route to Cabool, he marched by Haryub and Bunnoo to Dinkot, a place on the Indus to the south of the Salt range, whose exact position is not known. After crossing the river, by a bridge of rafts and reeds, he advanced to the Hydaspes, and marched down its banks, ravaging the country as he passed, as far as Toolumba, where a heavy contribution proved insufficient to save the city from pillage, or the people from massacre.

Moultan had by this time been taken by blockade, famine having conquered where external force had utterly failed; and Peir, leaving a garrison there, joined his grandfather on the Sutlej. At the head of a detachment of 11,000 chosen horse, Timur took possession of Adjudin, where the few remaining inhabitants threw themselves upon his mercy, and being chiefly Seyeds, were spared and shielded from the excesses of the soldiery—a very rare case, for although the promise of similar forbearance was often obtained from the fierce invader, it was almost invariably violated; whether from inability or disinclination to restrain his turbulent associates matters little, since it scarcely affects the degree of guilt involved in giving, or rather selling an immunity which, from one cause or another, he well knew, would not be preserved. His desolating career in Hindoostan may be briefly told; for the terrible details of pillage and slaughter recur again and again, until the mind, sickening with an unbroken chain of similar scenes, has the sense of their atrocity almost dulled by the monotonous repetition. At Bhutneer, the country people who had taken refuge under the walls were massacred; in spite of their capitulation, the inhabitants shared the same fate, and the town was burned. Thence Timur's detachment marched to join the main force, slaying the people of every place traversed, as far as Samana, where the towns being absolutely deserted, the swords of these murderers had some rest, but only sufficient to

* Vide *Mulfuzât Timûri* (printed at the cost of the Oriental Translation Fund). Originally written in Turki, a language as distinct from the modern Turkish as Saxon from English; translated into Persian by Abu Talib Hussyny, and thence into our tongue by Major Stewart. These memoirs afford strong internal evidence of having been actually dictated by Timur; to quote the words of an able critic, any doubt on the subject "would be removed by the unconscious simplicity with which he [Timur] relates his own intrigues and perfidy; taking credit for an excess of goodness and sincerity which the boldest flatterer would not have ventured to ascribe to him."—(Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii., p. 79.)

prepare them for renewed exertion, since, on reaching Delhi, all prisoners above fifteen years of age were put to death, from the fear of their taking part with their countrymen. The number was doubtless very great, even after making large deductions from the accounts of Mussulman writers, who state it at 100,000. Upon the defeat of the Indian army, the reigning prince of Delhi, Mahmood Toghlak, fled to Guzerat, and the city was surrendered under a solemn assurance of protection. Tamerlane was proclaimed emperor of India, and while engaged in celebrating a triumphal feast, his ferocious hordes, laughing to scorn the dearly-bought promise of their leader, commenced their usual course of rapine and plunder, upon which the Hindoos, driven to desperation by witnessing the disgrace of their wives and daughters, shut the gates, sacrificed the women and children, and rushed out to slay and be slain. The whole Mogul army poured into the town, and a general massacre followed, until several streets were rendered impassable by heaps of slain. At length the wretched inhabitants, stupified by the overpowering number and barbarity of the foe, flung down their arms, and "submitted themselves like sheep to slaughter; in some instances permitting one man to drive a hundred of them prisoners before him."

Delhi yielded an enormous booty in gold, silver, and jewels, especially rubies and diamonds; the historian* above quoted, declares that the amount stated by his authorities so far exceeds belief, that he refrains from the mention—neither does he give the number of men and women, of all ranks, dragged into slavery; but it must have been immense. Among them were many masons and other artificers, competent to the construction of a mosque, similar to the noble edifice of white marble built by Feroze, on the Jumna: in which the sanguinary Timur, on the eve of departure from the blasted city, had the audacity to offer up public thanks for the wrongs he had been permitted to inflict.

Merut next fell beneath the same terrible scourge: the walls were thrown down by mines, and every soul put to the sword. The invaders then crossed the Ganges, and proceeded up its banks to near Hurdwar, where the river leaves the mountains. Several minor contests took place with bodies of the Hindoos in the skirts of the hills, in which Timur, although suffering from illness, and burdened with the weight of more than seventy years, took his full share of danger and fatigue, never scrupling to hazard his own person† equally with that of the meanest individual of his force. From Jammu or Jummoo, north of Lahore, he turned south, and reverting to the route by which he had entered India, took his final departure, having occasioned, during the short space of five months, an almost incredible amount of ruin and bloodshed.

For many weeks Delhi remained ungoverned and nearly uninhabited. A chief named Ecbal at length obtained possession, but being slain on an expedition to Moultan, the authority reverted to Mahmood, who, having returned from Guzerat, had taken refuge at Canouj, then held by the king of Juanpoor. Mahmood died, A.D. 1412. His successor, Doulat Khan Lodi, at the expiration of fifteen months, was expelled by Khizer Khan, the governor of the Punjaub.

The Seyeds.—The new ruler, though born in India, was descended from Mohammed, and for this cause found favour with Timur, to whom he complained of having had the governorship of a portion of the Punjaub unjustly taken from him, and was thereupon appointed to the undivided rule of the whole. He affected to recognize his patron as emperor, and did not assume the title or style of royalty on taking possession of the government, which now comprised little beyond Delhi and the adjacent territory. The Punjaub was temporarily re-annexed by him, but the eastern portion, with the country about Sirhind, revolted and severed itself from Delhi, despite the opposition of Khizer, who made spirited efforts to maintain and extend his authority. Tribute was levied from the Rahtores in Rohilcund, and

* Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i, p. 491. For the career of Timur, *see* Elphinstone's able summary—*India*, vol. i., pp. 75 to 80; Price's *Mohammedan History*, vol. iii., pp. 233, 243; and Rennell's *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan*, pp. 116, 121.

† In Catrou's *Mogul Empire*, (a work published in 1709, and alleged to be founded on data collected by a Venetian named Manouchi, who acted as physician to Aurungzebe,) the troops of Timur are represented as commenting severely on the person of their leader, incited by a strong dread of Rana (the title signifying prince being mistaken for the name), whose dominions are described as "almost situate in the midst of Hindoostan," and whose Rajpoot soldiers had the reputation of being invincible. "Have we not," said they [the Tartars], one to another, "served this hair-brained cripple long enough, who, to the loss of a leg, has now, in this last battle, added the loss of an arm." They are, however, induced to persevere, and complete victory is the result. (p. 16.)

from other Hindoos near Gwalior, but the war with the king of Guzerat, though diligently prosecuted, had no important result, and that state retained its independence, as did also the permanent monarchies in the Deccan, together with Malwa, Bengal, Juanpoor (comprehending Oude and Canouj), and the governments of Samana, Biana, and Calpee (in Bundelcund). Khizer died in 1421—his three Seyed successors were engaged in struggles, first, with the Mogul ruler of Cabool (Shah Rokh, the son of Timur), who occasionally took part with the Gukkurs in ravaging the Punjaub; and afterwards with the kings of Juanpoor and Malwa. Under the sway of the last Seyed ruler, Ala-oo-deen, the territory appertaining to Delhi had become so reduced as in one direction to extend for only twelve miles from the capital, and in another scarcely a mile. Moultan, among other places, had become independent, but Badayoon beyond the Ganges being still possessed by Ala, he removed to that place, and having abdicated in favour of Behlol Khan Lodi, who forthwith assumed the title of king, A.D. 1450, he was suffered to remain unmolested in Badayoon for the remaining twenty-eight years of his life.

House of Lodi.—The grandfather of Behlol Lodi had been governor of Moultan under Feroze Toghlak, the great patron of the Afghans, and his father and uncles held commands under the Seyeds. Their wealth and power as military chieftains, together with the calumnies of a disaffected relation, at length excited the jealousy of the then sultan (Mohammed Seyed), by whom the Lodis were driven into the hills, where they successfully resisted his authority. Behlol found means to occupy, first Sirhind, then the whole of the Punjaub, and eventually (by a treacherous use of the influence of Hameed the vizier or prime minister of his predecessor Ala), gained possession of Delhi, to which the Punjaub became thus re-annexed, as also Juanpoor, after a contest carried on with little intermission for twenty-seven years. By this last acquisition, together with others of less importance, the dominions of Behlol were extended, until, at his death in 1488, they reached from the Jumna to the Himalaya mountains as far east as Benares, besides a tract on the west of the Jumna stretching to Bundelcund. The next king, Secander Lodi, regained Behar as far as the frontiers of Bengal, and increased his territories in the direction of Bundelcund. Secander was a just and merciful prince, a poet, and a munificent patron of letters. The single reproach on his character, one rarely brought forward against the Moslem sovereigns of India, is that of bigotry, evinced in the destruction of idolatrous temples in the towns and forts captured from the Hindoos, and in the prohibition of pilgrimages and ceremonial bathings on certain festivals at places situate on the sacred streams within his dominions. His conduct in this respect was at least in accordance with the teaching of the Koran, and greater tolerance would have been contrary to his views of duty. The zeal of Secander is once, and only once, alleged to have prompted an act of cruelty, namely, the execution of a Brahmin who had sedulously propagated the doctrine that "all religions, if sincerely practised, were equally acceptable to God." Ibrahim Lodi, the son and successor of Secander, early offended his family and clansmen, by declaring that a king should acknowledge no such relationship, but should place all the subjects of the state on the same footing. The Afghan chiefs whom his father and grandfather had suffered to sit in their presence, were henceforth commanded to stand in front of the throne with folded arms. The proud Lodi tribe enraged by the contumelious treatment they received, resolved to leave Ibrahim in possession of Delhi, and to raise his brother Julal Khan to the throne of Juanpoor. After a twelvemonth's contest, Julal was taken prisoner and put to death by Ibrahim, who imprisoned the remainder of his brothers, and endeavoured by violence and treachery, to keep under the disaffected and rebellious spirit which his arrogance and distrust perpetually excited among his nobles. At length the whole of the eastern part of his dominions was formed into a separate state under Deria Khan Lohani, whose son afterwards took the title of king. Doulat Khan Lodi, the governor of the Punjaub, dreading the fate of other viceroys, revolted and invoked the aid of a neighbouring potentate who had already evinced his desire to take advantage of the distracted state of India by marauding incursions into the Punjaub.

The celebrated Baber—sixth in descent through his paternal ancestors from Timur the Tartar or rather Turk, and connected through his mother with Jengis Khan the Mogul—acceded, at twelve years of age, by the death of his father to the throne of Fer-

ghana,* (A.D. 1494), which, nothwithstanding his extreme youth, he struggled long and ably to retain, against his own relatives, and the Uzbeks,† who were then founding the dominion which they still possess in Transoxiana.

In the defence of his rightful inheritance Baber appears to have been at first successful, but the death of his uncle, the king of Samarcand, and the confusion which ensued, induced him to attempt the conquest of that city, and after more than one failure, this boy of fifteen became master of the famous capital of Timur. He had however bartered the substance of power for the shadow. The resources of Samarcand, already drained by war, afforded little assistance in the payment of the army, disaffection ensued, which spread to the troops left in Ferghana, and Baber prostrated for a time by dangerous sickness, arose stripped alike of the territory to which he had rightfully succeeded, and that acquired by the sword. After various attempts, both on Samarcand and Ferghana, Baber succeeded in regaining his native kingdom, but being again induced to leave it by the hope of securing the former place also, he finally lost both, and after several years of trial and vicissitude, was betrayed by some Uzbeks whom he had tempted to forsake their ally Tambol (his own rebel general), into the hands of this powerful enemy. Escaping from captivity, Baber, accompanied by his mother, bade a last farewell to Ferghana, with all the bitter feelings of an exile, aggravated by his own peculiar trials, and carrying with him fond recollections of that beautiful land which were never obliterated by the excitement of the brilliant career that awaited him beyond the range of the Hindoo Koosh.‡ The princely adventurer was well received in Bactria, and the Moguls flocked round his standard, until his small force of 200 or 300 men (many of them only armed with clubs) had become the nucleus of a regular and well-equipped army. At this time the descendants of Timur had been expelled from Cabool, which was occupied by the Mogul or Turki family of Arghoon, who had been for some time in possession of Candahar. Baber invaded Cabool, and found little difficulty in securing the sceptre, which he swayed for twenty-two years before his conquest of India, and then bequeathed to heirs of his own lineage, by whom it was enjoyed until the end of the seventeenth century. His long reign was spent in contests with internal and external foes. The rebellion of his brother, Jehangeer, and the attempts of two of his cousins to regain the sovereignty for this branch of the family of Timur, were with difficulty subdued. The victor freely forgave his brother, and spared the lives of his other relatives, thus evincing a clemency very unusual in an oriental despot, and the more to be admired since his power, and even existence, were repeatedly in jeopardy, and only rescued from destruction by the great skill and courage with which he never failed to govern and animate his troops. The conquest of Candahar and expeditions into the mountains of the Afghans and Hazarehs, occupied the first years of his sway in Cabool. In all these journeyings great perils and hardships were endured, and once he nearly perished in the snow during a winter march to Herat, undertaken to secure the co-operation of the members of the Timur house then ruling there, against the Uzbeks. With these old and determined enemies, Baber had many severe contests, until, happily for him, their leader Sheibani Khan, went to war with Shah Ismael Saffavi, king of Persia, and was defeated and slain in 1510. By this event the tide of Tartar conquest was turned, and Baber, aided by the Persian monarch, occupied Bactria and made important conquests in Transoxiana, but these were wrested back again by the Uzbeks, by whom his army was completely routed, A.D. 1514.

Baber now turned his attention to India, and after an invasion of the Punjaub, already alluded to, but attended with no important result, gladly accepted the invitation of its rebellious governor, Doulat Khan Lodi, to return under the pretext of claiming this part of the inheritance of Timur. Some of the Afghan chiefs remained loyal, drove out Doulat Khan, and opposed the assumption of the foreign usurper, but were totally overpowered, and Lahore itself reduced to ashes. Debalpoor was next stormed, and

* A small but rich and beautiful country situated on the upper course of the river Sirr or Jaxartes.

† The Uzbeks (so called from one of their khans or sovereigns) were what the geologists would call "a conglomerate" of tribes of Turki, Mogul, and probably of Fennic origin, the former greatly preponderating. They had before been settled on the Jaik, and had possessed a large tract in Siberia.

‡ Vide *Memoirs of Baber*, written by himself in Turki, translated by Dr. Leyden and Mr. Erskine; see also Mr. Caldecott's *Life of Baber;* Price, and the *Ferishtas'* of both Briggs and Dow.

the garrison put to the sword.) Baber pursued his conquering course to Sirhind, when a quarrel with Doulat Khan, who fled to the hills, obliged him to retrace his steps, leaving Debalpoor in charge of Ala-oo-deen, a brother of king Ibrahim, who, having escaped from captivity, had joined the invader. Doulat Khan was checked by one of Baber's generals, but Baber himself, fully occupied in defending Balkh (the capital of Bactria) against the Uzbeks, deputed to Ala-oo-deen the charge of advancing upon Delhi, which he did, and the insurgents being increased to 40,000 by the disaffection prevalent among the king's troops, defeated the latter in an engagement under the walls of the city. Towards the close of the year 1525, Baber, having settled Balkh, and finally subdued Doulat Khan who was compelled to surrender his hill fort and *library of valuable books*—rather a singular possession for an Afghan chief of the sixteenth century—proceeded from Ropur on the Sutlej, above Lodiana, and from thence nearly by the direct road to Delhi. At Paniput, he learned the advance of Ibrahim at the head of an army, which, by his own account, numbered 100,000 men, with 1,000 elephants. One quarter that amount, under an able and popular leader, might have sufficed to inspire the opposing force, of but 12,000 men, with despondency; but even if the numbers are correctly stated, the characters of the respective leaders render the result easy to be conjectured. Baber took up a position, linked his guns together with ropes of twisted leather, and lined them with infantry, strengthening his flanks by field-works of earth and fascines. Ibrahim, on first approaching the enemy, seemed inclined to stand on the defensive likewise; but, changing his mind, after a few days' skirmishing, led out his army to a general engagement. While attempting to storm the hostile front, the flanks and rear of the assailants were attacked by the right and left wings of Baber, whose advance, showering flights of arrows, was seconded by an occasional discharge of cannon. After a protracted struggle, Baber, perceiving the success of his counter-movement, ordered his centre forward, and completed the rout of the Indian army. Ibrahim was killed, and his force having been nearly surrounded in the contest, which lasted from sunrise till noon, suffered prodigious loss, 15,000 being left dead on the field, of whom a third part lay in one spot around their king, while their total loss in the battle and pursuit was reported at 40,000. Baber mentions especially that his guns were discharged *many times* with efficiency, these engines of destruction having at this period (1526) attained neither in Asia or Europe their present terrible pre-eminence among the weapons of war. Delhi surrendered, and Baber advanced to occupy Agra, the late royal residence, where his first act was to distribute the spoil among his adherents, in a manner which procured for him the nick-name of "the Calender," in allusion to a religious order whose rules forbade them to make provision for the morrow. To his son Humayun was given a diamond of inestimable value, and a shahrukri* to every man, woman, and child in the country of Cabool.

House of Timur.—The conqueror assumed the supreme authority in India, and became the founder of what is universally called the Mogul empire. Yet Baber, although connected through his mother with the royal race of the Moguls, never names that people in his writings but with undisguised aversion, and always makes mention of himself as a Turk,† and the representative of Timur, whose barbarous massacres he too frequently

* This coin is only about tenpence or elevenpence in value, yet the total sum must have been very great.

† The terms *Turk*, *Tartar*, and *Mogul* afford inexhaustible food for controversy to scholars versed in oriental learning; and to convey in few words anything like a clear idea of the different meanings severally attached to them, is utterly impracticable. For the sake of readers unversed in such discussions, it may however be useful to remark that Tartary is the general term now applied by Europeans to the extensive but little-known country whence, under the name of Scythia, barbarian hordes have from very early times issued forth to desolate the fairest portions of Asia and even Europe. Of these a passing mention has been made in noticing the events of the second century of our era (p. 49); the Tochari, named by Strabo as one of the four chief tribes by whom the Greek kingdom of Bactria was overthrown, being supposed to signify the Turks. Timur, in his *Memoirs* (p. 27,) and a Persian author quoted by Price in his *Mohammedan History*, ascribe the origin of the Khans or sovereigns of the wide-spread Tartar nations to Turk, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah. The great grandson of Turk, Alonjah Khan (during whose reign the people forsook the worship of the living God and became idolators), had twin sons named Tartar or Tatar, and Mogul or Mongol, and the quarrels of their immediate descendants gave rise to the inextinguishable animosities which have ever since prevailed among their respective tribes. Mogul is said to be derived from Mungawul, signifying abject or simple-hearted. Tartar, according to the traveller Carpini, A.D. 1246, was the term applied to the Su or Water Mongols, one of four chief tribes then inhabiting Central Tartary, from the name of a river which ran through

imitated wherever the slightest resistance was offered; probably desiring by this ferocity to inspire a degree of terror not warranted by his limited force. Yet Baber was in domestic life kind and affectionate; his *Memoirs* offer repeated evidence of feelings unchilled by ambition and grandeur, of sensibility to the beauties of nature and art retaining its freshness amid the declining years of pampered royalty, and of a temper whose sweetness remained to the last unmarred, even by the thorny pillow of an usurper, or the excesses into which his social temperament helped to draw him. "It is a relief," says Mr. Erskine, "in the midst of the pompous coldness of Asiatic history, to find a king who can weep for days, and tell us that he wept for the companion of his boyhood." And Mr. Elphinstone, when citing this remark, adds—"He [Baber] speaks with as much interest of his mother and female relations as if he had never quitted their fire-side, and his friends make almost as great a figure in the personal part of his narrative as he does himself. He repeats their sayings, records their accidents and illnesses, and sometimes jokes on their eccentricities." Yet this same individual, in many points so estimable, nevertheless deserved the degrading surname of Baber (*the Tiger*), which has superseded his more flattering designations,* for in his character of conqueror even he could seldom afford to be merciful and still more rarely to be just.

To return to the narrative—the occupation of Agra was far from carrying with it the conquest of the kingdom, and before that could be accomplished Baber had three distinct obstacles to overcome; namely, the opposition offered by the Moslem viceroys, who had revolted in the time of Ibrahim, as well as by Afghan and Fermuli chiefs, attached to the late government; secondly, the deep aversion of the Hindoos, evinced by the abandonment of the villages near the spot where the army was encamped, and the consequent difficulty of procuring grain or forage. In the third place, the troops themselves became disaffected, and the weather being unusually sultry and oppressive, so aggravated the sufferings necessarily experienced by natives of cold countries during an Indian summer, that at length all ranks united in demanding to be led back to Cabool. Baber declared his unalterable determination of remaining in India, but gave to all who chose permission to return. The majority decided to stay and share his fortunes, but a part persisting in their former desire, were dismissed with honour under the authority of Khaja Khilan, who was appointed to a government beyond the Indus. This arrangement produced a change of feeling throughout the kingdom, and dissipated the general idea that Baber would depart as Timur had done. Some governors voluntarily tendered submission, detachments were sent to reduce others, and in the course of four months, not only had the country held by Sultan Ibrahim been secured, but all the revolted provinces ever possessed by the house of Lodi, including the former kingdom of Juanpoor, were conquered by Prince Humayun. The supremacy of Baber being thus established over the Moslems, his arms were next directed against the Hindoos.

their territory (Hakluyt, vol. i., p. 30), while Gmelin (*Decouvertes Russes*, vol. iii., p. 209) gives the derivation of the word from *tatanoi*, to collect, used in a reproachful sense to denote robbery, and declares that the Moguls and Calmucks, who are doubtless closely allied, have not the shadow of a tradition which favours the idea of their having ever composed one nation with the Tartars (meaning Turks). De Guignes, on the contrary, recognizes only the Eastern and Western Tartars—the first the Manchoos, the second Turks and Moguls, whom he looked upon as one race, the latter descended from the former. His authority, though usually of much weight, is in this respect diminished by the mistakes committed in confounding distinct races, and likewise in the indistinct geography of Tartary—defects scarcely to be avoided even by writers of the present day on this dark and difficult subject. The tribes now inhabiting Tartary are very numerous and various: language is the chief, if not the only guide by which Europeans have been enabled to class them under the heads of —1st, *Manchoos*, who extend over the region called Mantchouria, stretching from the Eastern Ocean along the north of China, and whose influence is confined chiefly to that country, where at the present moment (1853) a severe struggle is taking place for their extirpation; 2nd, *Moguls*, who occupy the central portion (Mongolia) between the other two; 3rd, *Tartars or Turks*, (of Toorkistan,) whose boundary is the Muz Tagh (ice mountains), the Belut Tagh (dark or cloudy mountains), Hindoo Koosh, &c. The Turki is the language of the Tartars as distinguished from that of the Moguls, but whether these two differ essentially or only as very different dialects of the same tongue is perhaps yet to be decided (Erskine's *Baber*, p. xxi.) Whatever may be the barrier between the Turks and Moguls, it is certainly a great one and of ancient origin. In appearance the contrast is most striking between the short, square, and athletic though disproportioned body, bullet-shaped head, small angular eyes, scanty beard and eyebrows, high cheek-bones, flat nose, and large ears of a Mogul or Calmuck, and the comely form of a Turk, whose well-known Caucasian features and flowing beard in many points resemble those of a European, the exception being the contraction of the eyes.

* His original name was Zehir-oo-deen (protector of the faith) Mohammed (greatly praised).

Sanga, the Rajpoot prince of Mewar [...]th in succession from Hameer Sing, the [c]overer of Cheetore or Chittoor in 1316), [ha]d immediately before the arrival of Baber [bee]n engaged in hostilities with Mahmood, [kin]g of Malwa, whom he had defeated and [tak]en prisoner. The king of Delhi was [lik]ewise the enemy of Sanga, who opened [a f]riendly communication with Baber while [ma]rching against Ibrahim, but on finding [hi]m established on the vacated throne, [tra]nsferred his enmity to the new ruler, and [pr]oceeded to combine against him with [th]e Lodi chiefs (previously defeated by Hu[ma]yun) and Hasan Khan, rajah of Mewat, [a] hilly tract extending towards the river [Ch]umbul, from within twenty-five miles of [De]lhi, and including the petty state now [ca]lled Macheri or Alwa. The first move[m]ents of the Hindoos were successful; the [ga]rrison of Biana (within fifty miles of Agra) [we]re driven with loss into their fort, and [co]mmunication cut off between them and [th]e capital. Baber marched forward with [al]l his forces, and at Sikri, about twenty [m]iles from Agra, found himself in the vici[ni]ty of the enemy, by whom his advanced [gu]ard was immediately attacked, and though [su]pported by the main body, was defeated [wi]th heavy loss. The assailants, instead of [fo]llowing up the victory, withdrew to their [en]campments, and thus gave Baber time to [fo]rtify his position, and revive, by his own [in]domitable energy, the drooping spirits of [th]e troops. This was no easy task; for the [In]dian auxiliaries began to desert or give [w]ay to hopeless despondency, and the feel[in]g spread throughout all ranks, being deep[e]ned by the unlucky arrival of a celebrated [as]trologer from Cabool, who announced, [fr]om the aspect of Mars, the inevitable de[fe]at of the Moslem army, which was drawn [u]p in an opposite direction to that planet. [B]aber cared little for soothsaying, but fully [re]cognised the perils of his position, and, [b]y his own account, repented of his sins, [fo]rswore wine, gave away his gold and silver [dr]inking-vessels to the poor, and remitted [th]e stamp-tax on all Moslems (that is, the re[ve]nue collected by means of a stamp or mark [a]ffixed on all imported articles). Assembling [a]ll the officers, from the highest to the lowest, [h]e addressed them in glowing terms—not, [h]owever, in the usual inflated style regard[in]g the rewards, temporal and eternal, [a]waiting the champions of Islam, but ap[p]ealing almost exclusively to their sense of [h]onour, and setting the chance of military glory, in plain terms, against the risk of death. With one accord they swore on the Koran to conquer or to die, and Baber determined to bring matters to an immediate crisis, a step rendered the more expedient by the daily accounts of fresh disturbances in the provinces. A desperate battle ensued; rajah Sanga was defeated, and escaped with difficulty; Hasan Khan and many other chiefs were slain. The mistaken astrologer ventured to congratulate Baber upon his victory, but received in return a sharp lecture for perversity, conceit, and mischief-making, with a command to quit the royal dominions, accompanied, however, by a liberal present in acknowledgment of long service, faithful though not discreet.

Mewat was next reduced and settled. In the beginning of the following year (1528) Chanderi, on the borders of Bundelcund and Malwa, was attacked. It was held by Medni Rai, a Rajpoot chief, who had escaped from the late battle, and desperately but vainly defended by the Rajpoots, who, on perceiving the troops of Baber mounting their works, slew their women, rushed forth naked, drove the enemy before them, leaped from the ramparts, and continued to fight with unabated fury until all had found the death they sought: 200 or 300 had remained to defend Medni Rai's house, who for the most part slew one another sooner than fall into the hands of the enemy. An Afghan insurrection occurred simultaneously with this siege. The latter was no sooner ended than Baber marched to the Ganges, where the Afghans were drawn up, threw a bridge over the river under cover of artillery, and compelled the insurgents to disperse and take refuge in the dominions of the king of Bengal. It was probably on this occasion that he reduced South Behar, which was subsequently seized by the Lodi prince, Sultan Mahmood, who being once more forced to fly, all that country south of the Ganges reverted to Baber; but North Behar remained in the possession of the king of Bengal, with whom a treaty of peace was formed. The health of Baber now began to fail, and its decline was hastened by circumstances connected with the dangerous illness of Humayun. The physicians had declared the condition of that prince to be beyond the help of their art, upon which the fond father resolved to devote his own life to the preservation of his son's, in conformity with a superstition still prevalent in

the East. His friends, who do not seem to have in the least doubted the efficacy of the measure, entreated him to forbear for the sake of the millions whom he ruled, but without effect. After the customary formula of walking three times round the couch of the prince, Baber spent some moments in earnest prayer to God, and then, impressed with a conviction of the fulfilment of the desired sacrifice, exclaimed, "I have borne it away! I have borne it away!" All historians agree that Humayun began from that time to recover, and Baber to sink rapidly, which latter result may be readily believed. Calling together his sons and ministers, he enjoined concord among them all, and affection among his children, and soon afterwards expired at Agra, A.D. 1530, and was buried in Cabool, at a spot selected by himself, and still marked by a small mosque of marble, above which rises a hill, from whence a noble prospect is obtained. Though he did not attain to the age of fifty years, Baber had, in one sense, lived many lives, from the incessant activity of both mind and body.* On his last journey, when his constitution was evidently giving way, he rode in two days from Calpee to Agra (160 miles), without any particular motive for despatch, and swam twice across the Ganges, as he mentions having done every other river he traversed. Besides the necessary business of the kingdom, the intervals of peace were occupied by planning aqueducts, reservoirs, and other improvements, and in the introduction of new fruits and other productions of remote countries. Yet he found time to indite many elegant Persian poems, and compositions in Turki, which entitled him to distinction among the writers of his age and country. His contemporaries were, in England, Henry VII. and VIII.; in France, Charles VIII., Louis XII., and Francis I.; in Germany, Maximilian and Charles V.; in Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, and Charles. Thus the career of Baber formed part of a memorable epoch, of which the great events were—the discovery of America by Columbus; of the passage to India, *via* the Cape of Good Hope, by Vasco di Gama; the increase of the power of France by the annexation of the great fiefs to the crown, and of Spain by the union of its kingdoms under Charles; the destruction of the empire of Constantinople; the influence of the art of printing; and the rise and progress of the Protestant reformation. (Luther and Baber were born in the same year.)

Baber left three sons besides Humayun, but as he made no declaration in their favour he probably intended the empire to descend undivided to the child for whose life he had evinced such tender solicitude. Of the three younger brothers, one named Kamran was governor of Cabool and Candahar, and being firmly seated there, appeared disposed to maintain his position if necessary by a degree of force with which Humayun could ill cope, since to assemble an army for action in Cabool would necessitate the evacuation of the lately-acquired and disaffected provinces. Kamran was therefore recognized as the independent ruler of his previous government, to which was added the Punjaub and the country on the Indus. The other brothers, named Hindal and Askeri, were appointed to the sway of Sambal and Mewat. By the cession to Kamran, Humayun was deprived of the trusty and warlike retainers who had long been the hereditary subjects of his family, and left to govern new conquests, unsupported by the resources which had materially contributed to their acquisition. At first, by the aid of the veteran army of his father, he succeeded in putting down the Afghan insurrections, which were among the early disturbances of his reign, and came to terms with his future rival, Sheer Khan (an influential Afghan, claiming descent from the kings of Ghor), who submitted on condition of being suffered to retain the hill-fort of Chunar, near Benares. His next struggles were with Bahadur Shah, king of Guzerat, one of the most powerful of the states formed out of the fragments of the empire of Delhi, and which had been recently increased in size and influence by the annexation of Malwa, and the vassalship or fiefdom promised by the princes of Candeish, Berar, and Ahmednugger. Bahadur had taken under his protection Ala-oo-deen, the brother of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, who had

* Towards the close of his life, Baber observed that since his eleventh year he had never kept the annual fast of the Ramzan twice in any one place—a strong proof of the roving, warlike disposition which brought him to India. And it should be remembered that, in spite of many attractive qualities, Baber comes under the same condemnation, for lawless usurpation and bloodshed, as his ferocious ancestors, Jengis and Timur. Nor is his private character free from heavy reproach. Drinking he eventually renounced; persevered in the use of intoxicating confections; but polygamy, with other vices not to be named, he refers to with as little regret as to the "erection of minarets of human heads," and other common incidents of war.

played so conspicuous a part during that monarch's disastrous reign, and he assisted him with troops and money to assemble a force for the attack of Agra, A.D. 1534. The attempt failed, for the army was as speedily dispersed as it had been collected, and Tatar Khan, the son of Ala, fell bravely fighting at the head of a division which had remained faithful amid the general desertion. Humayun proceeded against Bahadur, who was engaged in besieging Chittoor or Cheetore, then held by the Rana of Mewar, but was induced, (by the remonstrances of Bahadur against the impiety of molesting a Mussulman prince while engaged in war with infidels, or else by his own dilatory habits), to retard his march until the place was taken, and the besieger prepared to receive him in an intrenched camp at Mandesor, rendered formidable by artillery, commanded by a Constantinopolitan Turk, and partly served by Portuguese prisoners.* These advantages were however wholly neutralized by the enemy's success in cutting off the supplies, and thus making the position untenable, upon which Bahadur blew up his guns, and, leaving the army to disperse as they chose, fled by night almost unattended to the sea-port of Cambay, whither he was followed by Humayun, who reached that town on the evening of the day on which the fugitive had departed for a more secure place of refuge at Diu, in the remotest part of the peninsula of Guzerat. While the pursuers were encamped at Cambay, a night attack was made by the Coolis, a forest-tribe, still famous for similar exploits in this part of India, with such silence and wariness, that the royal tent itself was plundered, and the baggage and books carried off—among the latter was a copy of the *History of Timur*, illustrated with paintings. Humayun, in unjust retaliation for the conduct of these mountaineers, gave up the town to plunder, and then quitting the peninsula, proceeded to occupy the settled part of Guzerat. The hill fort of Champaneir, he surprised by a stratagem, having, with 300 chosen men, scaled the walls in the night by means of iron spikes, fixed in an almost perpendicular rock; the daring besiegers, including the king, ascending separately during an attack made on one of the gates by the army.†

Shortly after this success, and before sufficient time could elapse for the consolidation of his new conquests, Humayun was recalled to Agra by intelligence of the proceedings of Sheer Khan, who had made himself master of Behar, including the strong fortress of Rohtas,‡ and was successfully prosecuting the invasion of Bengal. The measures of this usurper had been laid with much skill and circumspection, his hope being, by the union of the Afghans, to

* In the *Memoirs of Humayun*, written by Jouher the ewer-bearer, (a faithful servant who attended that monarch during his adversity, and was eventually rewarded by a treasurership in Lahore) and translated by Major Stewart, it is asserted that Bahadur had entered into a treaty with the Portuguese, (established at Surat some time before), and had by their assistance raised a force of 6,000 Abyssinians or negroes. Price, on the authority of Abu Fazil, states, that Bahadur had sent a deputation to Diu to solicit the aid of the Portuguese viceroy, or captain-general of the possessions of that nation on the western side of India, requesting his assistance in waging war against the house of Timur. The Portuguese commander accordingly assembled at Diu a considerable body of troops, and a powerful naval armament, in readiness to meet Bahadur, on whose arrival, it is said, some cause of suspicion, not satisfactorily explained, induced the European chief, instead of coming to meet his ally, to remain on board ship on pretence of illness. Bahadur, with a degree of confidence which seems to indicate the whole affair to have originated, not in a misunderstanding, but in systematic treachery on the part of the Portuguese, put himself on board a galley to visit the alleged invalid; but had no sooner reached the admiral's vessel, than, perceiving the deceit practised upon him, he endeavoured to return to the shore. The Portuguese had however resolved on first obtaining from him the cession of certain ports at Guzerat, and endeavoured to detain him by fair words, entreating a moment's delay while they brought a present in token of profound respect; but Bahadur desired that the present might be sent after him and persisted in making for the ship's side. The Portuguese Cazi (probably the fiscal) now interposed and forbade his departure, upon which the Sultan in a paroxysm of indignation drew his scimitar, clove him in twain, and succeeded in gaining his own galley, which was speedily hemmed in by the enemy's fleet. An unequal conflict ensued, and Bahadur, perceiving the inevitable result, sprang into the sea, and is generally supposed to have been drowned. The date of this event, A.D. 1537, is preserved in the Persian characters comprised in the sentence, "Feringuian Bahadur Kosh,"—*Portuguese butchers of the hero.*—(Price, vol iii. p. 751).

† After its capture the stronghold was vainly searched for the treasure it was believed to contain; one officer alone knew the secret, which it was proposed to draw from him by torture, but to this Humayun refused to consent, and directed that wine and good cheer should be tried instead. The expedient proved successful, and the officer willingly revealed the existence of a large amount of gold and silver at the bottom of the reservoir, which was at once apparent on the water being drawn off.

‡ Rohtas was taken by treachery from a Hindoo rajah. Sheer Khan, having besought an asylum for his family, introduced two armed soldiers in each of the covered litters supposed to contain women, and then easily overcame the unsuspecting garrison.

drive the Moguls out of the country, and re-establish a Patan dynasty.* To retard the advance of Humayun he had strongly garrisoned the famous fortress of Chunar, which stands on a rock close to the Ganges, on what may be termed a detached portion of the Vindya mountains. As Humayun marched along the river, and conveyed his guns and stores by its waters, he was compelled to commence hostilities with the siege of this fort. By a cruel stratagem† information was acquired regarding the state of the defences, and attempts were made to mine the accessible portions of the walls on the land side, and by floating batteries to bear upon the face fronting the river.—These failed, but the garrison, after several months' resistance, were starved into surrender, and the right hands of all the gunners, to the number of 300, cut off, without the consent of Humayun, by his chief engineer Rumi Khan, who soon afterwards, through the malice of rival courtiers, perished by poison. At the defile of Sicragali, a detachment of the imperial army, sent to take possession, were attacked and repulsed with considerable loss by the son of Sheer Khan, who then rejoined his father in the hills, leaving the pass unobstructed, having followed out the well-devised policy of impeding Humayun as far as possible without hazarding any decisive conflict. During the protracted siege of Chunar, Mahmood had been defeated and Gour reduced by Sheer Khan, who having removed the captured treasures to the before-mentioned fort of Rohtas, whither he had previously assembled his family, now left Gour undefended. Humayun took possession, but gained little advantage thereby, for the rains had attained their climax, the Delta of the Ganges was one vast sheet of water, and in the country beyond the reach of inundation every brook and channel had become an impassable flood. It was impossible to carry on operations in Bengal, and extremely difficult to communicate with upper India. Several months of forced inactivity elapsed, rendered doubly wearisome by the moist and sultry climate. The sickly season that followed the heavy rains thinned the ranks of the soldiers, and depressed their spirits so greatly that when the roads became again traversible they began to desert in numbers—Prince Hindal, who had been left in North Behar, setting the example. Meanwhile Sheer Khan issued from his retreat, seized Behar and Benares, recovered Chunar, laid siege to Juanpoor, and pushed his forces up the Ganges as far as Canouj. Humayun once more found his communication with the capital intercepted, and leaving a detachment which he could but ill spare to guard Gour, he reluctantly set out to return to Agra with the remainder of his diminished army, but was intercepted between Patna and Benares by Sheer, who had raised the siege of Juanpoor and advanced by forced marches for this purpose. Instead of at once attacking the troops of his rival while suffering from fatigue, Humayun suffered many valuable hours to elapse, and the next morning found Sheer (who had now assumed the title of Shah or king) so skilfully intrenched that he could neither be passed nor attacked with any prospect of success. Humayun therefore, in turn, fortified his position and began to collect boats, with a view of forming a bridge across the Ganges, and then pursuing his way along the opposite bank. Sheer Shah suffered this work to proceed for two months, but when it approached completion, he attacked Humayun about day-break in three colums, and completely surprised the camp. Humayun attempted to rally his troops, but with little effect, and after receiving a wound in the arm was prevailed on by three of his favourite officers to seek safety in flight, and plunge at once into the Ganges.‡ Here his career had nearly terminated, for before reaching the opposite bank his horse sunk from exhaustion, but the royal rider was saved by the exertions of a poor man opportunely crossing at the time with a leathern bag or water-skin inflated like a bladder. Thus rescued, Humayun, accompanied by a very small retinue, fled to Calpee, and thence to Agra, (A.D. 1539.) Almost the whole army had been slain or drowned, and the queen, who having been early surrounded it had been the object of his last exertion to release, remained in the hands of the enemy, but was treated with great delicacy and consideration. By some accounts, Sheer Shah

* According to *Ferishta*, the proper country of the Afghans is called Roh, and extends along the Indus; but, subsequent to the introduction of Islam, having settled at Patna on the Ganges, they gradually acquired the appellation of Patans.

† Rumi Khan (originally a Turki slave named Soghrauk, but promoted for his ability, and thus entitled by the Guzerat princes), severely flogged a *negro* slave, and sent him to play the part of a deserter in the fort. The Afghans received him kindly, and suffered him to examine their works, which having done, he returned to his intriguing master.

‡ The three officers returned to the battle and nobly perished in attempting to rescue the queen.

is said to have gained this important victory by treachery, having broken an armistice, which from his character is very probable—but by others it is asserted that he never promised to suspend hostilities, but only contrived to delude his adversary into so doing by delusive negotiations and other pretexts, which war is too generally supposed to justify and even necessitate. On reaching Agra, Humayun found Hindal in open rebellion, and Kamran preparing to take a similar course, but his sudden arrival forced them to come to terms, and the three brothers, after spending eight or nine months in preparation, assembled a fresh army to attack Sheer Shah. Kamran remained to guard Agra while Humayun crossed the Ganges near Canouj by means of a bridge of boats, at the head of 90,000 cavalry, with kettle-drums beating and trumpets sounding. A general action ensued (A.D. 1540), the imperial troops were again utterly routed and driven into the Ganges, and Humayun himself escaped with extreme difficulty. After exchanging his wounded horse for an elephant, he crossed the stream, and was drawn up the steep bank by two fugitive soldiers, who having reached the shore in safety, twisted their turbans together, and threw the ends to his assistance. After this discomfiture, Humayun, with Hindal and Askeri, took refuge in Lahore, where Kamran had previously retreated, but this prince, having made peace with the conqueror by the cession of the Punjaub, retired to Cabool, leaving his unfortunate brother to provide as best he could for his own safety. The succeeding adventures of the royal wanderer would form a fitting pendant to those of the English Stuarts, from the instances of unwavering loyalty, connected with his hair-breadth escapes—while his character as a Mussulman, though far from faultless, will yet well bear comparison with that of the professedly Christian but licentious Charles, or even of the "bonnie Prince," for whom Scottish chivalry and misfortune have combined to win a place in the page of history, which would probably have been very differently filled had the Young Pretender been destined to become a crowned king instead of dying in exile.

After the desertion of Kamran, which was followed by that of Hindal and Askeri, Humayun* sought to obtain the recognition of his authority in Sinde, then ruled by Hussyn, the head of the Arghoon family—but after a year and-a-half wasted in alternate negotiations and hostilities, he found his funds exhausted, and the adventurers who had rallied round his standard dispersed, just as Hussyn approached to venture a decisive conflict. During the previous interval, Humayun, then about three-and-thirty years of age, had married a beautiful girl of fourteen, with whom he had become enamoured at an entertainment prepared for him in the apartments of the mother of Prince Hindal. Carrying with him his young bride Hameida, he fled to Ouch, and thence proceeded to ask the protection of Maldeo, rajah of Marwar, but on reaching Joudpoor, after a toilsome journey over the desert, during which he lost many of his followers from thirst and fatigue,† a new disappointment awaited him in the discovery of the unfriendly disposition of the rajah. The royal fugitive, again driven to seek comparative safety amid the dreary sands, now led his little band towards Amercot, a fort in the desert, not far from the Indus. In this route they experienced yet greater trials than during the one previously taken. Before quitting the inhabited country, the villagers repelled all approaches to their wells, which were to them precious possessions, and it was not without a conflict and bloodshed that the travellers were enabled to slake their burning thirst. After leaving behind the last traces of human culture, their obstacles and difficulties increased ten-fold until, one morning, when faint and weary with a long night march, Humayun, who had remained behind with the females and servants, while the few chiefs marched on at some distance in front, perceived the approach of a considerable body of horse, under the command of the son of Maldeo, and prepared to meet a fate similar to that of the Imaum Hussyn and his ill-fated com-

* These names, like almost all Eastern appellations, have each a distinct signification. Thus, Humayun, means *auspicious*; Kamran, *successful*; Hindal, *Indian*, and Askeri, *born in the camp*.

† At one time they are stated to have travelled twenty-seven hours without finding water, and at the expiration of that time, having at length come upon a well and rivulet, Humayun alighted, and after prostrating himself in gratitude to the Almighty, ordered all the water-bags to be filled, and sent back on his own horses for the use of those who had fallen exhausted by the way, adding at the same time a melancholy but needful command, for the burial of "all the persons who had died from thirst." A very unpleasing anecdote is however related by Jouher, of Humayun's having taken advantage of the thirst of a Mogul merchant who had lent him money, to oblige him to cancel the debt.

panions.* The valour of Sheikh Ali Beg, one of Humayun's bravest and most faithful followers, appears to have warded off the immediate danger, and soon afterwards the Hindoo leader, bearing in his hand a white flag, approached the party, and having represented that they had wilfully done wrong in killing kine in a Hindoo country, and likewise in entering his father's territory without leave, supplied them with water for their immediate relief, and then permitted them to proceed without further molestation. Several weary marches, with intense suffering from thirst, further diminished the small but faithful band, before Humayun with seven mounted horsemen reached Amercot, where the Rana† (Pursaud) welcomed the dethroned monarch with most courteous and generous hospitality. The remainder of the fugitives found refuge within the walls of the fortress on the same day, and thankful indeed must Hameida have been to quit her horse, and find at length an interval of rest. Pursaud offered to assist Humayun in a fresh endeavour to establish himself in Sinde, placing at his service 2,000 horsemen of his own tribe (Rajpoots), and 5,000 cavalry belonging to his allies. These auxiliaries, or a portion of them, were gladly accepted, and Humayun, accompanied by the Rana, with about 100 Moguls, whom he had himself succeeded in assembling, marched towards Tatta. Hameida remained at Amercot, and on the following day gave birth to the celebrated Akber (A.D. 1542). The joyful intelligence was immediately forwarded to Humayun, who unable to practise the munificence customary in the East on these occasions, called for "a china plate," and breaking a pod of musk, distributed it among the chiefs who came to offer their congratulations, saying—"this is all the present I can afford to make you on the birth of my son, whose fame will I trust be one day expanded all over the world, as the perfume of the musk now fills this apartment." Joon or Jiun (a place not marked on the maps, but supposed to have been situated on a branch of the Indus, half-way between Tatta and Amercot, was captured after an action with the officer in charge, and though harassed by the troops of the Arghoons, Humayun's party held their ground, and were strengthened by the neighbouring princes until they amounted to about 15,000 horse. Hameida and the infant prince (by this time about six weeks old) joined the camp, and all seemed prospering, when Rana Pursaud received an affront from a Mogul, and was so dissatisfied by Humayun's conduct in the matter, that he indignantly quitted Joon, with all his followers and friends. Humayun, thus rendered too weak to contest with Hussyn Arghoon, proceeded to Candahar, but was compelled by his turbulent brothers to escape to Seestan with Hameida, and thence to seek refuge in Persia, the infant Akber falling into the hands of his uncle Mirza Askeri, who showed more kindness on the occasion than might have been expected.

Afghan tribe of Soor.—Sheer Shah‡ assumed, as has been shown, the title of king in 1540, and took possession of all Humayun's territories. After commencing the famous fort of Rohtas on the Hydaspes, on which he expended an enormous sum of money, and named after that in Behar, he returned to Agra, and there found employment in subduing the revolt of his own governor of Bengal. He conquered Malwa in the course of the year 1542, and soon afterwards reduced the fort of Raiseen, held by a Hindoo chief. The garrison surrendered on terms, but after they had left the fort, the capitulation was declared void on some quibbling legal pretext, and the Hindoos were attacked and cut to pieces after a brave resistance. Barbarous as the Mohammedans too often showed themselves in India, yet treachery such as this can hardly be paralleled, save in the career of Timur. In 1544, Sheer marched into Marwar, which was desperately defended by rajah Maldeo, who, though able to collect only 50,000 men wherewith to oppose his adversary's powerful army, estimated at 80,000, and probably well-provided with artillery, appears to have at first succeeded in overawing the invader, aided by the natural obstacles offered by the sterility of his

* In the desert of Kerbela, A.D. 680, Hussyn, the son of Ali and Fatima, with seventy-three persons of his family, including his infant child, were cruelly massacred. Several heroic youths, his sons and nephews, perished singly in defending the venerated person of the Imaum; who after a protracted defence at length sunk, mutilated of an arm and covered with wounds, of which thirty-six were counted on his dead body, before it was finally crushed by twenty horsemen, and then left to be devoured by wild beasts. The unfortunate females were thrown across the backs of camels and afterwards stripped and publicly exposed—all these atrocities being committed by Mohammedans. (Price, vol. i. p. 410.)

† The patronymic of the princes of Mewar.

‡ His name was changed from Fureed, to Sheer Khan, or *Lion-knight*, from his slaying a wild beast while hunting with the king of Berar.

territory and the want of water in many parts of it. At length Sheer Shah, always a cunning schemer, contrived to sow division in the hostile camp by the common expedient of letters written on purpose to be intercepted. The rajah's suspicions were raised against some of his chiefs, and he commenced a retreat. One of the suspected leaders, indignant at the imputation, determined, in the true Rajpoot spirit, to give incontestable proof of its injustice, and quitting the army at the head of his own tribe fell with such impetuosity on the enemy, that Sheer Shah with difficulty and severe loss succeeded in repelling the assailants. He was, however, eventually victor here, as also at Chittore; but at Calinjer, to which he laid siege, a striking retribution awaited him. The rajah, warned by the breach of faith committed at Raiseen, refused to enter into any terms with his perfidious foe, and Sheer, while superintending the batteries, was so scorched by the explosion of a magazine struck by the rebound of a shell, that he expired in a few hours, but continued to direct the operations of the siege during his mortal agonies, his last words being an exclamation of pleasure at learning that the place was taken.

This ambitious, cruel, and vindictive man, nevertheless evinced considerable ability in civil government, and, happily for the subjects of his usurped authority, seems to have recognised the promotion of their welfare as his best means of security. He caused a high road to be constructed, extending from Bengal to the western Rohtas, near the Indus, a distance of about 3,000 miles, with caravanserais at every stage, all furnished with provisions for the poor, and attendance of proper casts for Hindoos as well as Mussulmans. An Imaum (priest) and Muezzin (crier to call to prayers) were placed at the numerous mosques erected on the route; wells were dug at distances of a mile and-a-half, and the whole way planted with fruit-trees for refreshment and shade. Sheer Shah was buried in a stately mausoleum still standing at Sahseram, placed in the centre of an artificial piece of water, a mile in circumference, which is faced by walls of cut stone, with flights of steps descending to the water. Previous to his death, his eldest son had been the recognised heir to the throne, but being a prince of feeble character was supplanted by his brother, who reigned for nine years, under the title of Selim Shah. On his decease, A.D. 1553, his son, a boy of twelve years old, was murdered by his uncle, who seized the throne under the name of Mohammed Adili,* but was prevented from using the powers of a ruler by natural incapacity, increased by habits of the most odious debauchery. His extravagance speedily emptied the royal coffers, upon which he resumed the governments and jaghires† of the nobles and bestowed them on the lowest of his creatures. The proud Afghans, stung even more by the insulting bearing of their unworthy ruler than by the injuries they suffered at his hand, fled in numbers, and raised the standard of revolt at Chunar. Meanwhile, the person of the king was protected and his authority upheld by the exertions of Hemu, his chief minister, a Hindoo of mean appearance and low origin, who had formerly belonged to the very lowest class of small shopkeepers, as a retailer of salt, but who had been gradually raised to power by the late king, and now displayed a degree of zeal and ability, which would have honoured a better cause. From some weakness or personal defect Hemu was unable to sit on horseback, but he directed all military operations, and fought with unfailing intrepidity from his litter mounted on an elephant. Not the least extraordinary part of his history is the manner in which he succeeded in reconciling such of the haughty Afghans and unruly Moguls as still remained with Adili, to his authority; this he appears to have done chiefly by the munificence with which he distributed whatever treasure or revenue came into his hands—for his objects and motives, though scarcely indicated in the contemptuous and calumnious mention made of "this swarthy upstart" by Mussulman historians, unquestionably soared far above the mere accumulation of wealth. Delhi and Agra were seized on by Ibrahim Soor, a member of the reigning family, who attempted to assume the supreme authority under the name of Ibrahim III., but was opposed by Hemu, and also by Secander Soor, another relative of Adili's, who caused himself to be proclaimed king in the Punjaub. Ibrahim was defeated first by Secander and then by Hemu. The adventurous minister next marched towards Bengal, to

* This wretch, known before his usurpation as Moobariz Khan, is alleged to have dragged the prince from his mother's arms, that mother being his own sister and tried friend. (*Ferishta*, vol. ii. p. 142.)

† The revenues of certain lands granted by the king, sometimes in perpetuity but generally revocable at pleasure, and on military tenure.

oppose the governor, Mohammed Soor, who had assumed the rank of an independent ruler. Hemu was again victorious, this new adversary being defeated and slain; but struggles in other quarters still continued, and a more formidable foe than any yet dealt with, arose in the person of the dethroned Humayun, who had gradually re-established himself in the Punjaub, where Secander, who had occupied Agra and Delhi on the defeat of Ibrahim, now marched for his expulsion. Before narrating the success of Humayun and Akber, and the fate of Ibrahim and of Hemu and Adili, it is necessary to revert to previous events and sketch the chain of circumstances which ended in the restoration of the exiled monarch.

House of Timur restored.—Humayun entered Persia in much uncertainty regarding the reception he should receive from Shah Tahmasp, the son and successor of Shah Ismael, the first of the Saffavi or Sophi kings. Though both were zealous Mohammedans, they belonged to distinct sects, characterised by a degree of mutual animosity, for which the difference of opinion existing between them on doctrinal points far less than those which divide the churches of England and Rome, is quite insufficient to account.—(*See* note to p. 62). Shah Tahmasp was a strenuous advocate of the Sheiah doctrine, which had been widely disseminated through Persia by the instrumentality of his ancestors, dervises much famed for sanctity, while Humayun was a Sonnite, and this was doubtless one cause of the want of cordiality which marked the private intercourse of the two monarchs, whose connexion was really, on both sides, an interested one. At first Humayun seems to have been inclined to put in practice his cherished desire of ceasing, at least for a time, the weary struggle for power, in which he had been so long engaged, and proceeding on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but his faithful followers urgently dissuaded him from this project, pleading the disastrous results it would have on the fortunes of Akber. The reception met with in Persia successfully seconded their arguments—the governors of each province received him with regal honours, the people came out to bid him welcome, and palaces were prepared for his accommodation at Cazvin and elsewhere. But the splendour with which the Persian despot thought proper to gild the fallen majesty of his unfortunate compeer, was unaccompanied by a single ray of true sympathy; for many months Humayun was not suffered to appear before the Shah, and his brave-hearted envoy, Behram Beg, was harshly treated for refusing to wear the peculiar-shaped cap,* from which the Persians have acquired the title of Kuzilbash (*Red-heads*), in allusion to its colour, and which was expressly designed for a sectarian symbol. Behram urged that he was the servant of another prince, and not at liberty to act without orders. He persisted in declining to assume this badge, unawed by the displeasure of Tahmasp, who strove to intimidate the refractory ambassador, by the summary execution of some prisoners brought before him for the purpose. This incident was a sufficiently significant prelude to the long-delayed interview, during which Tahmasp affected to receive Humayun as his equal, but in reality took ungenerous advantage of his defenceless position, by compelling him, by means of threats affecting life itself, to assume the obnoxious cap. Nor even after this concession could Tahmasp resist taunting his guest with having, during his prosperity, when practising the favourite Arabian form of divination by arrows, to discover the destiny of reigning princes, placed the name of the king of Persia in a rank inferior to his own. Humayun frankly acknowledged that he had done so, and gently urged in justification his hereditary rank as Padshah† or Emperor of India, whereupon Tahmasp broke out into violent and unjust invective against the arrogance which had rendered him a fugitive, and thrown his female relatives and infant heir into the hands of enemies.

Notwithstanding the humiliations suffered in private from what he justly termed "the meanness of this Persian monarch," Humayun continued to receive every outward mark of unbounded munificence in the festivals prepared in his honour, especially the military diversion of great circular hunts, so famous in the annals of Timur. All the expenses thus incurred are however said to

* The cap which Humayun so reluctantly assumed was that called *Taji Hyder*, in honour of Hyder, the father of Shah Ismael, by whom it was first adopted. It consisted of a tiara of crimson silk, richly ornamented with gold and jewels, of a high conical shape and divided into twelve segments, in honour of the twelve Imaums, from whom the reigning family claimed descent.

† This title was exclusively assumed by the dynasty of the Great Mogul.

have been repaid two-fold by the gift of a few rich gems, which the exiled monarch had brought with him from Hindoostan. One of these was a diamond, which the jewellers of Tahmasp declared to be above all price, it was perhaps that obtained at Agra, and there estimated in a somewhat indefinite manner as equal in value "to the purchase of a day's subsistence for one-half the inhabitants of the terrestrial globe." Behram Beg, the bearer of this costly offering, was dignified by the title of Khan, and another officer with that of Sultan, but it was not without far heavier sacrifices that the assistance, from the first promised to their sovereign, was at length afforded. He was compelled to sign a paper, the contents of which, though not precisely stated, involved a pledge, in the event of success in regaining the sceptre of Baber, to cede to Persia the province or kingdom of Candahar, and likewise to introduce among the Mussulmans of India the profession of the Sheiahs in opposition to that of the Sonnites. Orders were then given for the assemblage of 14,000 horse in Seestan, under the command of Murad Mirza, the son of Tahmasp, and after some more bickering the monarchs parted, and Humayun proceeded again to try his fortune in war, his private forces amounting only to about 700 men. At this period (1545) Sheer Shah was still alive, Kamran swayed Cabool, and his younger brothers, after the settlement of their private quarrels, received appointments under him; Hindal being governor of Ghuznee, and Askeri of Candahar, which latter place was attacked by Humayun and captured after a siege of five months. Askeri was taken and kept in close captivity for the next three years. The fort and treasures were made over to the Persians, on which the greater part of them returned home, leaving a garrison under Murad Mirza. According to Abul Fazil* the conduct of the Persians to the inhabitants was so cruelly oppressive as to justify Humayun, on the sudden death of Murad, in treacherously seizing the fortress; his troops obtaining entrance thereto on the plausible pretext of placing Askeri in charge of the Persian governor. Some of the garrison offered resistance on discovering what was really intended, but their opposition was soon silenced in death, and the remainder were suffered to return to Persia. From Candahar, Humayun marched to Cabool, of which he took possession without a struggle, for Kamran, finding himself deserted by Hindal and many other chiefs who had gone over to the now successful brother, had sought refuge in Sinde. With Cabool, Humayun recovered Akber, then between two and three years of age, but both the city and the young prince were subsequently re-captured by Kamran, who long held his ground against all attempts for his expulsion. Prisoners taken during this siege were slain in cold blood by the assailants, and treated with yet greater barbarity by Kamran, who threatened, if the firing were not discontinued, to expose Akber on the walls. Eventually, being unable to continue the contest, he escaped by night, and by the aid of the Uzbeks again made head against his brother for about eighteen months, but was, at the expiration of that time, compelled to surrender. Humayun behaved on this occasion very nobly, treated Kamran with great kindness, released Askeri, and, accompanied by Hindal, sat down with them at a feast. The four brothers having eaten salt† together, seemed for the time entirely reconciled, but during Humayun's subsequent absence in Transoxiana, the conquest of which he had resolved on attempting, Kamran once more rebelled, and after many vicissitudes, (during which Cabool and the young prince were again lost and won, and Hindal fell in the cause of Humayun,) was finally betrayed by the sultan of the Gukkurs, with whom he had taken refuge, into the hands of his much-injured brother. Some chiefs, whose wives and children had been savagely disgraced and murdered by order of Kamran during the siege of Cabool in 1547, now loudly urged that his life should pay the forfeit of his crimes. This Humayun steadfastly refused,

* Abul Fazil, the famous minister of Akber, recorded the leading events of the reigns of this sovereign and his father in an heroic poem comprising 110,000 couplets, from which Ferishta has borrowed largely. Although a man of extraordinary ability, he was, unfortunately for the students of history, an accomplished courtier and professed rhetorician, delighting in the cumbrous and inflated style still in vogue in India. His account of important events is therefore often unsatisfactory, and, unless carefully weighed, misleading; but, notwithstanding their defects, his works (the *Akber Namah* and *Ayeen Akbery*) afford information not to be obtained elsewhere.

† In the east it is regarded as peculiarly infamous for either the giver or receiver of the lowest description of hospitality, to practice hostility against one another. Thus, salt, which forms an ingredient of the most sumptuous or humble meal has become a type and pledge of good faith.

but consented to allow him to be blinded, the barbarous method commonly resorted to in the East, to crush ambitious pretenders to that uneasy seat—the throne of a despot. The cruel operation was usually performed by means of a searing instrument, called a fire-pencil, held against the visual nerve until it was annihilated, or by means of antimony; but in this case, perhaps from the fact of several state prisoners condemned in late reigns to a similar fate having escaped its completion—a lancet was employed, and after many wounds had been inflicted, without drawing a groan, lemon-juice and salt were at last squeezed into the sightless orbs of the wretched sufferer, who then exclaimed in uncontrollable agony—"O Lord my God! whatever sins I have committed have been amply punished in this world, have compassion on me in the next." Humayun shortly afterwards went to visit his unhappy brother, and wept long and bitterly while Kamran confessed the justice of his punishment, and asked leave to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca. This he was suffered to do, and died in that place in 1557. Askeri, who had likewise returned to the course of rebellion after having repeatedly abjured it, had been previously captured, but was only punished by imprisonment, from which he also was released, for the purpose of proceeding to Mecca, and died on his way thither. Thus delivered from the difficulties in which the turbulence and disunion of his brothers had involved him during so long a period, Humayun began to take advantage of the unsettled state in which the death of Selim Shah and the misgovernment of his successor had involved the territories conquered by Baber, which had gradually, as has been shown, been parted by various usurpations into five distinct states, whose rulers were at variance with one another. In January, 1555, he started from Cabool with 15,000 horse, obtained possession of Lahore, and subsequently engaged Secander, who being defeated fled to the mountains near the Himalaya, leaving Humayun to occupy Delhi and Agra. The portion of his original dominions thus at length regained, after sixteen years of strife and banishment, had been enjoyed by Humayun less than six months, when an accident occurred which produced fatal results. The monarch had ascended the terrace at the top of his library to enjoy the cool evening air, and give orders respecting the attendance of astronomers to note the rising of Venus, which was to be the signal for the announcement of a general promotion among the nobility and officers. While preparing to descend the steep and highly-polished stairs, protected only by an ornamental parapet a foot high, a muezzin or crier announced the hour of prayer from the minarets of the adjoining mosque, where the people being assembled had just offered the monarch the usual *kornesh* or salutation. Humayun, intending to repeat the customary formula, attempted to seat himself on the spot, but his foot becoming entangled in the folds of his robe, he fell headlong down the steps, receiving a contusion on the right temple, of which he died, aged somewhat less than forty-nine years.

Historians agree in according him high rank as a benevolent, forgiving, and munificent prince, intrepid in the hour of danger, patient in adversity, moderate in prosperity, and skilled in literature, mathematics, geography, astronomy, and the mechanical sciences. These varied gifts, united to a naturally easy temper, pleasing person, and courteous demeanour, rendered his society so delightful that Baber used often to declare Humayun to be without an equal as a companion. Procrastination and indecision were his characteristic failings; these may be easily traced to the frequent and intoxicating use of opium, a vice whose degrading influences were heightened by the peculiar defects of his religious creed. Perhaps no single character, when carefully weighed would afford an inquirer into the effects of Mohammedanism on individuals more striking evidence than that of Humayun. His conduct repeatedly affords evidence of the want of a steady principle of action, directing even the passing thoughts of the mind, and marking with a broad line the difference between right and wrong. Notwithstanding the false notions of expediency which led him to commit, or at least sanction, crimes from which a naturally gentle and easy disposition must have revolted, col. Dow has said that "had he been a worse man he would have been a greater monarch." The remark sounds strangely, but it is to be hoped that young students of history will not forget that all Christendom concurs in invoking the same just, merciful and omnipotent Ruler to give wisdom to senators and prosperity to nations—therefore any description of greatness, inconsistent with the goodness inculcated in the Gospel, ought simply to excite abhorrence

and reprobation. Most assuredly the man who, in an unrighteous cause, has made mothers childless, and widowed happy wives, desolated cultivated lands and spread famine and pestilence in his train, has attained in the sight of his Creator a pre-eminence in crime little in accordance with the idea commonly attached to the word greatness. Some ray of light, breaking through the dense clouds in which the teaching of the False Prophet had involved the purposes and results of war, beamed on the mind of Humayun, when not many days before his death he prayed, "Lord, ennoble me with the knowledge of thy truth;" and described himself as "sorely afflicted by the perplexities of a troubled mind." The faith of Islam and its innumerable observances had thus utterly failed to enlighten or sustain even a follower, so diligent in their observance, that a sentiment of deep reverence had all his life long preserved him from so much as uttering the name of his Creator with unwashen hands.*

A new epoch is formed by the reign of Akber, since by him India was consolidated into one formidable empire, by the absorption of the various small kingdoms which had sprung up during the reign of Mohammed Toghlak, as also by the annexation of numerous Hindoo principalities, which Akber obtained far less by force than by the favours and distinctions which he invariably bestowed on the native rulers so soon as they consented to recognize his supremacy, without regard to their religious opinions. Before proceeding further, the origin and condition of these states must be shown, as the reader may probably need this knowledge for subsequent reference.

The *Bahmani kingdom of the Deccan* was founded by an Afghan, born in the lowest condition at Delhi, and servant to a Brahmin astrologer, named Gungoo, much favoured by Mohammed Toghlak. In consideration of his good conduct, Gungoo gave Hussun a pair of oxen, and permitted him to till a piece of land for his own sustenance. While ploughing, Hussun discovered a copper casket filled with ancient gold coins, which he carried to his master, who, in return, used his utmost influence at court, and succeeded in rewarding the honesty of Hussun by obtaining for him an appointment and jaghire in the Deccan, under the governor of Doulatabad. Some time afterwards, the officers of the Deccan, by refusing to surrender some fugitive chiefs from Guzerat, incurred the displeasure of Mohammed Toghlak, and fearing to fall into the hands of this cruel despot, broke into open rebellion. On the establishment of their independence Hussun was chosen as king, A.D. 1347, and the capital fixed at Culbarga, whence it was subsequently removed to Beder or Bidr. Hussun, on assuming the regal honours of the mosque and mint,† took the name of Ala-oo-deen, adding thereto Gungoo Bahmani (Brahmin), in honour of his early benefactor, whom he sent for and made treasurer; and the succeeding princes of the Deccan followed this example by generally committing to Brahmins the charge of the revenues. Notwithstanding the close connection between the first Bahmani king and his Hindoo patron, his son and successor, Mohammed I., proved a sanguinary foe to that people. "It is computed," says Ferishta, "that in his reign [of seventeen years] nearly 500,000 unbelievers fell by the swords of Islam, by which the population of the Carnatic was so reduced that it did not recover for several ages."‡ This destruction was accomplished by indiscriminate slaughter, without regard to sex or age, a proceeding at length stopped by the remonstrances of the Hindoo ambassadors, who urged that since the princes of the Deccan and of the Carnatic might long remain neighbours, it was advisable that a treaty should be made, binding both parties to refrain from taking the life of the helpless and unarmed. From this time, it is asserted, that the conquered were no longer slain in cold blood during the hostilities carried on by the Bahmanis against the neighbouring states, and especially the new monarchy of Beejanuggur, throughout the whole period of their existence, excepting the reign of Mahmood Shah I., who, for nearly twenty years (A.D. 1378 to 1397), by rectitude and discretion, preserved his subjects alike from foreign and domestic strife.§ Although in these conflicts many thousand Moham-

* Price, from *Abul Fazil*, vol. iii., p. 914.

† The *Khotbah* is the public prayer for the reigning king; *Sicca* the royal right of stamping coin.

‡ By the Carnatic is here meant the country where the Canarese language prevails, south of a line drawn between Colapoor and Beder. It must be remembered that this tract continued, up to the time of the Mohammedan writer to be devastated by almost incessant wars.

§ The proceedings of Mahmood Shah I. occupy but a few pages in Ferishta's history, far less than are often given to the details of a single campaign, but quite enough is said to make the reader solicitous to learn more respecting this truly great and gifted mo-

medans, in the fantastic and fanatical language of their historians, "tasted the sherbet of martyrdom," they were on the whole gainers. In 1421, Ahmed Shah took permanent possession of Warangol, and compelled the rajah of Telingana to relinquish his ancient capital. In 1471, Mohammed II. concluded a struggle of more than forty years' duration, in which much life and treasure had been wasted, by the partial conquest of the Concan,* and in 1477 completed the subjugation of Rajahmundry and Masulipatam. Notwithstanding these successes, Mohammed was rendered infamous, even in the eyes of his fellow-believers, by the slaughter of some Brahmins whom he found officiating in an idolatrous temple at Condapilli, and to this ungrateful outrage on the Order, by whom his ancestor had been first brought to notice, was popularly attributed the downfall of the Bahmani dynasty. Soon after this, the king, while flushed with wine, was induced, by a forged letter, to sanction the immediate execution of his faithful minister, Mahmood Gawan, then in the seventy-eighth year of his age. By so doing, he sealed the fate of his house, whose power was speedily absorbed in the whirlpool of strife raised by the two factions into which the troops had become divided. *The first* consisted of Mogul converts, to whom were gradually added Persians and Turks, Georgians, Circassians, Calmucks, and other Tartars, who were for the most part of the Sheiah sect; *the second*, or native troops, called Deccanies, were Sonnites, and were always joined by the Abyssinian mercenaries, who came in numbers by the seaports on the western coast.†

The late minister was a Sonnite, and although just and kind to both sects, this circumstance afforded a pretext to Nizam-ul-Moolk Behri, the son of a converted Hindoo, and the leader of the opposite party, for gratifying his ambition. Having succeeded in procuring the death of Gawan, he obtained also his much-coveted office, through the fears of the king, who, on learning the base plot by which he had been deceived, openly bewailed his rash credulity, but made no attempt to bring the conspirators to justice. A low fever, brought

narch. We are told that he was "naturally of a disposition wise, merciful, and just, and his judgment in all affairs of state was usually correct." * * * "During his reign no disturbances occurred in the kingdom, nor did any relaxation take place in the energy of the government." The praise is coldly given, but in the present day the character of a ruler in whom firmness and mildness were so admirably balanced will be regarded in a very different light to that in which it was likely to be viewed by a Mohammedan, who regarded the title of *Ghazi* (the holy warrior), bestowed on the blood-thirsty Mohammed, as the most desirable of distinctions. Indeed the virtues of Mahmood Shah I. savoured little of the morality of the Koran. He had but one wife, wore plain white robes, and was equally simple and unpretending in all his habits. As a youth he is said to have delighted in gaudy attire, but on acceding to the throne he declared that he looked upon kings as only trustees of the state, and thenceforth observed in his personal expenses remarkable moderation. A famine occurring during his reign, he employed 10,000 bullocks, at his private expense, in going to and from Malwa and Guzerat for grain, which was distributed to the people at a cheap rate. He established orphan schools at the cities of Culbarga, Beder, Cand'har, Elikpoor, Doulatabad, and in several other great towns, with ample foundations for their support, apportioned stipends to the expounders of the Scriptures, and gave monthly charity to the blind throughout his dominions. The fame of his learning and munificence is said to have reached the ears of Hafiz, the poet of Shiraz, who resolved to visit the Deccan. An assurance of an honourable reception was sent by the king, accompanied by a present, which, according to Ferishta, the poet distributed among his relations and creditors, and then put himself on board one of the royal vessels which had arrived at Ormus, but the anchor was scarcely weighed before a heavy gale arose, and the ship was compelled to return to port. Hafiz had suffered so much during the storm that he insisted on being put ashore, sending to Mahmood Shah a copy of verses, in which he frankly confessed the reason of his change of mind—

"The glare of gems confused my sight,
The ocean's roar I ne'er had heard."

Unhappily, the line of Bahmani presents an instance of a monarch exactly opposite to Mahmood Shah I. Humayun the Cruel was one of those monsters who seem possessed by a demoniac desire to cause and witness suffering. His own brother he ordered to be devoured by a tiger, before his eyes; and the tortures inflicted by his command, and in his presence, were often too shocking to be narrated. On one occasion, after an unsuccessful rebellion, 7,000 persons, including unoffending females and servants, perished by such agonizing deaths as hewing to pieces with hatchets, and flaying in cauldrons of scalding oil or boiling water. After reigning three years this tyrant, during a fit of intoxication, was assassinated by his own servants.—Briggs' *Ferishta*.

* The sufferings of the Moslems in the Concan are very graphically told by Ferishta, who describes their "wandering through gloomy defiles, where the very grass was tough and sharp as the fangs of serpents, and the air fetid as the breath of dragons. Death dwelt in the waters, poison impregnated the breeze." On one occasion, having halted at night, in a spot so rugged as to prevent two tents being pitched side by side, no less than 7,000 of the invaders were surprised and put to death by the Hindoos, the fierce gusts of wind rushing through the trees, preventing the cries of the first sufferers being heard by their companions.—Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. ii., p. 430.

† The influx of Arabians appears to have been very small, but it is difficult to conjecture the reason.

on by grief and remorse, was aggravated by intoxication, and he expired in strong convulsions, crying out that Gawan was tearing him to pieces. The date of his death, A.D. 1482, is recorded in the Persian characters (applied numerically) which express "the ruin of the Deccan." Mahmood Shah II. next ascended the throne. Being but twelve years old and of limited ability, he naturally became a mere puppet in the hands of the grasping nobles, who, though for a time disposed to co-operate for their own advantage, soon broke out into new hostilities. Behri, for some years, maintained his ascendancy over the young king, and Yusuf Adil Shah, the leader of the foreign party, withdrew to his government of Beejapoor, which he formed into an independent state. Behri, when old and defenceless, was strangled at the instigation of the king, who then gave himself up to every species of excess, leaving the public affairs in the hands of the leaders of the foreign party. The Deccanies and Abyssinians conspired for his destruction, and having surprised the palace during one of the ordinary scenes of midnight revelry, would have succeeded in their object, but for the loyalty of some half-dozen of his body-guard, who, though unarmed, threw themselves between him and the assassins, and by the sacrifice of their own lives, enabled the king to escape to the terrace of the royal tower, where he was joined by the foreign troops. Mahmood, mounting his throne at sunrise on the following day, gave orders that the houses of the Deccanies should be broken open, the inhabitants slain without distinction, and their property seized by the triumphant Moguls,* who gladly gave vent to the savage fury which they had nursed for years; and all the horrors of a successful siege, heightened by the envenomed bitterness of intestine broils, raged for three days through the stately city of Beder. Strife and cruelty naturally brought licentiousness and disorder in their train. "The people, following the example of their prince, attended to nothing but dissipation: reverend sages pawned their very garments at the wine-cellars, and holy teachers, quitting their colleges, retired to taverns and presided over the wine-flask."† The governors of frontier provinces took advantage of this state of affairs, each one to claim as his own the territories entrusted to his charge. Ahmednuggur, Golconda and Berar became distinct principalities, until at length there remained to the nominal king of the Deccan no more than the province of Telingana and the districts adjacent to Beder. Even there he had no real sway, being wholly in the hands of Kasim Bareed, who had assumed the reins of government after the failure of the Deccani plot, and in revenge for Mahmood's attempts to get rid of him, as he had previously done of Behri, by the hand of an assassin, ruled him so tyranically, as to forbid him "even to satisfy his thirst, without permission." On the death of Kasim, his son, Ameer Bareed, succeeded him in the office of Vakeel,‡ and after regaining the person of the king, who had in vain endeavoured to assert his rights, confined him closely, until his death, in 1518, terminated a nominal reign of thirty-seven years. The two years' equally nominal sway of Ahmed, the son and successor of Mahmood, being ended by his decease, Ameer Bareed raised to the throne a prince entitled Ala-oodeen II., who, rejecting all allurements to the excesses by which the energies of his predecessors had been destroyed, attempted to out-manœuvre the wary minister, but having failed in an attempt to seize his person, was himself made prisoner and put to death. His successor, also a son of Mahmood Shah II., met with a similar fate; for Ameer Bareed having conceived a passion for his wife, caused him to be poisoned, married the queen, and bestowed the empty title of Shah on another Bahmani prince, who, having subsequently incurred his displeasure, by making a private and unsuccessful appeal to Baber, the new emperor of India, then fully engaged in hostilities with the kings of Malwa and Guzerat, was so harshly treated, that, escaping from his palace-prison, he took refuge at Ahmednuggur, and there resided till his death. Thus ended the Bahmani line. Bareed Shah ascended the throne of Beder, and founded a dynasty, which reigned over the fifth of the kingdoms (Beejapoor, Ahmednuggur, Golconda, and Berar), formed from that called the Deccan, but not with geographical accuracy, since Hindoo states, independent and even antagonistic, existed in

* This term must be here understood in the loose sense in which it was then used, as synonymous with the whole foreign or Sheiah party.

† Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. ii., p. 535.

‡ The Vakeel or Representative was then the first person in the kingdom, his business being to issue all orders from the royal closet to the vizier and other executive officers.—(Dow's *Hindoostan*, vol. i. p. 202.)

various parts of the territory commonly comprehended in that term. During the above period* of two centuries, relations of a domestic character had gradually arisen between the Moslems and Hindoos. Feroze Shah, who began to reign in 1397, made it an article of a peace with the rajah of Beejanuggur, that he should give him his daughter in marriage. This stipulation perhaps contributed to the blending of the two people, though it originated in the ungoverned passions of a king, who received into his harem 300 females in one day, being convinced, by the reasoning of the Sheiahs, that this proceeding was in perfect accordance with the spirit of the Koran, against whose doctrines his sole offences are said to have been an addiction to wine and music. These foibles would weigh lightly enough in the judgment of a Mussulman against a king who earned the coveted name of *Ghazi*, by the unbounded zeal for Islam evinced during "four and twenty glorious campaigns, by the success of which he greatly enlarged his dominions." In reality, the religious feelings of both Moslems and Hindoos had deteriorated, and the conscientious scruples of the former people became frequently little better than a superstitious regard to certain forms.

Thus the very men, who, for the sake of gain, entered the service of the rajah of Beejanuggur, to fight against their fellow-believers, cavilled at the idea of making the obeisance required as a pledge of fealty to an idolator, but gladly availed themselves of the miserable pretext of having a Koran placed before the throne and bending thereto, it being understood that the rajah would appropriate the homage as offered to his person, and in return, assign lands for the support of his new auxiliaries, and build a mosque at his capital for their encouragement.

The early Bahmani kings lived in great pomp. Mohammed Shah I. had 3,000 elephants, a favourite evidence of regal splendour.† He obtained from the rajah of Telingana a throne six cubits long by two broad, of ebony, covered with plates of pure gold and inlaid with gems, to which additions were made in successive reigns, until the whole attained the value of a crore of hoons (£4,000,000 sterling), when it was broken up by Mahmood Shah II., who took it to pieces to make vases and goblets. Some terrible famines are recorded at intervals, occasioned, according to Ferishta, by the absence of the periodical rains, but more likely by the slaughter and oppressive exactions of the Mohammedans. During one of these visitations, about A.D. 1474, no grain was sown in Telingana, Maharashtra, and throughout the Bahmani dominions for two years, and on the third, scarcely any farmers remained to cultivate the land, having for the most part perished or emigrated to Malwa and Guzerat.

Adil Shah dynasty at Beejapoor.—The first king of this line, Yusuf Adil Shah, reigned from A.D. 1489 to 1510. A romantic story is related of his royal descent. He is said to have been a son of the Ottoman emperor Amurath, at whose death he escaped destruction by the contrivance of his mother, who had him conveyed to Persia, from whence, at the age of sixteen, he was compelled to fly, by the suspicions entertained regarding his birth, was captured, and sold at the Bahmani court as a Georgian slave. He rose, according to the course of Mameluk adventurers, until he became the governor of Beejapoor, and then, by one of the acts of flagrant disloyalty so common at the period, took the first opportunity of declaring himself an irresponsible prince. From that time he was occupied in hostilities with Kasim Bareed of Beder, and other neighbouring chiefs, who were also endeavouring to form independent principalities; but his most formidable foe was the Hindoo rajah of Beejanuggur. With the new rulers of Ahmednuggur and Berar, Yusuf entered into a sort of partition treaty, by which he recognised them in their unlawful seizures, and they him in the possession of the country bounded by the Beema and Kishna rivers on the east, the Tumbuddra river on the south, the sea from near Goa to near Bombay on the west, and perhaps the Neera river on the north.

Ibrahim Adil Shah, the fourth king, A.D. 1535, formed an alliance with Bhoj Tirmul, (who had obtained the throne of Beejanuggur by the murder of its young occupant, his

* Ferishta makes some remarkable statements respecting the use of artillery in the Deccan. For instance, he asserts, that in 1368, (22 years after their alleged employment by Edward III. at Cressy) 300 gun carriages were among the spoil captured from the Rajah of Beejanuggur; and the Moslems, by the aid of Turks and Europeans, are said to have used artillery for the first time in the following campaign. There can be little doubt that guns were common in India before the arrival of the Portuguese in 1498.

† The king in return signed a treaty pledging his successors to forbear further encroachment on the territory of the Telingana rajahs, which, as might be expected, did not prevent its entire seizure.

own nephew), against Rama Rajah, the regent and brother-in-law of the late sovereign. Ibrahim sent an army to the assistance of Bhoj Tirmul, who, in return, paid down fifty lacks of hoons* (£2,000,000 sterling), and promised to acknowledge himself tributary. No sooner had the foreign troops quitted Beejapoor, than Rama Rajah, breaking, it is alleged, a promise of allegiance which had been extorted from him, surprised the city. Bhoj Tirmul, mad with rage and despair, shut himself up in the palace, blinded all the royal elephants and horses, collected together, in one glittering heap, the diamonds, rubies, emeralds, pearls, and other gems, amassed during many ages, and caused them to be crushed to powder between mill-stones; then, fixing a sword-blade into a pillar of his apartment, rushed upon it just as the palace-gates were opened to his enemies. Rama Rajah became the undisputed master of Beejanuggur, and Ibrahim, after having received from his predecessor so large a bribe to take the field against him, now stooped to the humiliation of soliciting, with a costly present, the aid of Rama against a brave chief, Seif Ein-ool-Moolk, driven into rebellion by his own suspicious tyranny. The required assistance was sent under the guidance of Venkatadri, the Rajah's brother. Ibrahim died soon after, of a complication of disorders brought on by the most abandoned conduct, having first caused several physicians to be beheaded and trodden to death by elephants for failing to cure him, upon which the rest fled for their lives, leaving him to perish unheeded. His successor, Ali,† entered into a new alliance with Rama Rajah, and the two monarchs having, at the request of the former, united their forces, jointly invaded the territory of Nizam Shah, and, says Ferishta, "laid it waste so thoroughly, that from Purenda to Joonere, and from Ahmednuggur to Doulatabad, not a vestige of population was left." Ali at length became "scandalised by the behaviour of his Hindoo allies," and alarmed at the growing strength and haughtiness of Rama; therefore, after receiving the full benefit of his power, while continuing every outward mark of friendship, he made a secret league with his late enemy, Nizam Shah, and with the kings of Beder and Golconda, "to crush the common enemy of Islam." A decisive battle took place on the Kishna, near Talicot, the Hindoos commencing the attack by vast flights of rockets and rapid discharges of artillery. A general engagement followed, in which, after great numbers had been slain on both sides, the Moslems were victorious, aided by the treachery of two Mohammedan chiefs in the pay of the rajah. Rama, although seventy years of age, gave orders from his elephant throughout, but was at last captured, and brought into the presence of Nizam Shah, by whose orders his head was struck off and stuck upon a pole. It is no small proof, either of the barbarity of the conquerors or the dread which their victim must have inspired, that the head of the brave old man should have been annually exhibited at Ahmednuggur for more than two centuries and a half, covered with oil and red pigment, by the descendants of his executioners, while a sculptured representation of it was made to serve as the opening of one of the sewers of the citadel of Beejapoor.

Thus ended the monarchy of Beejanuggur, which at that time comprehended the greater part of the south of India. The city of that name was destroyed, and is now uninhabited; the country fell into the hands of the tributary chiefs and officers, since so well known as zemindars or poligars; but the confederate kings were prevented by their mutual jealousies from gaining any great addition of territory, the balance of power being pretty evenly maintained among them, until all were overwhelmed by Akber. Venkatadri, the brother of the late rajah, removed his residence further east, and finally settled at Chandragiri, seventy miles north-west of Madras, at which last place his descendant first granted a settlement to the English, A.D. 1640. The wars between the Adil Shah dynasty and the Portuguese settlers are very slightly mentioned by the native historians; they state little more than that Goa was lost under Yusuf, retaken by that king, lost again under his son Ismael

* The *hoon* varies in value from 3½ to 4 rupees—eight shillings sterling may be taken as the average.

† This monarch (whose death by the hand of a eunuch shamefully insulted by him, has rendered his name infamous) greatly improved the capital by constructing the city wall and the aqueducts which still convey water through every street. Mention is made of his receiving tribute from several petty principalities, the government of which was hereditarily vested in females, who ruled with the title of *Ranies*, their husbands having no power in the state. Colonel Briggs remarks upon this statement of Ferishta, that "the gynecocracy of the Ranies of Malabar and Canara seems to have suffered no alteration from the period alluded to, to the present day."—*Note to Ferishta*, vol. iii. p. 140.

(alluding to the second capture by Albuquerque, in 1510), and attacked simultaneously with Choul, in 1570, by the kings of Beejapoor and Ahmednuggur, who were both repulsed.

The reigns of the early Beejapoor kings were marked by fierce sectarian strife, for Yusuf had imbibed in Persia a strong attachment to the Sheiah doctrines and ceremonial, which he endeavoured to introduce in his dominions, but was compelled to renounce the attempt by the displeasure of his subjects and the combination formed against him by all the other Mohammedan sovereigns. The same division prevailed among the troops as that previously described as existing under the Bahmani dynasty, and according to the opinion of the king or his chief ministers, the Deccanies (including Hindoos), or the foreigners, were uppermost. After the extinction of their native rulers, the Hindoos formed the chief part of the infantry of most of the Moslem governments, and appear to have been well paid* and entirely relied upon. Yusuf is said to have given a command of 12,000 infantry to a Mahratta chief,† and Ismael raised "a vast number" of Mahratta cavalry, under the name of Bergies, who, for an annual subsidy, engaged to appear fully equipped whenever their services were required. Ibrahim, the fourth king, caused the public accounts to be kept in the Mahratta language instead of the Persian, a very politic and almost necessary measure, since the village accountants and the revenue and finance officers were for the most part Hindoos. Ibrahim II., who acceded to the throne of Beejapoor, A.D. 1579, was cotemporary with Akber, and will be again mentioned.

Nizam Shah dynasty at Ahmednuggur.—Ahmed, the first of these kings, began to reign A.D. 1490, having, as before stated, on the assassination of his father, Nizam-ool-Moolk Behri, assumed the title of Shah, and made Ahmednuggur his capital. Not only tolerance, but great favour was shown to the Hindoos by this monarch and his successor, Boorhan, who appointed a Brahmin, named Kawar Sein, Peshwa or prime minister, and had every reason to rejoice in the selection. In fact, these kings appear to have been proud of their Brahminical descent, and frequent wars took place between them and the Berar sovereigns, for the possession of the village of Patree, situate just within the Berar territory, where the ancestors of the Nizam Shah family had held the office of *coolcurny* or hereditary village accountant. It was, however, by the orders of Hussun, the third king of this dynasty, that Rama Rajah was beheaded, in revenge for the humiliations previously suffered from his brave foe, to whom he had been compelled to sue for peace, by paying the Hindoo a visit, and receiving a pân (aromatic leaf) from his hand, which, thus given, implies the superiority of the donor, and is equivalent to the English custom of kissing hands; but, when presented in a silver or gold box, or on a salver, denotes equality.‡ Hussun died shortly after, from the consequences of unbounded dissipation. His successor, Murtezza, appears to have become insane, and growing suspicious of his son, Meeran Hussun, the heir apparent, endeavoured to destroy him, by setting fire to the couch on which he lay sleeping. Meeran escaped, successfully rebelled, and seized the person of his father, who, although ill of a mortal disease, he confined in a bath-room, and suffocated with hot air. Ferishta, who was at the time on guard at the palace, relates this horrible tale, adding, as the reason of his life being spared during the general massacre of the few who remained faithful to the king, "the Prince fortunately knew me, and reflecting that we had been school-fellows, and brought up together, ordered my life to be spared."§ Meeran Hussun retained the throne less than a year, but during that period he inflicted great misery, frequently riding through the streets in fits of intoxication, accompanied by a party of abandoned courtiers, and putting to death persons guilty of no crime. Fifteen princes of the royal family were massacred in one day, in order to establish an authority obtained by parricide, at the instigation of the vizier, Mirza Khan, who, at length terrified by the menaces of the king during his drunken revels, deposed and slew him. A speedy retribution attended

* Briggs gives a table (vol. ii. p. 504) showing how much more liberally Indian troops were paid by Mohammedan sovereigns in 1470 than by the British in 1828 (the date at which he wrote).

† Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 84.

‡ The chivalrous Rajpoot probably intended to waive the performance of this galling act, for when Hussun entered his tent, he rose and took him by the hand, but the insolent Mussulman called for a basin and ewer as if polluted by the touch of Rama, who exclaimed in his own language, "If he were not my guest, I would cut off his hands and hang them round his neck." After this interview the rajah and his troops are accused of treating their Mohammedan foes and even friends with great indignity.

§ Briggs' *Ferishta* vol. iii. p. 260.

this wretch, for in the struggle which ensued between the Deccanies and the Moguls, he was hewn to pieces by the former, and his limbs affixed on different public buildings. In the space of seven days, nearly 1,000 foreigners were slain, and their effects confiscated; some few escaped with their lives, through the protection of Deccani or Abyssinian officers, and these, among whom was Ferishta, for the most part, obtained service under the king of Beejapoor.

The remaining reigns of this line present no very striking features, excepting the gallant struggles made by Chand Beeby (*the Lady Chand*) as regent on behalf of her infant nephew, after the death of her brother, Ibrahim, slain in battle with the king of Beejapoor. An attempt was made to seize the throne in the name of a boy called Ahmed, under a shallow pretence of his being a son of the late king. Chand Beeby evinced equal valour and discretion during this trying period,* and her efforts were temporarily successful. Ahmed, the young pretender, was confessed to be not lineally descended from the royal family, and was provided with an estate by Ibrahim Adil Shah, at Beejapoor, while Bahadur was proclaimed king, his aunt continuing regent until the siege of Ahmednuggur by the son of Akber. Then, hopeless of offering a successful defence, in consequence of the factions which divided the troops, she called a council of war, and proposed to negotiate, on favourable terms, the evacuation of the fort. The ungrateful Deccanies, to whom her suggestion had been purposely misrepresented by an intriguing eunuch, rushed into her apartments and put her to death. The place was shortly after taken by storm, and little or no quarter given. The unfortunate king was sent to Akber, who confined him in the fortress of Gwalior, A.D. 1599, but was prevented from gaining possession of his dominions by the determination of an Abyssinian officer, Malek Amber, (who founded the city afterwards called Aurungabad,) to retain the sovereignty on behalf of his newly-elected nominal master, and the Adil Shah dynasty was not extinguished until the time of Jehangeer. At its greatest extent the kingdom of Ahmednuggur comprehended all that is now called the Subah of Aurungabad, and the west of that of Berar, with a portion of the sea-coast of the Concan. It must have been a formidable power, for it appears that in one campaign upwards of 600 of its guns were seized by the rival state of Beejapoor, including the cannon still preserved at the latter place, and famous as one of the largest pieces of brass ordnance in the world.† Duelling (an infrequent crime in Asia) was introduced in the reign of Ahmed, who, being himself an expert swordsman, encouraged the assemblage of young men at the palace for the purpose of displaying their skill, till at length a day seldom passed without one or two persons being killed. The king then endeavoured to discourage the practice, but it spread far and wide among the Mohammedans of the Deccan. Even learned divines and philosophers shared the infatuation, and Ferishta records an instance which he witnessed in the streets of Beejapoor, of a dispute arising regarding some trifling matter, and terminating in a few minutes in the death or mortal injury of six persons of high standing, of whom five were grey-headed men. The spread of this destructive and contagious vice was, of course, fostered by the rancorous sectarian-spirit between the Sonnites and Sheiahs—the native and foreign factions.

The Kootb Shah dynasty at Golconda was founded, about A.D. 1512, by a Turcoman soldier, named Kooli Kootb, who came from Hamadan, in Persia, in quest of military service, entered the guards of the Bahmani king, was promoted, and, on the dissolution of the monarchy, held sway over Telingana, which he retained, making Golconda his capital. He was a zealous Sheiah, and introduced this profession into his dominions.

* On one occasion when closely besieged, after having succeeded in destroying two out of five mines carried under the bastions at Ahmednuggur, by herself labouring all night at the head of the garrison, a third was sprung at day-break, which killed many of the counter-miners, and threw down several yards of the wall. The principal officers concluding all now lost, prepared for flight, but Chand Beeby, clad in armour, with a veil on her face and a naked sword in her hand rushed to defend the breach, and while the Mogul storming-party waited the explosion of the other mines, found time to bring guns to bear upon it, so that on the enemy's advance they were received with repeated volleys, until, when compelled to renounce the attack by the darkness of night, "the ditch was nearly filled with dead carcases." During the succeeding hours Chand Beeby (on whom the name of Chand Sultana was now bestowed) superintended unceasingly the repairs of the breach, which by the morning's dawn was built up to the height of seven or eight feet. At length, reinforcements being on their way, the siege was raised.

† Weighs 40 tons, is 4 ft. 8 in. in diameter at the muzzle, and only 15 ft. long. Calibre, 2 ft. 4 in.

At the close of a long reign he left a territory extending from the Godavery river to beyond that of the Kishna, and from the sea (Bay of Bengal) to a line drawn west of Hyderabad, about 78° E. long. The chief part of his dominions were wrested from the Warangol family, and other Hindoo chiefs of Telingana, over whom, together with the Rajah of Orissa, he gained a great victory at Condapilli.

It has been stated in a previous page, on the authority of Ferishta, that the Bahmani line abided by the oath of Mohammed Shah I., not to slay prisoners or the unarmed in cold blood, but if this dynasty really redeemed its pledge, the rulers of the subsequent Deccani kingdoms reverted to the barbarities which their predecessors had abjured, and were far more treacherous and sanguinary. Thus Sultan Kooli Kootb Shah having repeatedly, but in vain, attempted to storm the strong hill-fort of Nulgonda, at length sent a flag of truce to the commandant, Rajah Hari Chandra, promising to withdraw the troops if he would consent to become tributary to Golconda, but threatening, in the event of refusal, to procure reinforcements, destroy the neighbouring towns, devastate the country, and thus reduce the place by cutting off its supplies, in which case he would not spare the life even of an infant in the garrison. The Rajah having consented, the king remarked that as Nulgonda was the only hill-fort which had successfully resisted him, he should like to see it, and therefore desired to be allowed to enter with a few attendants. The request being granted, Kooli, having instructed his body-guard, (whom, to disarm suspicion, he had left in the town below,) how to act ascended the hill with four chosen soldiers in complete armour. On entering the gate-way he drew his sword and cut down one sentinel, while his companions, attacking the others, held possession until their comrades came rushing to their assistance, and the whole army soon poured into the fortress. "Neither man, woman, or child was spared on this occasion. The Rajah, on being made prisoner, was confined in an iron cage, and eventually put to death." Such are the words in which the Mohammedan historian concludes the account of this abominable transaction.*

The author of it was eventually the victim of domestic treachery, being assassinated in his ninetieth year, A.D. 1543, at the instigation of his son, Jamsheed, who, having put out the eyes of his elder brother, the heir apparent, ascended the throne. Wars were carried on with their Moslem rivals in a spirit less perfidious perhaps, but scarcely less ferocious. Thus it is recorded that Ibrahim Kootb Shah, when at war with Ali Adil Shah, detached a force of 4,000 horse and 10,000 foot to make nightly attacks on the enemy. "The Munewar infantry were eminently successful in all directions, and at all hours, bringing nightly between 300 and 400 noses and ears from the enemy's lines; and they received for each nose a hoon, and for each ear a purtab [star pagoda.] Meanwhile, the king, by whose orders these atrocities were being committed, "had ordered pavilions to be pitched on the bastions [of Golconda], and adorned them with rich brocades and silks from China, and with velvets of European manufacture, giving himself up to the gratification of listening to the enchanting vocal and instrumental music of heart-alluring damsels and fairy-faced virgins."† Truly it is as reasonable to expect the shrill cry of human suffering to pierce "the dull cold ear of death," as to touch a heart turned into stone by sensuality.

Mohammed Kooli, the fifth of the Kootb Shah kings, began to reign A.D. 1580. He removed the seat of government to a neighbouring site, where he built a magnificent city called Bhagnuggur,‡ in honour of Bhagmuttee, his favourite mistress, a public singer, for whom 1,000 cavalry were assigned as an escort. After her death the name was changed to Hyderabad. In this reign fierce struggles took place between the Deccanies and the Moguls, as the foreigners of whatever denomination came to be called. The disorderly conduct of some of the latter caused the issuing of a proclamation commanding all aliens, whether Patans, Persians, Arabs, Tartars or others, who had no fixed employment, to quit Hyderabad. The Deccanies construing this order into a permission to plunder their old foes at pleasure, deserted their occupations and hastened to rifle the warehouses of the wealthy merchants, of whom many were killed in defending their property. The riots grew to an alarming height, but the king was sleeping, and none of the servants dared disturb the royal slumbers, until one of the ministers had

* See Briggs' *Appendix to History of Kings of Golconda*, translated from the Persian of a contemporary of Ferishta's, vol iii. p. 374. † *Idem*, p. 431.
‡ The Hindoos still call it Bhagnuggur.

the courage to break open the door, and having with great difficulty aroused the monarch, bade him observe from the palace-windows the state of the city. The measures adopted were in the true spirit of oriental despotism. The cutwal (chief magistrate) through whose representations the sentence of banishment had been procured, was directed to put an immediate stop to the disturbances, on peril of being trodden to death by elephants. Many of the rioters were executed, "and by way of satisfying the minds of the people, several minor police-officers, who had been most active, were beheaded or hanged, or flayed alive, while others were maimed by the loss of limbs, and exhibited through the city in this mutilated state as examples."*

The Imad Shah dynasty of Berar was founded about 1484, by the descendant of a Hindoo of Canara, captured when a child, and educated as a Mussulman, by the governor of Berar. This small kingdom extended from the Injadri hills to the Godavery, and bordered Ahmednuggur and Candeish on the west. Very little is known of its history, except from its wars with neighbouring states. Boorhan, the fourth and last of his line, ascended the throne while yet a child, about the year 1560. The regent, Tufal Khan, imprisoned the young king and seized the crown, relying upon the protection of Murtezza Nizam Shah of Ahmednuggur, who, false to both parties, having obtained possession of Boorhan and his rebellious minister, caused them to be put to death, and annexed Berar to his own dominions, A.D. 1572.

The Bareed Shah Dynasty at Beder, commenced in 1498. The territories of these kings were small and ill-defined, and the period of their extinction uncertain. Ameer II. was reigning in 1609, when Ferishta closed that part of his history. Having thus shown the fate of the five Mohammedan principalities formed from the ruins of the Bahmani kingdom, it becomes necessary to sketch the leading characteristics of the other states which succeeded in establishing their independence of Delhi during the feeble reign of Mahmood Toghlak, of which the chief were Guzerat, Malwa and Candeish.

The kings of Guzerat ruled the territory still called by this name; bounded on the north and north-east by a hilly tract connecting the Aravulli mountains with the Vindya chain, and on the south by the sea, which nearly surrounds a part of it, forming a peninsula then termed Surashtra, now Katiwar. The founder of the dynasty was Mozuffer, the son of a Rajpoot, who had embraced Islamism, and become conspicuous for his enmity to all who still held the creed which he had renounced. The king of Delhi having been informed that the existing governor of Guzerat was endeavouring to establish himself as an independent ruler by gaining the affections of the Hindoos, sent Mozuffer Khan to supersede him; which, after some opposition on the part of the Hindoos, he succeeded in doing, and by the permission of the Delhi monarch assumed the white umbrella or canopy, and the scarlet pavilion, considered as exclusive appurtenances of royalty. When he took the title of Shah does not appear, but his reign really commenced with his government, A.D. 1391. At first his sway extended over only a portion of the fertile plain, about sixty miles in depth, which stretches along the sea. On the north-west were the independent rajahs of Jhalor and Sirohi, from whom he occasionally levied tribute, as also from the Rajpoot prince of Idur, in the western part of the hills, while the rugged forest tracts were generally retained by the mountain tribes of Bheels and Coolies; among whom some Rajpoot chiefs, mostly connected with Mewar, had also founded petty principalities. The peninsula was in the hands of nine or ten Hindoo tribes, who probably paid tribute so long as a power existed capable of its enforcement. All these small states preserved their existence under the kings of Guzerat, the Mogul emperors, and during many years of British ascendancy. Of the plain which formed the Guzerat kingdom at the accession of Mozuffer, the eastern portion belonged to an independent rajah, who resided in the hill-fort of Champaneer, and their dominions stretched along the sea to the south-east, so as to include the city of Surat, and some further country in the same direction.

It would occupy space which could be ill-spared to narrate in detail the varying fortunes of this dynasty in their wars with Malwa, their Hindoo neighbours, and the Rajpoot kingdom of Mewar, from the accession of Mozuffer I. to that of the puppet set up by a faction under the title of Mozuffer III., in A.D. 1561, when the kingdom was partitioned among the conspirators. One striking characteristic in their incessant strife with the Hindoos, was the cruel bigotry which marked their conduct, far exceed-

* Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. iii., p. 478.

ing that displayed by the Delhi usurpers. It may be perhaps that the proceedings of the latter sovereigns are purposely placed in the least unfavourable light, but this scarcely accounts for the difference, since, in both cases, the annals are furnished solely by Mohammedan pens. Ferishta, although his history bears internal evidence of the honesty and ability of the writer, was yet compelled to depend in great measure on the compilations of his fellow-believers; and his ignorance of the language of the Hindoos would greatly hinder his obtaining information from whatever records they might possess, even if the inveterate prejudices of his creed had not taught him to shun with contempt and aversion the thought of gaining information from so defiled a source.

In 1402 the port of Diu was seized by Mozuffer I. from the Rajah of Idur, who had been driven from his capital, and forced to take refuge there. We are told that "it opened its gates without offering any resistance. The garrison was, however, nearly all cut to pieces, while the Ray, with the rest of the members of the court, were trod to death by elephants." The next king, Ahmed Shah, A.D. 1412, though a zealous Mussulman very diligent in destroying temples and building mosques, yet showed more favour to the natives than his predecessor had done, and Hindoo names appear among those of the government officers and nobility — an innovation which had long been opposed. Ahmed built the fortified town of Ahmednuggur, as a check on the Rajah of Idur (the successor of the prince slain by Mozuffer), and founded Ahmedabad, thenceforth his capital, and still one of the principal cities in India. This king introduced the practice of paying the soldiers one-half in money, and the other by a grant of land, with a view of inducing them to take an interest in the cultivation and protection of the province.* Mahmood Shah I. reigned for fifty-two years (1459 to 1511), and warred alike with Moslems and with the Indian and European idolaters, the latter term being used to designate the Portuguese. He obtained the surname of Begarra,† by the reduction of Girnar or Junaghar‡ and of Champaneer—two hill-forts, situated the one on the west, and the other on the east, of his dominions, and both until that time deemed impregnable.§ His maritime exploits were re-

* Bird's *Gujarát*, p. 191.

† Signifying, in the Guzerat language, two forts.

‡ According to Ferishta nearly 1,900 years had elapsed since this fortress had come into the possession of the rajah, who held it when Mahmood first marched against it in 1469; and whose title, *Mandulik*, here used by Ferishta for the first time, implies petty chieftain, a term originally applied to officers of some greater state, but often retained by rulers who had acquired or inherited an independent sway. A body of Rajpoots occupying an important defile were surprised by Mahmood. The troops then passed on unopposed, till on reaching the foot of the hill they were met by the rajah, who, being defeated and severely wounded, sooner than sustain a siege purchased a cessation of hostilities by the payment of a large amount in jewels and in specie. In the following year, "the king, who only wanted some excuse to invade Girnar a second time, urged as a complaint against the rajah, his habit of assuming the ensigns of royalty." On this plea, in itself a gross insult to the high-born Hindoo, forty thousand horse were sent to exact from him a heavy fine, which having obtained, Mahmood distributed in one night, amongst a set of female dancers; and at the latter end of the same year appeared in person before Girnar. "The rajah declared his willingness to pay any sum of money he could produce, to protect his subjects from the oppression and horrors of war." Mahmood would enter into no terms, but sat down before the place, starved the garrison into subjection, and succeeded in acquiring possession. The expelled rajah, it is said, from conviction, but more probably to save his life, embraced Islamism, a faith against which the covetousness and fraud practised towards him by its professors were sufficient to have inspired a deep-rooted prejudice.—(Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. iv. p. 55.)

§ Champaneer was not captured till 1483. The rajah, Beni Ray, sent ambassadors offering two elephant-loads of gold to procure the departure of Mahmood, who had arrived at the head of a powerful force; but, finding all endeavours at conciliation useless, he sallied forth, and after many attempts succeeded in compelling the invader to raise the siege, and then led his troops to attack him. In the sanguinary battle which followed, the flower of the Hindoo force was slain, but a compact body of 12,000 men retreated in order to the fort. Mahmood continued to construct trenches and mines, and caused a mosque to be built in the lines, in order to convince his troops of his determination not to be wearied out by the prolonged defence, but no decided advantage was gained until it was discovered that the Rajpoots left the place every morning through a sally-port to perform their ablutions. Watching their opportunity, a chosen band waited close to the walls at day-break, and succeeded in rushing into the place, while another party, under Malek Eiaz, (the famous admiral who engaged the Portuguese fleet, off Choul,) escaladed the western wall, where a breach had been newly made, and got possession of the main gate. The Rajpoots finding the king rejected all terms of surrender, burned their wives and children on a funeral pile, together with their costliest effects, and then, having bathed, perished on the swords of their cruel foes, who likewise suffered severely. Beni Ray and his prime minister, crippled by wounds, were captured, and brought into the presence of Mahmood, who, on asking the former why he had held out so long against an overwhelming force, was reminded of the

markable. He took the islands of Jegat and Beet, then, as now, nests of pirates; despatched a sea and land force against Bombay; and sent a large fleet of vessels, mounting guns, under Eiaz, to co-operate with the twelve ships equipped by the Mameluk Sultan of Egypt, for the purpose of attacking the Portuguese squadron in the harbour of Choul, south of Bombay. In the first action the combined forces were successful, but were subsequently defeated near Diu, and the Mameluk portion annihilated. Fleets were, however, still despatched by the Mameluks to the Indian seas, and the Turks, after their conquest of Egypt, continued the practice, with a view to open the navigation of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, but apparently without entertaining any idea of forming settlements in India.

Mahmood Begarra attained an unenviable European celebrity by the marvellous accounts of travellers, who described his personal appearance as terrific; and declared his system to have been so impregnated with the mortal poisons, on which he habitually fed, that although he had by some means or other contrived to neutralize their effect on his own vital powers, he had only, after chewing betel, to breathe upon any courtier who had offended him, and death infallibly ensued. If a fly settled on him, it instantly dropped lifeless.*

Bahadur Shah, A.D. 1526, (before mentioned as the opponent of Humayun,) with the aid of Rana Rattan Sing, made war upon Mahmood, king of Malwa, who had intrigued against them both. Mahmood was captured and put to death, and Malwa annexed to Guzerat. Raiseen, a strong hill-fort, Bhilsa and other places in the west of Malwa together with Oojein, remained in the possession of Silhuddi; a Rajpoot who had risen under Mahmood to power, but whose son, Bopat Rai, was in the service of Bahadur, by whose invitation Silhuddi came to visit the royal camp. He was treacherously seized, and Oojein taken by surprise. Raiseen held out under his brother Lokmun, but was at length reduced, both Silhuddi and Lokmun being slain at its capture.†

In his dealings with the Portuguese, Bahadur was less fortunate. Having entered into negotiations with them for their aid, and among other things conceded in return permission for the erection of a factory at Surat, he found them surrounding the building with a wall and, in effect, rendering it a strong fortification. This seems to have first roused suspicions, and treachery is alleged to have been meditated by both parties. The result has been already stated, Bahadur perished in an affray which arose on his visiting the ship where Nuno de Cunha, the Portuguese viceroy, had allured him on the plea of sickness, A.D. 1537.‡

The fort of Surat is said by Ferishta to have been completed during the reign of Mahmood III. (1538 to 1553), but the Persian characters inserted over the old gate—"Against the bosom and lives, the ambition and rapacity of the Portuguese, be this fabric an effectual bulwark," when numerically viewed, give 1530 as the date of its erection.§ This king was assassinated by his chaplain, named Boorhan, whose revenge he had excited, by sentencing him, for some offence not re-

hereditary right by which the territory had been held, and the long line of noble ancestors through which his name with honour had descended. This fearless reply for the moment raised a feeling of admiration in the selfish victor, and he ordered Beni Ray and his faithful companion to be treated with respect and attention. On recovering from their wounds, they both persisted in refusing to abjure their religion, and were therefore confined separately, and treated harshly, which, as might have been foreseen, only served to confirm their previous determination. "At length the king, at the instigation of some holy men about his person, ordered them to be put to death."—(Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. iv., p. 70.)

* *Bartema and Barbosa* (Ramusio, vol. i., pp. 147—296.) Mahmood Begarra is the original of Butler's *Prince of Cambay*, whose—

"——— daily food
Is asp, and basilisk and toad."

† The king feared to storm the fort, knowing that in the seraglio were many Mohammedan females, who would, in the event of his success, be burnt alive with their Rajpoot companions, for whom, of course, as infidels, no compassion could possibly be entertained. Silhuddi consented to abjure his creed, and was sent to escort the females of his family from the fort, but on arriving there, his wife (the daughter of Rana Sanga) bitterly reproached him and his brother for their conduct, and, setting fire to a pile with which she had caused the apartments of the females to be surrounded, sprang into the flames, and all, to the number of 700, perished. Silhuddi and Lokmun, with a hundred of their blood-relations, rushed out, and perished on the Moslem swords.

‡ One account of this transaction has been given at p. 85. I have since read the Portuguese and Mussulman statements, collated by General Briggs (*Ferishta*, vol. iv., p. 132), in which each party endeavours to throw the blame upon the other, but there is little difference in the leading facts of the case, except that Bahadur, after jumping into the sea, is asserted to have been first stunned by a blow with an oar, and then dispatched with a halbert.

§ Price would place it six years earlier.—*Mahomedan History*, vol. iii., p. 720.

corded, to be built up in a mud wall with his head exposed, and left to starve. Life was nearly extinct when Mahmood passed the spot, and noticing the attempt of the wretched captive to bend his head in salutation, inspired with compassion, had him released and attended by the royal physician until he recovered. But soon after this Boorhan again fell into disgrace, and, fearing, perhaps, to be re-immured, or stimulated by ambition to attempt to seize the throne, persuaded his nephew, Dowlut, to take the opportunity afforded by his office of fumigating the long hair of the king, to assassinate him while he slept. This being done, Boorhan, by the aid of a corps called, from their qualification for enlistment, "the tiger-killers," succeeded in destroying several of the leading nobility by sending for them separately, but was at length, when intoxicated with success, slain by the vengeful swords of the survivors. A supposititious child* was next set up by a party under the name of Ahmed II., but assassinated A.D. 1561. The last and merely nominal king abdicated in favour of Akber, A.D. 1572.

Kings of Malwa.—This state became independent in 1401, under Dilawur Ghori, whose successor founded the capital, Mandu, on a rich table-land, thirty-seven miles in circumference. Wars with Mohammedan kingdoms, especially the neighbouring one of Guzerat, with the Hindoo rajahs of Chittore or Mewar, and several minor principalities, together with the usual instances of treachery and intrigue in the court and camp, and besotted sensuality in the harem, form the staple of the history of this dynasty. Mohammed Ghori, the third king, was poisoned at the instigation of his minister and brother-in-law, who ascended the throne in 1435, by the name of Sultan Mahmood Khilji. He reigned thirty-six years, of which scarcely one was suffered to pass without a campaign, "so that his tent became his home, and his resting-place the field of battle."† A famous fort in Kumulnere was taken by storm after a severe struggle, and its defenders compelled to chew the calcined parts of a large marble idol,‡ representing, according to Ferishta, a ram (? a bull), as they were in the habit of doing chunam or lime between betel leaves, that they might be said to have eaten their gods. Many Rajpoots were slain, probably in consequence of their refusal to obey this command of their imperious conqueror. Some years after, Mahmood received a signal defeat from Koombho Sing, the rajah of Chittore, who erected, in commemoration of his victory, a superb column, still in existence, which Tod states to have cost nearly a million sterling.§ Mahmood unsuccessfully besieged Delhi and Beder. His internal administration would seem to have been more gentle than could have been expected, for we are told that his subjects, Hindoos as well as Moslems, "were happy, and maintained a friendly intercourse with one another." He took vigorous measures for the suppression of robbery, and further promoted the safety of travellers, and indeed of the people generally, by obliging the governors of the different districts to send out parties for the destruction of wild beasts, proclaiming that if after a period of two years a human being should be seized by them, he would hold the governor responsible. For many years after his death wild beasts were scarce throughout the kingdom. Now the vicinity of the once famous city of Mandu, overgrown by forest trees, has again become the favourite haunt of tigers, who, in some instances, within the memory of the present generation, have been known to carry off troopers riding in the ranks of their regiments. The next king, Gheias-oo-deen Khilji, A.D. 1482, was only remarkable for the extent of his seraglio, which contained 15,000 women, including 500 Turki females who stood clad in men's clothes, with bows and arrows, on his right hand; while 500 Abyssinian females kept guard with fire-arms on his left. He reigned thirty-three years, and became at last idiotic; his two sons meanwhile quarrelled about the succession, until the elder gaining the ascendancy slew the younger with all his family, and having, it is alleged, accelerated his father's death by poison, mounted the vacant throne A.D. 1500. This wretch died of a fever brought on by his own excesses, having first driven his sons into rebellion by suspicious and tyrannical conduct. One of these, Mahmood Khilji II., established himself on the throne, A.D. 1512, mainly through the assistance

* Mahmood left no lineal heir; fearing to risk the chance of rebellious children, of which frequent instances occur in Mohammedan history, he avoided the commission of infanticide by the perpetration of a yet more heinous crime.

† *Ferishta*, vol. iv., p. 234.

‡ The temple was filled with wood, and being set on fire, cold water was thrown on the images, causing them to break.

§ *Annals of Rajast'han*, vol. ii., p. 762.

of Medni Ray, a Rajpoot chief, who joined him at the commencement of the struggle with a considerable body of his tribe, and whose zealous and able services rendered him so popular with the king, as to excite the hatred and jealousy of the Mussulmans. Conspiracies were formed, and after repeated failures Mahmood was at length inspired with sufficient distrust to consent to discharge all the Rajpoots holding offices at court, excepting only the obnoxious minister, and to declare that no Hindoo could be permitted to retain Mohammedan females in his seraglio. Medni Ray pleaded earnestly the tried services of his countrymen, but the weak and ungrateful king, though soothed for the time, was subsequently induced to sanction an attempt on the part of his Moslem body-guard of 200 men to waylay and murder Medni Ray, and a brave Rajpoot officer, called Salivahan, who had evinced much anger at the late unjust and humiliating proceedings. The latter was slain; the former, though covered with wounds, escaped to his own house, while a body of Rajpoots rushed to the palace, but being repulsed by the king in person, returned to the house of the minister, and entreated him to be their head. Medni Ray refused, persuaded them to disperse peaceably, and sent word to the king that if he thought his life necessary to the good of the state, he was ready to lose it, sooner than lead an army against his acknowledged sovereign. Mahmood was little affected by a degree of magnanimity quite beyond his comprehension, and fearing some treachery similar to that of which he had given the example, fled by night from the fort of Mandu, accompanied by his favourite mistress and the master of the horse, and did not draw rein till he reached the frontier of Guzerat. Though frequently at war with one another, the Moslem intruders were always ready to coalesce against a Hindoo foe; the king of Guzerat, therefore, supported Mahmood, and accompanied him at the head of a large army to Mandu, which was taken by assault after a close siege of several months, and 19,000 Rajpoots slain. Medni Ray was, however, not among them, having previously joined Rana Sanga at Chittore, from whence he retired to Chanderi, of which place he was probably hereditary chief. Mahmood proceeded thither, and found that Rana Sanga had previously marched with his whole force to the support of Medni Ray. In the conflict which ensued, Mahmood was defeated, and after evincing, in an extraordinary manner, the physical daring that invariably distinguished him in battle, contrasting strangely with his excessive moral cowardice in time of peace, was unhorsed and taken prisoner, weltering in his blood. Rana Sanga caused him to be brought to his own tent, dressed his wounds, attended on him personally, and, after his recovery, sent him back to Mandu with an escort of 1,000 horse.* This chivalrous proceeding was returned by the most glaring ingratitude, for its object did not scruple to take advantage of the confusion which ensued on the death of his benefactor, to attack his son, Rattan Sing, the new ruler of Chittore. Rattan Sing applied for aid to Bahadur Shah, of Guzerat, who had also had reason to complain of the selfish rapacity of the king of Malwa. Mahmood, unable to withstand their combination, was defeated in his capital and captured by Bahadur Shah, who caused him to be confined in the fortress of Champaneer, where he was put to death, with his seven sons, and Malwa annexed to Guzerat, A.D. 1531.

Khans of Candeish.—This small principality, separated by forests from Guzerat, comprised merely the lower part of the valley of the Taptee, the upper being included in Berar.† Its first ruler, Malek Rajah, claimed descent from the Caliph Omar, and died A.D. 1399. His son, Malek Naseer, received from the king of Guzerat the title of khan, and founded the city of Boorhanpoor, near the strong hill-fort of Aseer,‡ which he had obtained by treachery from its rightful occupant, a Hindoo, of peaceable disposition, from whom he had received many personal favours. He gained possession by the same artifice used in the capture of Rohtas, viz., by entreating the unsuspecting chief to receive and shelter the inmates of his harem during a war in which he pretended to be about engaging, and then introducing soldiers in the doolies

* General Briggs here takes occasion to note the contrast between the generosity usually evinced by the Hindoos to the Moslems, and "the sordid, cruel, and bigotted conduct of the latter. It seldom happened that a Hindoo prince, taken in battle, was not instantly beheaded; and life was never spared but with the sacrifice of a daughter delivered up to a sort of honourable prostitution, or by the payment of vast sums of money and jewels."—(Vol. iv., p. 264.)

† Why he was named Rajah does not appear.

‡ This hill-fort, like many others in India, seems to bear witness to the pastoral pursuits of its early possessor, Aseer being considered to be a corruption of Asa Aheer, or Asa the cow-herd.—(*Idem*, p. 286.)

or palanquins, who sprang out and murdered Asa, with his whole family.

Numerous stone embankments for irrigation and other works now in ruins and buried in woods, indicate that Candeish must have once attained a high state of prosperity, but many of these are probably referrible to the previous period of Hindoo independence. Aseer or Aseerghur was taken by Akber, and Candeish re-annexed to Delhi in 1599.

The Rajpoot States.—Of these a very cursory notice must suffice, because our present information concerning them, although voluminous,* is too fragmentary to afford materials for the condensed chronological summary which can be framed with comparative ease and satisfaction from the more precise statements of Mohammedan writers respecting their own kingdoms. At the time of the invasion of Mahmood of Ghuznee, the Rajpoots were in possession of all the governments of India, nor did they resign their power without long and fierce struggles; indeed some have never been entirely subjugated, but up to the present time hold the position of feudatory chiefs (see pp. 7, 8). The table-land in the centre of Hindoostan, and the sandy tract stretching west from it to the Indus, formed the nucleus of Rajpoot independence; and the more broken and inaccessible the country, the better was it suited for the partly feudal, partly clannish, mode of government and warfare, adopted by its sons, from whom, though subsidies might be exacted, and forts captured by the Delhi monarchy during strong and aggressive reigns, tribute would be refused and positions regained the first opportunity. Thus Rintumbor, Gwalior, and Calinjer, were constantly changing hands; while Ajmeer and Malwa were early captured and easily retained, from their situation on the open part of the table-land, terminating in a slope of broken ground towards the Jumna.

At the time of the accession of Akber the chief Rajpoot state was that of *Mewar*, held by the descendant of the brave Rana Sanga of Oudipoor, whose family and tribe are said to have been descended from Rama, and consequently to have derived their origin from Oude, whence they removed to Guzerat, and ultimately settled at Chittore, about the eighth century of our era. There they maintained themselves, notwithstanding the accessible nature of the country—a sure retreat being ever, in case of defeat, afforded by the Aravulli mountains and the hills and forests connected with them, which form the northern boundary of Guzerat. *Marwar*, the next state in importance, was possessed by that portion of the Rahtores, who at the taking of Canouj, A.D. 1194, had quitted the neigbourhood of the Ganges, and, under two grandsons of their last king, established themselves in the desert intermingled with fertile tracts, between the table-land and the Indus. They soon became paramount over the old inhabitants of the race of Jats, and over some small Rajpoot tribes who had preceded them as colonists; and formed an extensive and powerful principality. A younger branch of the Canouj family founded the separate state of *Bikaneer*, on another part of the same desert, A.D. 1459, while the western portion was occupied by the Bhattees, under the rajah of *Jessulmer*. The rajahs of *Amber* or *Jeypoor* were ancient feudatories of *Ajmeer*, and probably remained in submission to the Mohammedans after the conquest of that kingdom. The rajahs of the tribe of Hara, who give their name to *Harauti*, were, in some sort, feudatories of the ranas of Oudipoor, and shortly before the accession of Akber, captured the famous fort of Rintumbor from the governor, who had held it for the Afghan kings. There were besides several petty states, such as the Chouhans of *Parker*, the Sodras of *Amercot* and others, situated in the extreme west of the desert, beyond the reach of Mussulman invaders; and those of *Sirohi*, *Jhalor*, &c., which, lying in the fertile tract beneath the Aravulli mountains, and on one road from Ajmeer to Guzerat, were liable to constant exactions. On the eastern slope of the table-land, *Merut, Gwalior, Narwar, Panna, Oorcha, Chanderi,* and other places in Bundelcund, were mostly held by old Rajpoot families, tributary to Delhi at the time of the death of Humayun.

Bengal was separated from Delhi, A.D. 1338, by the exertions of a soldier, who, having risen from the ranks, at length slew his master (the governor appointed by Mohammed Toghlak), and proclaimed himself an independent sovereign, but was in less than three years displaced by another usurper as ambitious as himself, who, within two years more, was in turn assassinated. Frequent changes of dynasty, with few important events, occupy the remaining period to the accession of the last king, Daood

* *Vide* the late Colonel Tod's extensive and valuable work on *Rajast'han.*

(David), in 1572; among the most interesting is the forcible occupation of the throne by Rajah Kans, a Hindoo zemindar,* whose son and successor voluntarily embraced the Mohammedan faith, declaring, however, his willingness to withdraw his pretensions in favour of his brother, if the chiefs desired it. At one time Bengal seems to have comprehended North Behar. It included Sundergong (Dacca). Jugnuggur (Tipperah) was tributary; Assam occasionally plundered. Cuttack and the adjoining parts were captured just before the extinction of the state. Bengal was then, as now, remarkable for the luxury of its inhabitants, whose wealthy citizens vied with one another in their display of gold plate. Sheer Shah conquered Bengal in 1539: after his death it was seized by the Afghan successors of the governor appointed from Delhi.

Juanpoor stretched along the Ganges from Canouj, on the north-west, to the frontier between Bengal and South Behar on the south-east. Khaja Jehan, the vizier at the time of Mahmood Toghlak's accession, occupied this government during the king's minority, and proclaimed its independence, A.D. 1394, which he and his successors maintained until its re-annexation to Delhi, in 1476. It was again separated after the death of Sheer Shah, and eventually conquered by Akber early in his reign.

Sinde.—Little is known of the history of this principality beyond that which has been already incidentally mentioned (p. 58). The ruling Rajpoot family appear to have become converts to Islam about 1365. They were displaced by the Arghoons, who held it at the period at which we have now arrived.

Moultan revolted during the confusion which followed the invasion of Timur, and was ruled by an Afghan dynasty named Langa, until the early part of the sixteenth century, when the Arghoons of Sinde gained possession; but were, in their turn, expelled by Prince Kamran, and Moultan was thenceforth attached to Delhi. The other provinces which had become independent at the same time (with the exception of the Punjaub, to which Secander Soor maintained his claim), were all in the hands of adherents of the Afghan government. The petty states under the Himalaya Mountains, from Cashmere inclusive, to the Bay of Bengal, were independent under sovereigns of their own; there were besides many mountain and forest tribes throughout India whose almost inaccessible retreats had preserved them from subjugation to the Moslem yoke.†

Reign of Akber.—When the death of Humayun took place, Akber was absent in the Punjaub with Behram Khan, and the fear of attempts being made to seize the throne before the heir apparent could have time to repair to the metropolis, induced such of the ministers as were on the spot, to conceal the fatal event from the public, by causing one of the Mullahs, or religious attendants of the court, to impersonate the deceased monarch, and receive from that part of the palace which overlooked the river Jumna, the salutations of the populace. At length, however, the truth transpired, but the consternation which ensued was temporarily calmed by the exertions of the nobles, one of whom read the Khotbah in the name of Akber—a proceeding equivalent to proclaiming him king.

Akber was little more than thirteen years of age, and by his own desire, as well as in accordance with the wishes of his best advisers, Behram Khan continued to hold the same position to his now crowned pupil as that in which Humayun had previously placed him—being dignified with the appellation of Khan Baba (the king's father), and invested with irresponsible sway. It was a critical epoch for the House of Timur. Several eager competitors watched an opportunity to snatch the sceptre from the youthful descendant of the foreign usurper, but in vain, for the stern and skilful soldier who had helped the father to regain it remained to guard it for the son, and that son had repeatedly evinced a degree of discretion beyond his years, and was learning to curb his own daring spirit and passion for glory, and to take large and statesmanlike views of the duties of civil government, which made some amends for his rapacity as a conqueror, and enabled him to consolidate by policy what he won by the sword.

The first contest for supremacy was waged with Hemu, who headed an army in the name of Sultan Adili, for the double pur-

* This term was originally applied to the hereditary Hindoo chiefs who had become more or less subject to Moslem rule—it was sometimes extended by the proud invaders to independent princes, like those of Oudipoor and Joudpoor, whom they affected to treat as subordinate to their government; but it is only in comparatively modern times that it has been used to denote persons holding assignments of the government revenue, as well as district and village officers.

† Elphinstone, vol. ii. pp. 166—251; Price's *Mohammedan History*, vol. iii., p. 947.

pose of expelling the Moguls and reducing Secander Soor, who, though driven to take refuge in the vicinity of the northern mountains, still maintained his pretensions to be king of Delhi and the Punjaub, in which latter place Akber and Behram Khan remained after their late victory, occupied in arranging the new government. Meanwhile, Hemu, having captured both Delhi and Agra, prepared to march to Lahore, where the tidings of his successes and approach created so much alarm that the general opinion in the camp was in favour of a retreat to Cabool, but Behram Khan's determination prevailed over more timid counsels, and the rival forces met at Paniput, where, after a desperate battle, the Moguls triumphed. The elephants, on whose number Hemu placed great dependence, became ungovernable and threw their own ranks into confusion, but Hemu, from his howdah, at the head of 4,000 horse, continued the action, until an arrow pierced his eye, and he sank back for the moment in extreme agony. His troops believing the wound mortal, gave way, but raising himself again, and plucking out the barbed weapon, together with the eye itself, Hemu endeavoured to force a path through the enemy's ranks, but was captured through the treachery of his elephant-driver, and brought before Akber, who was desired by Behram Khan to slay the infidel and thus earn the title of Ghazi.* Akber so far complied as to touch with his sword the head of his brave and almost expiring foe, and then burst into tears, upon which Behram Khan, in whose stern breast no sentiment akin to Rajpoot chivalry ever found place, drew his own sabre and beheaded him with a stroke. With Hemu, Adili lost all hope of recovering his dominions, but he continued to reign some time longer until he was killed in a battle with a new pretender in Bengal. Akber took possession of Delhi and Agra; succeeded in effecting the pacification of the Punjaub; acquired Ajmeer without a battle; and early in the fourth year of his reign had driven the Afghans out of Lucknow and the country on the Ganges as far east as Juanpoor. Notwithstanding these triumphs, the happiness of the victor was embittered by the harsh and arbitrary conduct of the Khan Baba, who attempted to enforce in a luxurious and refined court the same rigid discipline by which he had maintained subordination in an army of adventurers. The nobles were offended by his haughty and distrustful conduct, and even Akber had grave reasons for considering himself treated in a manner, which his position as king, together with his deep and lively interest in all state affairs, rendered unwarrantable. Thus, Behram took advantage of Akber's absence on a hawking party, to put to death Tardi Beg, an old noble, who had been one of Baber's favourite companions, had accompanied Humayun in all his wanderings, and had first read the Khotbah in the name of his successor. The ostensible reason,† was the hasty evacuation of Delhi, where Tardi Beg was governor, before the troops of Hemu; an offence that in the eyes of the warlike and inflexible minister, would have fully justified the sentence, which he might have desired to spare his young sovereign the pain of pronouncing. However this may have been, Behram is accused‡ of having, on subsequent occasions, behaved very tyrannically to all who seemed inclined to seek power and influence, except through the channel of his favour. One nobleman of high standing, having incurred his dis-

* This epithet, variously translated as "Holy Warrior," "Champion of the Faith," or "Victorious in a Holy War," is one of those expressions which can scarcely be faithfully rendered in another tongue to readers imperfectly acquainted with the circumstances of its origin and use. From it arose the word *Gazette*—first employed to designate the official announcement in eastern Europe of victory, in what the combatants called religious warfare; but since applied to governmental publications of all kinds. With regard to translations of Persian, Sanscrit or other terms, and their orthography, I would again deprecate the criticism of oriental scholars, and plead the difficulty of presenting them, with any chance of correct pronunciation, without adopting a system of accentuation, which might possibly deter readers of the very class, whose sympathies I am most desirous of enlisting, the young and the unlearned. I have followed Tod, Dow, and others in avoiding the wearisome repetition of the long titles assumed by Mohammedan sovereigns, by occasionally giving, in the event of oft-recurring mention, only the first word, thus—Ala-oo-deen (glory of the faith) is sometimes adverted to as Ala only. An able and kindly critic, lieutenant-general Briggs, has pointed out the erroneous impression this practice may produce; and it therefore seems best to state at once the desire for brevity by which it was prompted.

† Jealousy of his influence was the supposed cause.

‡ The chief authority on this portion, and indeed regarding nearly the whole of Akber's reign, is Abul Fazil, whose evident unfairness and prejudice in all matters involving the character of his royal master, (to whose revision all his writings were subject), renders it difficult to form a satisfactory judgment of the circumstances which led to the rupture between Akber and Behram Khan, and the disgrace and death of the latter.

pleasure, was put to death on some slight charge, and Peir Mohammed Khan, the king's private tutor, to whom he was much attached, narrowly escaped the same fate. Akber, before he was eighteen, resolved to reign without control, and having concerted a plan with those about him, took occasion, when on a hunting party, to make an unexpected journey to Delhi, whence he issued a proclamation, forbidding obedience to any orders not sanctioned by his authority. Behram sent two envoys of distinction, with assurances of submission, but Akber refused to see them, and ordered their imprisonment. After this, the disgraced minister seems to have had some intention of attempting to establish an independent principality in Malwa, but subsequently set off for Guzerat with the professed object of embarking from thence for Mecca. As he lingered long, a formal notice of dismissal arrived from Agra, commanding him to proceed on his pilgrimage forthwith. Having resigned his standards, kettle-drums, and other ensigns of authority, Behram continued his route in a private character, until, irritated by some further proceedings of Akber, he changed his mind, and attempted an invasion of the Punjaub. There, as elsewhere, the people were disposed to rally round the young king; Behram was defeated, and eventually driven to a surrender. Akber received him with much kindness, seated him on his right hand, and offered him the alternatives of an important government, a high position at court, or an honourable dismissal to Mecca. This last proposition seems to indicate that the foregoing ones were merely complimentary, and Behram probably so understood them, since he chose the pilgrimage, for which he had previously evinced little inclination, and proceeded to Guzerat, where, while preparing for embarkation, he was assassinated (A.D. 1561), by an Afghan, whose father he had killed in battle during the reign of Humayun.

Akber, now left to his own resources, soon found that other officers were likely to prove less overbearing perhaps than his old governor, but more inclined to take advantage of his youth for their own advancement.* Always abundantly self-reliant, he checked such attempts with a firm hand. Adam Khan, an Uzbek officer, having defeated Baz Bahadur,† the Afghan ruler of Malwa, showed some disposition to retain the province for himself, upon which Akber marched immediately to the camp, and conferred the government on his old tutor, Peir Mohammed Khan, whose conduct in this position, went far to vindicate the previous harshness displayed towards him by Behram. After massacring the inhabitants of two cities, of which he had obtained possession, he was at length defeated and drowned. Baz Bahadur recovered Malwa, of which he was again deprived by the victorious Mogul, whose service he subsequently entered.

The successive steps of Akber's career can only be briefly sketched. The seven years following the disgrace of Behram were mainly employed in a severe struggle with the military aristocracy, and in repelling the pretensions advanced on behalf of the young prince Hakim, who, although an infant at the time of his father, Humayun's death, had been left in the nominal government of Cabool; but, being expelled thence by his relation, Mirza Soliman, of Badakshan, attempted to invade the Punjaub, but was driven out (1566), and subsequently returned to Cabool, of which country he

* Among these was Asuf Khan, an officer who obtained permission from Akber, A.D. 1565, to invade a small independent kingdom called Gurra Mundela, then under the government of a regent or queen-mother named Durgavati, equally celebrated for her beauty and good sense. On the approach of the Mohammedans she led her forces in person against them mounted on an elephant, but after a sharp contest being disabled by an arrow-wound in the eye, her troops disheartened, gave way, upon which, fearing to fall into the hands of the victors, she snatched a dagger from the girdle of the elephant-driver and stabbed herself. The chief place was then taken by storm, and the infant rajah trodden to death in the confusion. One thousand elephants, 100 jars of gold coins, numerous jewels, and images of gold and silver were seized by Asuf Khan, who sent to Akber only a very small portion of the spoil, and then went into rebellion, but was afterwards compelled to sue for pardon. The whole transaction was aggression, robbery, and murder from first to last, and the guilt rests as much on the head of Akber, who sanctioned the crime and shared the booty, as upon Asuf Khan, the actual perpetrator. (Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. ii. p. 128.)

† The Hindoo mistress of Baz Bahadur, celebrated equally for her beauty and poetic talent, fell into the hands of Adam Khan, and unable to strive against his importunity and threatened violence, appointed an hour to receive him, and then arrayed in costly robes, fragrant with the sweetest perfumes, lay down on a couch covered with a mantle. On the Khan's approach her attendants strove to rouse her, but she had taken poison and was already dead. (*Khafi Khan*, quoted by Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 263.) Her persecutor did not long survive her, for having quarrelled with the vizier of Akber he stabbed him while at prayers, and was, by order of the king, (who was sleeping in an inner room, and rushed in, awakened by the uproar) immediately thrown from a lofty terrace-parapet, where he had sought refuge.

long retained undisturbed possession. The Mirzas, (namely, the four sons and three nephews of Sultan Mirza, a prince of the house of Tamerlane, who had come to India with Baber, but rebelled against Humayun, who pardoned and gave him the government of Sambal) revolted, and were compelled to fly to Guzerat, where they endeavoured to take advantage of the disturbed state of affairs, but were strenuously opposed by Etimad Khan, the Hindoo minister, or rather master, of the pageant king, Mozuffer III. Sooner than suffer the sceptre to be seized by the Mirzas, Etimad prompted its formal surrender to Akber, A.D. 1572, who having personally received it, proceeded to besiege Surat, where these princes had taken refuge. Before the place could be invested they departed with a light detachment, intending to join their main body in the north of Guzerat. Akber ordered 1,000 men to follow him, and set out in pursuit with such rash haste, that he found himself in front of the enemy with a party which, after waiting to allow some stragglers to come up, numbered only 150 men. He nevertheless commenced the attack, but being repulsed, took shelter in a lane formed by strong hedges of cactus, where not more than three horsemen could advance abreast. Here he was hard pressed and separated from his men, but saved by the gallantry of Rajah Bhagwandas of Amber, and his nephew and adopted son, Rajah Maun Sing, both officers of high rank in the imperial army. Soorjun Ray, Rajah of Rintumbor, is also mentioned as having evinced great bravery; and the fact of the king's being immediately surrounded by Hindoo chiefs on such an occasion, sufficiently proves the degree to which he had conciliated, and the trust which he reposed in them. The Mirzas succeeded in effecting the junction which Akber had risked so much to prevent, but were afterwards dispersed, and met with various adventures, terminating in violent deaths by the hands of Delhi officers. Though eager to put down any infringement of his own real or assumed rights, Akber utterly disregarded those of others; the establishment of unquestioned supremacy over all India being the object which he proposed from the beginning. With this view he never scrupled to foment strife, watching craftily an opportunity of turning to his own advantage the dissensions which rendered weak and effete the various independent governments, both foreign and native. Under his banner, Hindoo fought against Hindoo—Moslem against Moslem; and each against the other. Over the fiery Rajpoots his personal influence became unbounded. Skilfully availing himself of their foibles, and studious needlessly to avoid clashing with their feudal observances and associations, he won from them voluntary concessions which force had long failed to extort. As early as 1651 he had sent a strong force against Maldeo, Rajah of Marwar, actuated perhaps by the recollection of the sufferings of his parents when refused protection shortly before his birth (p. 87), and captured the strong fortress of Meerta. Nagore was also taken; and both these strong-holds were conferred by Akber on the representative of the younger branch of the family, Ray Sing of Bikaneer. In 1569, Rao Maldeo succumbed to necessity; and, in conformity with the times, sent his second son with gifts to Akber, then at Ajmeer, which had become an integral part of the monarchy; but the disdainful bearing of "the desert king" so displeased Akber, that he presented Ray Sing with a *firmán* (imperial mandate) for the possession of Joudpoor itself, and the old Rao had to stand a siege in his capital, and after brave but fruitless resistance, was compelled to yield homage. His son and successor, well known as Moota (the fat) Rajah, gave a princess of his family in marriage to Akber (a great concession, not to say degradation, in the sight of a Rajpoot, even though the issue of this union would take equal rank with other princes of the imperial house) and, in return, received all the possessions previously wrested from Marwar, except Ajmeer, besides several rich districts in Malwa.* Rajah Bharmul, of Amber, likewise gave the king a daughter to wife,† and enrolled himself and his son, Bhagwandas, among the royal vassals, holding his country as a fief of the empire; and he also received honours and emoluments, in the shape most agreeable to a Rajpoot—increase of territory. In fact, every chief who submitted to Akber, found his personal possessions increased in consequence. One state, however, still maintained its independence, and could neither be flattered, bribed, or forced into alliance with the foreigner; it even dared to re-

* Tod says four provinces (Godwar, Oojein, Debalpoor, and Budnawar) yielding £200,000 of annual revenue were given for the hand of Jod Bae.

† Mother to Selim, Akber's successor.

nounce intermarriage with every house by which such disgrace had been sustained. Against Mewar, Akber therefore turned his arms, so soon as the disaffection of the Usbek nobles and other rebellions nearer Delhi had been put down. The Rana, Oodi Sing, unlike his brave father, Sanga, was a man of feeble character, quite unfit to head the gallant chiefs who rallied round him. On learning the approach of his formidable foe, he retreated from Chittore to the hilly and woody country north of Guzerat, leaving a strong garrison under Jei Mal, a chief of great courage and ability. The place, though previously twice taken, was still regarded by the Rajpoots of Mewar as a sort of sanctuary of their monarchy. The operations of the siege were conducted with great care, and seem to have closely resembled those adopted in modern Europe. Two mines were sunk, and fire set to the train; one of them exploded, and the storming party crowded up the breach, but while so doing, the second explosion occurred, and destroyed many of the assailants, upon which the rest fled in confusion. The previous labours were re-commenced; considerable advantage had been gained, and the northern defences destroyed, when Akber, one night, in visiting the trenches, perceived Jei Mal on the works, superintending some repairs by torch-light. Taking deliberate aim, he shot him through the head, and the garrison, appalled by the death of their able leader, abandoned the breaches, and withdrew to the interior of the fort. There they assumed the saffron-coloured robes, ate the last "beera" or pân togther, and performed the other ceremonies incidental to their intended self-sacrifice. After witnessing the terrible rite of the *Johur*, in which the women, gathering round the body of Jei Mal, found refuge in the flames from pollution or captivity; the men, to the number of 8,000, ran to the ramparts, and were there slain by the Moslems who had mounted unopposed. "Akber entered Chittore, when," says Tod, "30,000 of its inhabitants became victims to the ambitious thirst of conquest of this *guardian of mankind*." *

Notwithstanding the loss of his capital and many of his bravest warriors, the Rana remained independent in his fastnesses in the Aravulli; raised a small palace, around which edifices soon clustered, and formed the nucleus of the city of Oudipoor, which eventually became the capital of Mewar. He died shortly afterwards, A.D. 1572. His successor, Pertap, was in all respects his opposite. Brave, persevering, and devoted to the cause of Rajpoot independence, the recovery of Chittore was his watchword. Till this should be accomplished, he interdicted to himself and his successors every article of luxury—exchanged golden dishes for vessels made of leaves, and soft couches for straw pallets; and, in sign of mourning, commanded all his followers to leave their beards unshaven.† Such an adversary was not likely to be undervalued by the politic Akber, who succeeded in arraying against the patriot his kindred in faith as well as in blood, including even his own brother, Sagurji, who received, as the price of his treachery, the ancient capital of his race. The odds against Pertap were fearful: driven from his strongholds of Komulmeer and Gogunda, he nevertheless withstood, for more than a quarter of a century, the combined efforts of the empire, often flying from rock to rock, feeding his wife and family from the fruits of his native hills, and rearing, amid the haunts of savage beasts, his young son, Umra, the heir to his prowess and his struggles.‡ In 1576, a desperate battle occurred at the pass or

* Akber's conduct on this occasion has also left an indelible stain on his character as a patron of the arts, for the stately temples and palaces of Chittore were defaced and despoiled with the most ruthless barbarity. He showed, however, his sense of the bravery of his fallen foes by erecting at one of the chief gates of Delhi two great elephants of stone, (described by Bernier in 1663), each with their rider, one representing Jei Mal, the other Putta. The latter, the youthful head of the Jugawut clan, perished in the defence of the city, following the example of his widowed mother, who, arming her son's young bride with a lance, with her descended the rock and both fell fighting side by side. The *zinars*, (Brahmanical cords taken from the necks of the Rajpoots), are said to have amounted to seventy-four mân's and a-half; and still, in memory of this terrible destruction, the bankers of Rajast'han mark this *tilâc*, or accursed number on their seals, thereby invoking "the sin of the slaughter of Chittore" on any one who should dare to violate this mysterious but revered safeguard. (*Annals of Rajast'han*, vol. i. p. 327.

† The descendants of Pertap, though unfaithful to the spirit of this vow, still adhere to the letter, by placing leaves under their gold or silver plate, and straw beneath their couches, while their beards remain unshorn. (*Idem*, p. 333).

‡ Colonel Tod's narrative of the life of this noble Rajpoot is full of incidents of thrilling interest. So hot was the pursuit of the Mogul myrmidons that "five meals have been prepared and abandoned for want of the opportunity to eat them," and his family were repeatedly on the eve of capture. On one of these occasions they were saved by the faithful Bheels of Cavah, who carried them in baskets and concealed them in the tin mines of Jawura, where they

plain of Huldighat, where Pertap had taken up a strong position with 22,000 Rajpoots, while above, on the neighbouring cliffs and pinnacles, his trusty auxiliaries, the aboriginal Bheels, stood posted, armed with bows and arrows, and huge stones ready to roll upon the enemy. But all efforts proved vain against the overpowering Mogul force, headed by Selim, the heir of Akber, with its numerous field-artillery and a dromedary corps mounting swivels. Of the stalwart Rajpoots who rallied round the royal insignia,* ever seen in the hottest part of the action, 8,000 only survived it. Pertap himself, after receiving several severe wounds, was saved with difficulty, by a noble act of self-devotion. One of his chiefs (Marah), seizing the "golden sun," made his way to an intricate position, and thus drew upon himself and his vassals the brunt of the battle, while his prince, forced from the field, lived to renew the struggle, and to honour the memory of his brave deliverer by conferring on his descendants distinctions whose value a Rajpoot alone could fully appreciate.† Another generous sacrifice eventually enabled the Mewar prince, when almost driven into the abandonment of his native kingdom, to cope successfully with the Mogul force. Bhama Sah, his minister, whose ancestors had for ages held this office, placed at his disposal their accumulated resources; and thus furnished with the sinews of war, Pertap renewed the contest. The chivalrous clemency which habitually distinguishes the Rajpoot was, for once, merged in a sense of the desperate nature of his position. Komulmeer and thirty-two posts were taken by surprise, and the troops slain without mercy. To use the words of the native annalist, "Pertap made a desert of Mewar; he made an offering to the sword of whatever dwelt in the plains:"‡ and in one campaign, recovered his hereditary dominions, except Chittore, Ajmeer, and Mandelgurh.

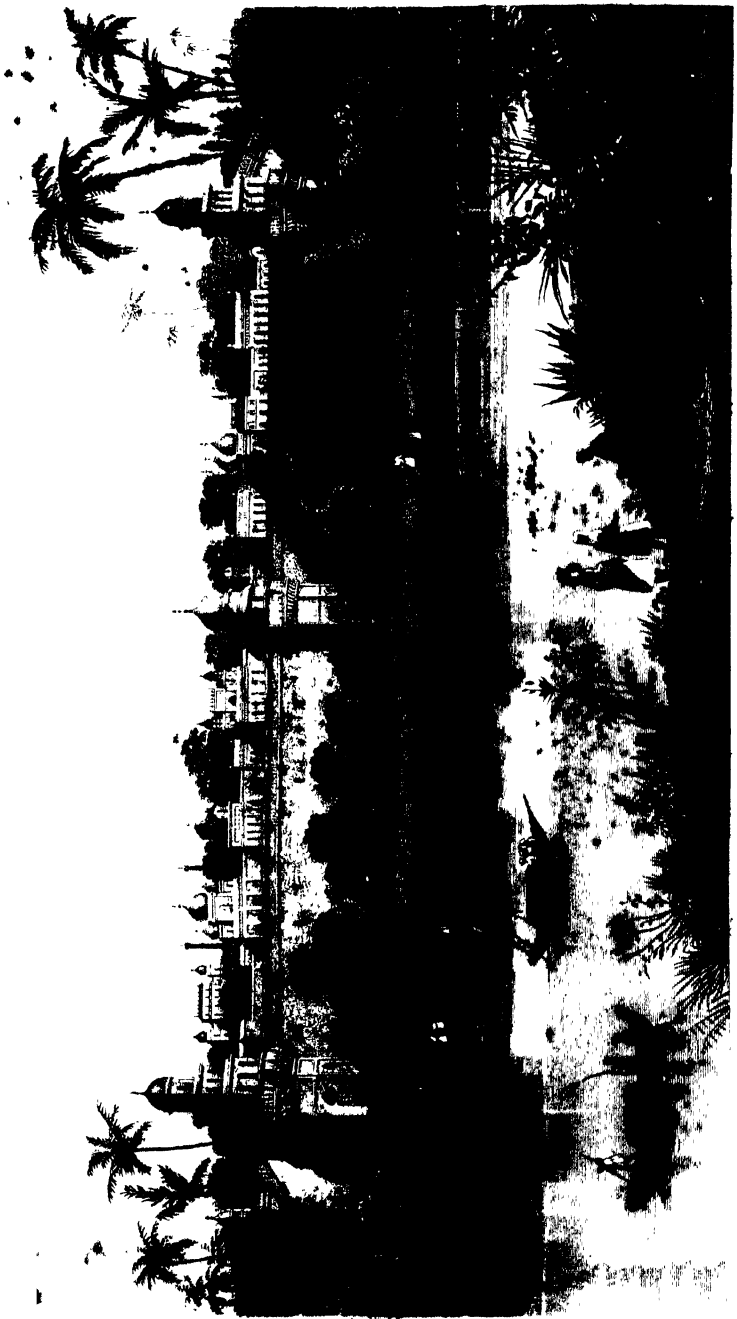
Akber, occupied by new fields of conquest, suffered Pertap to retain his territory unmolested; but the mind of the Hindoo prince could know no rest while, from the summit of the pass to Oudipoor (where, in accordance with his vow, he inhabited a lowly hut) might be seen the stately battlements of Chittore, whose re-capture, he felt, was not for him. A spirit ill at ease, accelerated the decay of a frame scarred by repeated wounds, and worn out with hardships and fatigue. His sun went down at noon; but he died (A.D. 1597) as he had lived, an unflinching patriot, enjoining on Umra and his subjects to eschew luxury, and seek, first and last, the independence of Mewar.

The manner in which this dying command was fulfilled belongs to the succeeding reign. We now return to the proceedings of Akber, who, in 1575, headed an army for the subjugation of Bengal. The Afghan ruler, Daood Khan, a weak, dissipated prince, retired before the imperial forces from Behar to Bengal Proper, upon which Akber returned to Agra, leaving his lieutenants to pursue the conquest, which proved a more difficult task than was expected. The chief commanders were Rajah Todar Mal, the celebrated minister of finance, and Rajah Maun Sing, and their efforts were at length successful. Daood was defeated and slain; and the mutinous attempts of various Mogul officers to seize the jaghires of the conquered chiefs for their private benefit, were, after many struggles, put down. The last endeavour of any importance, on the part of the Afghans, to recover the province, terminated in defeat in 1592, and being followed up by concessions of territory to the leading chiefs, the final settlement of Bengal was concluded, after fifteen years of strife and misery. While his generals were thus engaged, Akber was himself occupied in renewed hostilities with Mirza Hakim, who, after having remained long undisturbed in Cabool, again invaded the Punjaub, and assaulted the governor, Maun Sing, in Lahore. The king having raised the siege, drove his brother to the mountains and occupied Cabool; but that government was restored on the submission of the prince, who retained it until his death in 1585. The vicinity of Abdullah, Khan of the Uzbeks, who had recently seized Badakshan from Mirza Soliman, probably induced Akber, on learning the demise of Hakim, to proceed immediately to the strong fort of Attock, which he had previously erected on the principal ferry of the Indus.

guarded and fed them. Bolts and bars are still preserved in the trees about Jawura to which the cradles of the royal children of Mewar were suspended.

* The *changi*, or chief insignia of royalty in Mewar, is a sun of gold in the centre of a disc of black ostrich feathers or felt, about three feet in diameter.

† Such as bearing the title of Raj (royal), the privilege of enjoying "the right hand of the Mewar princes," &c., to which territorial advantages were also added by the grateful Pertap.

‡ All his loyal subjects had previously followed him to the mountains, destroying whatever property they could neither conceal nor carry away. (*Annals of Rajast'han*, vol. i. p. 347.)

Although Badakshan had been the ancient possession of his family, Akber was far too politic to stir up a quarrel with so formidable a foe as its present occupant, while, in another quarter, opportunity invited the exercise of more profitable and less dangerous, though utterly unprovoked aggression. Near at hand, nestled in the very centre of the Himalaya, above the heated plains, below the snowy heights, lay the lovely valley of Cashmere, verdant with perpetual spring. From the age of fable till the beginning of the fourteenth century, this small kingdom had been ruled by a succession of Hindoo princes, interrupted, it would appear, by a Tartar dynasty.* It then fell into the hands of a Mohammedan adventurer, and was held by princes of that religion until 1586, when the distractions prevailing among the reigning family induced Akber to brave the difficult and dangerous passes by which alone this terrestrial paradise could be approached, and send an army, under Shah Rokh Mirza, son of Mirza Soliman (who had entered his service when driven out of Badakshan), and Bhagwandas, of Jeypoor, for its conquest. These chiefs, with difficulty, penetrated through the snow by an unguarded pass; but their supplies being exhausted, were glad to enter into a treaty with the king, Yusuf Shah, by which the supremacy of the emperor was acknowledged, but his practical interference with the province forbidden. Yusuf, relying on the good faith and generosity of Akber, accompanied the troops on their return to the court of that monarch, who, considering the pledge given on his behalf an inconvenient one, detained his guest, and dispatched a fresh force for the occupation of Cashmere. Yacub, the son of the captive, assembled the troops, and prepared to defend the pass; but the prevailing dissensions had extended so widely among the soldiery, that part went over to the invaders, and the prince deemed it best to fall back with the rest on Serinuggur, where strife and rebellion were also at work. Driven thence to the hills, he continued the struggle for two years, but was at last captured and sent to Delhi, where both he and his father were induced by Akber to enter his service, and accept large jaghires in Behar. From this time, Cashmere became the favourite summer retreat of the Mogul rulers.

The imperial arms were next directed against the Eusofzeis and other Afghan tribes inhabiting the hilly countries round the plain of Peshawer, among whom a powerful party had been established by Bayezeed, a false prophet, who founded a sect, self-styled Roushenia, or the enlightened, and declared his followers justified in seizing on the lands and property of all who refused to believe in his divine mission. The impostor was defeated and slain, but his sons bore about his bones in an ark, and the youngest, Jelala, became formidable from his energy and ambition, and succeeded in gaining repeated advantages over the Delhi troops, many of whom perished, including Rajah Beer Bal, one of Akber's favourite generals. In 1600, Jelala obtained possession of the city of Ghuznee, but was eventually expelled and slain. The religious war was continued by his successors during the two next reigns (those of Jehangeer and Shah Jehan); and when the errors of the Roushenias became exploded, the Eusofzeis, who had long renounced their doctrines, continued to maintain hostilities with the house of Timur, and afterwards with the kings of Persia and Cabool, preserving throughout their turbulent independence undiminished.

Sinde was captured in 1592, its ruler, on submission, being, according to the policy of Akber, enrolled among the nobles of the empire; and Candahar, which had been seized by Shah Tahmasp soon after the death of Humayun, was recovered without a blow, in 1594, owing to the disorders which marked the early part of the reign of his successor, Shah Abbas. By this last acquisition, Akber completed the possession of his hereditary kingdom beyond the Indus (the war with the Afghans being confined to the mountains) at nearly the same period at which he concluded the conquest of Hindoostan Proper. Excepting only Oudipoor and its gallant rana, with his immediate retainers, the other Rajpoot states of any im-

* Professor H. H. Wilson considers it to have existed either under the name of Caspapyrus or Abisarus as early as the days of Herodotus and Alexander.—*Essay on the Raj Taringi, or Hindoo History of Cashmere—Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 82. This work was executed by four different persons, the first of whom wrote in 1148, but frequent and precise references are made to earlier writers. The facts and dates become consistent as they approach A.D. 600, and from that period to the termination of the history, with the conquest of the kingdom by Akber, the chronology is accurate. Much interesting matter occurs incidentally, regarding Buddhism and Brahminism, (the former having been very early introduced into Cashmere), and also respecting the ancient worship of the Nagas or Snake Gods.

portance all acknowledged Mogul supremacy, and their chiefs had become changed from jealous tributaries to active auxiliaries.

The Deccan now became the theatre for Akber's aggression, to which its perturbed condition offered every facility. After two years spent by his son, Prince Morad, and other generals, during which time Ahmednuggur was besieged and nobly defended by the Sultana Chand, Akber proceeded in person to the scene of action, where Berar had already been surrendered on behalf of the king of Ahmednuggur. The conquest of Candeish was completed by the reduction of the strong fortress of Ascerghur, in 1599, and Prince Danial made viceroy of the new provinces, with Mirza Khan (the son of Behram, who had received the title of Khan Khanan, formerly bestowed by Humayun on his ill-fated father) as his confidential adviser. Prince Danial took to wife the daughter of Ibrahim II., of Beejapoor, who, like the neighbouring king of Golconda, had deprecated, by presents and embassies, the anger of the powerful Mogul for having sided against his generals in the contest with Ahmednuggur.† These endeavours would probably have proved fruitless, as many similar ones had done, but for the hurried and compulsory return of Akber to Hindoostan, owing to the misconduct of his eldest son and acknowledged heir. Selim was now above thirty years of age, and not deficient in natural ability; but his intellect had been impaired and his heart depraved by the excessive use of wine and opium. Taking possession of Allahabad, he made himself master of Oude and Behar, seized upon treasure amounting to thirty lacs of rupees (£300,000), and assumed the title of king. These pretensions were speedily withdrawn on the appearance of Akber, who behaved with extreme moderation; but his ungrateful son, while expressing submission and fidelity, took an opportunity of revenging his own supposed injuries, and inflicting a severe blow on the feelings of his father, by instigating the assassination of Abul Fazil, whom he both feared and hated. An ambuscade was laid near Gwalior by Nursing Deo Rajah of Oorcha, and Abul Fazil, after a brave defence, was slain with most of his attendants, A.D. 1602. Akber was greatly distressed by the loss of his friend and counsellor. He spent two days without food or sleep, and sent a force against Nursing Deo, with orders to seize his innocent family, ravage his country, and exercise other unwarrantable severities; but the intended victim succeeded in eluding pursuit, and was subsequently raised to high honour on the accession of Selim to the throne.

Akber would not publicly recognise his son's share in the crime;‡ but, on the contrary, conferred on him the privilege of using the royal ornaments, and other marks of the highest distinction. But all in vain. Selim became daily more brutal and debauched, until at last, the public quarrels between him and his son, Khosru (himself a violent-tempered youth) grew to such a height, that Khosru's mother (the sister of Maun Sing), in a moment of grief and despair, swallowed poison; after which, her husband became so cruel and irascible, that Akber thought it necessary to place him under temporary restraint. He was no sooner released than his jealousy of his son (whom he believed, and probably not without reason, desired to supplant him in the succession to the throne) occasioned new scenes of disorder. Meanwhile Khosru himself was, beyond measure, envious of his younger brother, Khoorum (Shah Jehan), who was equally a favourite with both his father and grandfather. While affairs at home were in this unsatisfactory state intelligence arrived of the decease of prince Danial. Morad had died some years before, now this other son, Selim's only remaining brother, was taken from Akber, under circumstances calculated to embitter the bereavement. Intemperance had laid fast hold on its victim, and though so surrounded by the faithful servants of his father as to be unable openly to gratify its solicitations, he found means to have liquor secretly conveyed to him in the barrel of a fowling-piece, and by unrestrained indulgence soon terminated his existence at the age of thirty (April 1605.)

* With this fortress, ten years' provisions and countless treasures fell into the hands of the conqueror, who was supposed to have employed magical arts.

† The chief of Sindo is said to have employed Portuguese officers in his defence against Akber, and to have had 200 natives dressed as Europeans, who were consequently the earliest *sepoys*. He had also a fort defended by an Arab garrison, "the first instance," says Mr. Elphinstone, "in which I have observed any mention of that description of mercenaries afterwards so much esteemed." Vol. ii. p. 297.)

‡ Selim, in his *Memoirs*, openly acknowledges the crime and vindicates it on the plea of Abul Fazil's having induced his father to disbelieve in the Koran. For this reason, he says, "I employed the man who killed Abul Fazil and brought his head to me; and for this it was that I incurred my father's deep displeasure."—Price's *Memoirs of Jahanguir*, p. 33.

Alas for Akber! he was now about sixty-three, and had probably anticipated that an old age of peace and honour might crown a youth of vicissitude and daring adventure, and a manhood of brilliant success. His foes were either silent in the grave, or had been won by politic liberality to a cheerful acknowledgment of his supremacy; and the able system of civil government framed by the aid of the gifted brothers, Abul Fazil and Feizi,* and founded on a careful consideration of the customs and opinions of the Hindoos, had won from the mass of the people a degree of cordial and grateful support which none of the "Great Moguls" before or after Akber ever acquired or even strove for. A total disbeliever in revealed religion,† he had found no difficulty in sanctioning the free exercise of all creeds, and in humouring national vanity, or courting sectarian prejudice whenever it suited his object, and it was always his object to be popular. To the Brahmin, the Buddhist, the Parsee,‡ the Jew and the Roman catholic,§ the emperor listened with courteous deference; and his legislative ability, personal daring, and suavity of manner, won golden opinions from multitudes who cared not to

* Their father, a learned man, named Mobarik, was expelled from his situation as college-tutor at Agra for latitudinarian if not atheistical opinions, which his sons, though professing Moslems, evidently shared. Feizi diligently applied himself to the study of Sanscrit, as did several of the most distinguished men of Akber's court, through which a taste for literature was widely diffused. Feizi was presented to Akber in the twelfth year of his reign, and introduced Abul Fazil six years later, and they jointly became the intimate friends and confidants of their sovereign, who survived them both. An account of the death of Feizi has been recorded by a personal friend but a zealous Mussulman (Abdul Kader), and therefore it may be highly coloured, but, according to him, this celebrated scholar died blaspheming, with distorted features and blackened lips, but of what malady does not appear.—(Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 320.)

† "The religion of Akber," says Mr. Elphinstone, (who, by the aid of a manuscript translation of the *Akbernameh*, has obtained information otherwise accessible only to oriental scholars,) "was pure deism. * * * His fundamental doctrine was, that there were no prophets; his appeal on all occasions was to human reason."—(Vol. ii., p. 322.) This free-thinking did not however interfere with his alleged right as "head of the church, [? what church] to decide all disputes among its members," nor prevent him from introducing a new confession of faith, declaring that "there was no God but God, and *Akber was his caliph*."—(p. 324.) The practices of spiritual instructors of different denominations he did not scruple to adopt, and Abul Fazil, who wrote under his immediate supervision, makes repeated mention of the supernatural endowments which he habitually and publicly exercised, and of the "numerous miracles which he performed." Among the many superstitious modes used in seeking "success in business, restoration of health, birth of a son," &c., a favourite method adopted "by men of all nations and ranks," was to "invocate his majesty," to whom, on the obtainment of their wishes, they brought the offerings which they had vowed. "Not a day passes," says Abul Fazil, "but people bring cups of water to the palace, beseeching him to breathe upon them. He who is privy to the secrets of heaven reads the decrees of fate, and if tidings of hope are received, takes the water from the supplicant, places it in the sun's rays, and then having bestowed upon it his auspicious breath, returns it. Also many, whose diseases are deemed incurable, intreat him to breathe upon them, and are thereby restored to health."—(*Ayeen Akbery*, vol. i., p. 665.) Had Akber lived in the middle of the nineteenth century he would have taken a peculiar interest in mesmerism, spirit-rapping, and table-turning.

‡ To the customs of this sect Akber practically inclined more than to any other, his stated times of worship being day-break, noon, and midnight. "His majesty," Abul Fazil adds, "has also a great veneration for fire in general, and for lamps, since they are to be accounted rays of the greater light."—Gladwin's *Ayeen Akbery*, vol. i., p. 160.)

§ Akber appears to have played upon the credulity of the priests sent from Goa in a manner which they have described with much *naïveté*, though no Protestant can read their account without pain and indignation at the thought of the pure and life-giving faith of the meek and lowly Redeemer being presented to the imperial sceptic, under a form so little likely to win respectful attention. He had expressed a wish to see their chapel, which they dressed up for the occasion with every kind of ornament they could borrow from the Hindoos or any other quarter, and Akber declared himself dazzled with the result, and exclaimed that "no other religion could produce such brilliant proofs of its divinity;" a speech which, considering the enormous wealth in gold and gems he must have heard of, if not witnessed, in the idolatrous temples of Hindoostan, would seem little better than a cutting sarcasm. He had on a previous occasion prostrated himself before a representation of the crucifixion, "but his chief emotion was excited on viewing a finely-painted and ornamented image of the Virgin. He gazed on it long in admiration, and declared that she appeared indeed the Queen of Heaven seated on her throne." The friars began to entertain great hopes of his conversion, but soon found that he persisted in "holding himself forth as an object of worship; and though exceedingly tolerant as to other modes of faith, never would admit of any encroachments on his own divinity." One of his courtiers suffered it to transpire that the sole aim of the monarch in listening to the missionaries was "curiosity and amusement," and this was confirmed soon afterwards by Akber's gravely proposing to them, as a means of deciding between their assertions and those of the Mohammedans, that a famous Mullah should leap into a furnace with the Koran in his hand, followed by one of the friars bearing a Bible. He promised that the Mullah should leap in first, hinting that he would not at all regret to see him fall a sacrifice to his presumption; but the friars refused the ordeal, and not feeling "much at ease in the Mogul court, soon solicited and obtained permission to return to Goa."—(Murray's *Account of Discoveries*, vol. ii., p. 92.)

search out the selfishness which was the hidden main-spring of every project, whether ostensibly for the promotion of external aggression or internal prosperity. But now the season for rest had arrived, and he might hope to enjoy the wide-spread dominion and almost incalculable wealth, which a clever head and a sharp sword had combined to win. His strongly-built and handsome frame* had escaped almost unscathed from the dangers and fatigues of the battle-field, the toilsome march, the onslaught of wild beasts, and the weapon of the assassin. All had failed to dispirit or unnerve him, and the conduct of an intricate campaign, or the pressure of civil government (a far more difficult undertaking for one who had to make laws as well as superintend their execution), never absorbed the time and energy necessary to the active part which he loved to bear in mental or bodily exercises of all descriptions, from philosophical discussions to elephant and tiger hunts, animal fights, feats of jugglers, and other strangely varied diversions. Though in youth given to indulgence in the luxuries of the table, in later life he became sober and abstemious, refraining from animal food on particular days, amounting altogether to nearly a quarter of the year. There is, however, reason to believe that, like his father and grandfather, he was addicted to the inordinate use of opium,† an insiduous vice which would partially account for the criminal excesses in another respect attributed to him by Hindoo authorities,‡ and which, however notorious, would unquestionably have been passed over in silence by so fulsome a panegyrist and determined a partisan as Abul Fazil. Regarding the cause of his death, Hindoo records likewise cast a dark cloud,§ to which Mr. Elphinstone makes no allusion, but simply notes the total loss of appetite and prostration of strength which were the chief symptoms of the fatal disease. In truth, the disgraceful nature of his recent domestic afflictions, and the cabals and struggles respecting the succession, (which raged so fiercely that his only son was with difficulty induced to attend his dying bed,) were alone sufficient to bring a proud and sensitive spirit with sorrow to the grave.

Akber expired in October, 1605, having been for nearly the whole forty-nine years of his reign a cotemporary ruler with Elizabeth of England, whose enterprise had prepared an embassy (sent by her successor) to solicit from him the promotion of the peaceful pursuits of commerce between their subjects. How little could these mighty ones of the earth have foreseen that the sceptre of Akber would eventually fall from the feeble grasp of his weak and vicious descendants, into the hands of the struggling community of traders, for whose protection an imperial firman was at first so humbly solicited. These marvellous changes teach great lessons. May we but profit by them.

* "My father," says Jehangeer, "was tall in stature, of a ruddy, or wheaten, or nut-brown complexion; his eyes and eyebrows dark, the latter running across into each other. Handsome in his exterior he had the strength of a lion, which was indicated by the extraordinary breadth of his chest and the length of his arms." A black mole on his nose was pronounced by physiognomists a sure prognostication of extraordinary good fortune.—(Price's *Memoirs of Jahangueir*, p. 45.)

† Ferishta mentions that Akber was taken dangerously ill about 1582, "and as his majesty had adopted the habit of eating opium as Humayun his father had done before him, people became apprehensive on his account."—(Vol. ii., p. 253.)

‡ Abul Fazil states that to the Noroza, or ninth day of each month, Akber gave the name of Khusroz, or day of diversion, and caused a female market or sort of royal fair, to be held and frequented by the ladies of the harem and others of distinction, going himself in disguise to learn the value of different kinds of merchandize, and what was thought of the government and its executive officers.—(*Ayeen Akbery*, vol. i., p. 228.) Tod attributes the presence of Akber to a different and most disgraceful motive, and says, that however incredible it may seem, that so keen-sighted a statesman should have risked his power and popularity by introducing an immoral festival of Scythic origin, peculiarly opposed to the sensitive honour of the Rajpoots, "yet there is nevertheless not a shadow of doubt that many of the noblest of the race were dishonoured on the Noroza," and one of the highest in the court (Pirthi Raj) was only preserved from being of the number by the courage and virtue of his wife, a princess of Mewar, who, having become separated from her companions, found herself alone with Akber, in return to whose solicitations she "drew a poinard from her corset, and held it to his breast, dictating and making him repeat, an oath of renunciation of such infamy to all her race." The wife of Ray Sing is said to have been less fortunate or less virtuous.—(*Annals of Rajast'han*, vol. i., p. 345.)

§ "The Boondi records," says Tod, "are well worthy of belief, as diaries of events were kept by her princes, who were of the first importance in this and the succeeding reigns." They expressly state that a desire to be rid of the great Rajah Maun Sing of Jeypoor, to whom he was so much indebted, and whom he did not dare openly attack, induced Akber to prepare a *maajûn* (intoxicating confection), part of which he poisoned—but presenting by mistake the innocuous portion to the Rajah, he took the other himself, and thus perished in his own snare. Maun Sing had excited the displeasure of both Akber and Selim, by seconding the pretensions of his nephew, Khosru to the throne. Old European writers attribute the death of Akber to a similar cause.

At the period of Akber's death the empire was divided into fifteen subahs or provinces, namely, Allahabad, Agra, Oude, Ajmeer, Guzerat, Behar, Bengal, Delhi, Cabool, Lahore, Moultan, Malwa, Berar, Candeish, and Ahmednuggur. Each had its own viceroy (*sepah sillar*),* who exercised complete control, civil and military, subject to the instructions of the king. Under him were the revenue functionaries, and also the *foujdars*, or military commanders, whose authority extended alike over the regular troops and local soldiery or militia within their districts. Justice was administered by a court composed of an officer named *meer adel* (lord justice) and a *cazi*. The police of considerable towns was under an officer called the *cutwal;* in smaller places, under the revenue officer; and in villages, under the internal authorities.†

The revenue system, by which Akber gained so much celebrity, had, in fact, been partially introduced during the brief reign of Sheer Shah. Its objects were—*First*, to obtain a correct measurement of the land, by the establishment of a uniform standard, to supersede the differing measures formerly employed even by public officers; and by the appointment of fit persons, provided with improved instruments of mensuration, to furnish accounts of all cultivable lands within the empire. *Second*, the land was divided into three classes, according to its fertility; the amount of each sort of produce that a begah‡ would yield was ascertained, the average of the three was assumed as the produce of a begah, and one-third of that produce formed the government demand. But any cultivator who thought the amount claimed too high might insist on an actual measurement and division of the crop. *Third*, the produce was to be converted into a money payment, taken on an average of the preceding nineteen years; but, as in the previous case, every husbandman was allowed to pay in kind if he thought the rate in specie fixed too high. All particulars respecting the classification and revenue of the land were annually recorded in the village registers; and as at the period of the introduction of this system Akber abolished a vast number of vexatious taxes and fees to officers, the pressure on individuals is said to have been lightened, though the profit to the state was increased. It should, however, be remembered that Akber claimed one-third of the produce, and Sheer Shah had professed to take but one-fourth.§ The farming of any branch of the revenue was not allowed, and the collectors were instructed to deal directly with individual cultivators, and not rely implicitly on the headman and accountant of the village.

The chief agent in these reforms was Rajah Todar Mul, whose zealous observance of the fasts and other requirements of the Brahminical religion, doubtless augmented his influence among his own nation. Thus, whether in military proceedings or civil government, Akber always gladly availed himself of the abilities of the Hindoos, of whose character he unquestionably formed a very high estimate,|| and whose good will (notwithstanding the aggression on which his interference was grounded) he greatly conciliated by three important edicts, which involved concessions to human rights, of a description rarely made by oriental despots, to whose notions of government by the sword all freedom is essentially opposed. In 1561,

* This title was subsequently changed to *subahdar*, and an additional financial officer introduced, named the *dewan*, who was subordinate to the subahdar, but appointed by the king.

† The general tone of the instructions given to these functionaries appears as just and benevolent as could well be expected under a despotism; the question is, how far they were carried out in the right spirit. There are, however, some enactments which reflect little credit on the law-giver, such as the following: "Let him (the cutwal) see that butchers, those who wash dead bodies, and others who perform unclean offices, have their dwelling separate from other men, who should avoid the society of such stony-hearted, dark-minded wretches. Whosoever drinketh out of the same cup with an executioner, let one of his hands be cut off; or if he eateth out of his kettle, deprive him of one of his fingers."—Gladwin's *Ayeen Akbery*.

‡ An Indian measure, much above half-an-acre.

§ The ancient rulers of Hindoostan, Abul Fazil admits. claimed but one-sixth.—Vol. i., p. 278.

|| Abul Fazil, who may be taken as a fair exponent of the feelings of his royal master (in the fortieth year of whose reign he wrote), thus expresses himself on this point:—"Summarily the Hindoos are religious, affable, courteous to strangers, cheerful, enamoured of knowledge, fond of inflicting austerities upon themselves, lovers of justice, given to retirement, able in business, grateful, admirers of truth, and of unbounded fidelity in all their dealings. Their character shines brightest in adversity." He adds his conviction, from frequent discourses with learned Brahmins, that they "one and all believe in the unity of the Godhead; and although they hold images in high veneration, yet they are by no means idolaters," which latter assertion may be doubted as applied to the lower and less-informed professors of any religion which inculcates or suffers the "high veneration" of images. Lastly, he says, "they have no slaves among them," a remark to which we may have occasion to revert in a subsequent section.—*Ayeen Akbery*, vol. ii., pp. 294-'5.

a prohibition was issued against the making slaves of persons captured in war; an infamous practice, which had gained such a height that not only the innocent wives and children of garrisons taken by storm were sold into slavery, but even the peaceable inhabitants of a hostile country were seized for the same purpose. In 1563, the jezia or capitation-tax on infidels was abolished; and about the same time all taxes on pilgrims were removed, because, "although the tax fell on a vain superstition, yet, as all modes of worship were designed for one Great Being, it was wrong to throw an obstacle in the way of the devout, and to cut them off from their mode of intercourse with their Maker." (*Akber Namah, MS. translation.*)

The condition of the royal slaves* was ameliorated by Akber; but it does not appear that he made any attempt to restore liberty even to those from whom it had been ravished by the glaring injustice above described. Nor would any effort of a purely just and benevolent tendency have been consistent with the character of one whose ambition filled the mountain fortresses of Hindoostan with captives,† and who scrupled not to form minarets of human heads,‡ or give orders for the complete extermination of a flying foe.§

In the regulation of the army great alterations were made: the troops, wherever it was practicable, were paid in cash from the treasury, instead of by jaghires and assignments on the revenue; and the tricks played at the musters by means of servants and camp-followers, mounted for the day on borrowed horses, prevented, by written descriptions of every man's person, and the marking of each horse. But the organization of the army was never very complete. The king named the *munsubdars*‖ or officers, as he thought fit, commanders of from 10 to 10,000 men; but these numbers, in all but the lowest classes, were merely nominal, and only served to fix the rank and pay of the holders, whose actual force, often not a tenth of their figure on paper, when mustered, was paid from the treasury. Each munsubdar was obliged to keep half as many infantry as horsemen; and of the infantry, one-fourth were required to be matchlockmen, the rest might be archers. There were also a distinct body of horsemen, called *ahdis* (single men), whose pay depended upon their merits, but was always much higher than that of the ordinary cavalry. Into every branch of the imperial arrangements, domestic as well as public, the most careful method was introduced—the mint, treasury, and armoury—the harem, with its 5,000¶ inhabitants—the kitchens,** baths, perfume offices, fruiteries, and flower-gardens, alike manifested the order-loving mind of their ruler. The department which he appears to have superintended with especial pleasure, was that comprising the various descriptions of animals, whether belonging to the class peculiarly adapted for the use and benefit of man, or to that of the savage beasts who played a leading part in the barbarous fights and shows which formed the chief popular

* The king (says Abul Fazil) disliking the word slave, desired that of *chelah* (signifying one who relies upon another) to be applied in its place. "Of these unfortunate men there are several kinds: 1st. Those who are considered as common slaves, being infidels taken in battle; and they are bought and sold. 2nd. Those who of themselves submit to bondage. 3rd. The children born of slaves. 4th. A thief who becomes the slave of the owner of the stolen goods. 5th. He who is sold for the price of blood. The daily pay of a chelah is from one dam to one rupee; they are formed into divisions, and committed to the care of skilful persons, to be instructed in various arts and occupations."—Gladwin's *Ayeen Akbery*, vol. i., p. 209.

† Among the prisoners who perished by violence in the fort of Gwalior, was the only son of the unhappy Kamran. The reason does not appear; but the execution is stated by Price, on the authority of Abul Fazil, as commanded by Akber some time after the death of Kamran; and Ferishta (also apparently quoting the *Akbernameh*) says that Behram Khan was accused of intending to intrigue with the unfortunate prince; a very unlikely supposition, considering the enmity which he had ever displayed towards his father.—Dow's *Hindoostan*, vol. ii., p. 324.

‡ Bird's *Gujarat*, p. 338.

§ "What with the examples made during the reign of my father," writes Jehangeer, "and subsequently during my own, there is scarcely a province in the empire in which, either in battle, or by the sword of the executioner, 500,000 or 600,000 human beings have not fallen victims to [what he terms] their fatal disposition to discontent and turbulence." —(p. 128.) Allowing the narrator to have had, as was doubtless the case, the larger share in this wholesale destruction, and supposing the numbers to be overstated, there yet remains ample evidence to indicate a terrible waste of human life on the part of both monarchs.

‖ None but the king's sons were munsubdars of more than 5,000; and this latter class, according to the *Ayeen Akbery*, comprised only thirty persons.

¶ Each of whom had an apartment and a monthly stipend, "equal to her merit," of from two to 1,610 rupees, that is, from four shillings to £161.

** The emperor took but one meal a-day, for which there being no fixed time, the cooks were ordered to keep 100 dishes always in readiness to set on table at an hour's notice. "What is required for the harem," adds Abul Fazil with sly sarcasm, "is going forward from morning till night."

diversions of the age. The elephants,* dromedaries, and camels; horses and mules; oxen, buffaloes, rhinoceroses, and tame deer; lions, tigers, and panthers; hunting-leopards, hounds, and hawks;—received as much attention as if their royal master had been a veterinary surgeon: while, in the matter of tame partridges and pigeons, no schoolboy could have been a greater adept than the mighty monarch, Akber Padshah.†

The town of Futtehpoor Sikri, near Agra, built and fortified by Akber, although now deserted, presents ample evidence of having been a place, both in magnificence and architectural beauty, adapted for the abode of one of the wealthiest sovereigns the world ever knew. Respecting the amount of the treasures seized from Moslem and Hindoo palaces and temples, we have no reliable information.‡ Jehangeer asserts, that of the paraphernalia and requisites for grandeur, accumulated by Akber, "whether in treasure or splendid furniture of any description, the invincible Timur, who subdued the world, and from whom my father was eighth in descent, did not possess one-tenth." He adds, that Akber, desirous to ascertain the contents of the treasury at Agra, had 400 pairs of scales kept at work, day and night, weighing gold and jewels only. At the expiration of *five months* the work was still far from being concluded; the emperor, from some cause or other, not choosing to have it continued, had the treasures safely secured, and was content to be the master of "untold gold." In this astounding statement there would seem to be either some great mistake on the part of the copyist,§ or gross exaggeration on that of the royal autobiographer. The latter is probably in fault; for although he frequently criminates himself by confessing the commission of crimes which other writers would scarcely have ventured to attribute to him (the murder of Abul Fazil, for instance), yet his credulity and tendency to "high colouring," render much sifting necessary before receiving his assertions, and greatly enhance the value of corroborative evidence. European travellers go far to establish the probability of otherwise incredible statements regarding the enormous wealth of the Great Moguls, by their descriptions of the magnificence of the court, and also of the steady influx of gold and silver still annually received in return for silk, cotton, spices, and various products, for which coin or bullion was the chief exchange, other commodities or manufactures being taken only in comparatively small quantities.

Reign of Jehangeer.—The bier of Akber was carried through the palace-gates of Agra by Selim and his three sons, Khosru, Khoorum, and Parvaez, and borne thence to its stately mausoleum|| at Secundra (three miles distant), by the princes and chief

* According to Abul Fazil, Akber had between 5,000 and 6,000 elephants, of whom 101 were kept for his own riding. He delighted in the exercise; and, even when in their most excited state, would place his foot on the tusk of one of these enormous creatures, and mount in an instant; or spring upon its back, from a wall, as it rushed furiously past. A fine elephant cost a lac of rupees (£10,000), had five men and a boy allotted for its service, and a stated daily allowance of rice, sugar, milk, ghee, &c., besides 300 sugar-canes per diem, during the season. Every ten elephants were superintended by an officer, whose duty it was to report daily to the emperor their exact condition—whether they ate less food than usual, or were in any way indisposed.

† On a journey or march, the court was never accompanied by less than 20,000 pigeons, with *bearers* carrying their houses. Of the quality of these birds, Abul Fazil remarks, his majesty had discovered "infallible criterions," such as twisting their feet, slitting their eyelids, or opening their nostrils.

‡ In Mandelsloe's travels (Harris's *Voyages*, vol. iii., p. 762), an inventory is given of the treasure in jewels, bullion, coin, and other property belonging to Akber at the time of his death, which that traveller states to have been furnished him by "very knowing and worthy persons," in the reign of Shah Jehan, whom he describes as possessing "eight large vaults filled with gold, silver, and precious stones, the value of which is inestimable." The items are interesting—in certain sorts of money coined by the express order of Akber, in another description, called Akber rupees, and in "payses [pice], sixty whereof make a crown,"—total value = 199,173,333 crowns, or about £50,000,000 sterling. In jewels, 30,026,026 crowns; "statues of gold, of divers creatures," 9,503,370 c.; gold plate, dishes, cups, and household-stuff, 5,866,895 c.; porcelain and other earthen vessels, 1,255,873 c.; brocades—gold and silver stuffs, silks and muslins, 7,654,989 c.; tents, hangings, and tapestries, 4,962,772 c.; twenty-four thousand manuscripts, richly bound, 3,231,865 c.; artillery and ammunition, 4,287,985 c; small arms, swords, bucklers, pikes, bows, arrows, &c., 3,777,752 c.; saddles, bridles, and other gold and silver accoutrements, 1,262,824 c.; coverings for elephants and horses, embroidered with gold, silver, and pearls, 2,500,000 c.; woollen cloths, 251,626 c.; brass and copper utensils, 25,612 c.; making a total (coin included) of 274,113,793 c., or £68,528,448 sterling.

§ The Persian copy of Jehangeer's *Memoirs*, translated by Major Price, was unfortunately imperfect; that from which Mr. Gladwin has borrowed largely, is considered less defective.

|| This superb structure, begun by Akber, was finished by his successor, who declared the total cost to have been about £1,800,000. The amiable mother of Akber, Hameida, afterwards termed Miriam Mekani, had been buried only two years before in Humayun's tomb at Delhi.

nobles. Owing to the exertions made by the late sovereign on his death-bed to prevent the threatened outbreak of domestic rivalry, and to the successful negotiations entered into with Rajah Maun Sing, and other leading persons, Selim was proclaimed emperor unopposed. With undisguised delight he mounted the jewelled throne, on which such enormous sums had been lavished, and placed on his brows the twelve-pointed crown.* The chief ameers were summoned from the different provinces to attend the gorgeous and prolonged ceremonial; for forty days and nights the *nukara*, or great state-drum, sounded triumphantly; odoriferous gums were kept burning in censers of rare workmanship, and immense candles of camphorated wax, in branches of gold and silver, illumined the hours of darkness.

Considering "universal conquest the peculiar vocation of sovereign princes," the new emperor, in the coinage struck upon his accession, assumed the title of Jehangeer (conqueror of the world), and expressed a hope so to acquit himself as to justify the assumption of this high-sounding epithet. His early measures† were of a more pacific and benevolent tendency than might have been expected either from this commencement, or his general character. He confirmed most of his father's old servants in their offices; issued orders remitting some vexatious duties which existed, notwithstanding the recent reformatory measures; and desiring to give access to all classes of people who might choose to appeal to him personally, caused a gold chain to be hung between a stone pillar near the Jumna and the walls of the citadel of Agra, communicating with a string of little bells suspended in his private apartments; so that the suitor, by following the chain, would be enabled to announce his presence to the emperor without any intermediary. For this invention, Jehangeer takes great credit, and also for the interdict placed by him on the use of wine, and the regulations for that of opium; but as his own habits of nightly intoxication were notorious,‡ the severe punishment with which he visited all other offenders against the laws of strict temperance, gives little evidence of the rigid justice so repeatedly put forward in his autobiography,§ as his leading principle of action. Among his first proceedings, was the release of all prisoners throughout the empire. "From the fortress of Gwalior alone," he says, "there were set at liberty no less than 7,000 individuals, some of whom had been in confinement for forty years. Of the number discharged altogether on this occasion, some conception may be formed, when it is mentioned, that within the limits of Hindoostan there are not less than 2,400 fortresses, of name and strength, exclusive of those in the kingdom of Bengal, which surpass all reckoning."—(*Memoirs*, p. 10.)

* The crown and throne, those favourite symbols of power, with which eastern kings have ever delighted to dazzle the eyes of their subjects, were of extraordinary magnificence and beauty. The former—made by the order of Akber, in the fashion of that worn by the Persian kings—had twelve points, each surmounted by a diamond of the purest water, while the central point terminated in a single pearl of extraordinary size; the whole (including many valuable rubies) being estimated at a cost equivalent to £2,070,000 sterling. The throne, so constructed as to be easily taken to pieces and put together again, was ascended by silver steps, on the top of which four silver lions supported a canopy of pure gold, the whole adorned with jewels, to an amount, which Price translates, as equal to £30,000,000 sterling.

† One of these, most creditable to Jehangeer, involves a terrible revelation of existing evils. He ordered the governor of Bengal to take decided measures for abolishing the infamous practice, long used in Silhet and other dependencies of Bengal, of compelling the people to sell their children, or else emasculate and deliver them up to the governors of those provinces in satisfaction for their rents,—by which means some thousand eunuchs had been made yearly.—Gladwin's *Jehangeer*, p. 104.

‡ Sir Thomas Roe was occasionally admitted to the evening entertainments, when the Great Mogul, seated on a low throne, threw off all restraint, and, together with most of his companions, drank himself into a state of maudlin intoxication. A courtier once indiscreetly alluded, in public, to a debauch of the previous night, upon which Jehangeer affected surprise, inquired what other persons had shared in this breach of the law, and ordered those named to be so severely bastinadoed that one of them died. In his *Memoirs*, he makes no secret of his habitual excesses, but says his usual allowance once reached twenty cups of spirits a-day, and that if he was a single hour without his beverage, his hands began to shake, and he was unable to sit at rest. After coming to the throne, he took for some time but five cups (little more than a quart), diluted with wine, and only after night-fall. Of opium, his daily dose, at forty-six years of age, was eight ruttees, or sixty-four grains.

§ This Autobiography resembles that of Timur in the manner in which the royal narrator boldly alleges good motives for his worst deeds, and after describing the torments and cruel deaths inflicted by him on thousands of unhappy beings, dwells, almost in the same page, on his own compassionate and loving nature, giving, as examples, the letting free of birds, deluded by the skilful murmuring of the Cashmerians into captivity; his regret for the death, by drowning, of a little boy who used to guide his elephant, and similar circumstances. In spite of its defects, the book is both valuable and interesting, as throwing much light on the customs and

Jehangeer was not long permitted to enjoy in peace his vast inheritance.* The partial reconciliation between him and Prince Khosru was little more than a temporary cessation of hostilities, marked by distrust and tyranny on the one side—sullenness and disaffection on the other. At length, some four months after his accession, the emperor was aroused at midnight with the tidings that his son had fled to Delhi, with a few attendants. A detachment was immediately sent in pursuit, and Jehangeer followed in the morning with all the force he could collect; but notwithstanding these prompt measures, Khosru succeeded in assembling upwards of 10,000 men (who subsisted by plunder), and obtained possession of Lahore. He was, however, defeated in a contest with a detachment of the royal troops; taken prisoner in a boat, which ran aground in the Hydaspes; and inless than a month, the whole rebellion was completely quashed. When brought in chains of gold into the presence of his father, Khosru, in reply to the reproaches and questions addressed to him, refused to criminate his advisers or abettors, entreating that his life might be deemed a sufficient penalty for the offences he had instigated. Jehangeer, always ready to take advantage of any plausible pretext for the exercise of his barbarous and cruel disposition, spared his son's life,† but wreaked an ample vengeance, by compelling him to witness the agonies of his friends and adherents. Some were sewn up in raw hides and exposed to a burning sun, to die in lingering tortures of several days' duration; others flayed alive; while no less than 700 were impaled in a line leading from the gate of Lahore, and so long as any of these unfortunates continued to breathe, the prince was brought daily to the spot, in mock state, mounted on an elephant and preceded by a macebearer, who called out to him to receive the salutations of his servants. Khosru passed three days and nights without tasting food, and long remained a prey to the deepest melancholy. At the expiration of a year, Jehangeer seemed disposed to lighten his captivity by suffering his chains to be struck off, but a conspiracy for his release being subsequently detected (or invented by the partisans of Prince Khoorum), he was confined as closely as before.

In 1607, an army was despatched, under Mohabet Khan (son of Sagurji, the recreant brother of Pertap), against Umra, Rana of Oudipoor, and another under the Khan Khanan, into the Deccan; but both were unsuccessful, and the latter especially received repeated defeats from Malek Amber, who retook Ahmednuggur; and uniting to his talents for war no less ability for civil government, introduced a new revenue system into the Deccan, and obtained there equal celebrity to that acquired by Rajah Todar Mul in Hindoostan.

During these proceedings, Jehangeer was privately occupied in the criminal intrigues which resulted in his marriage with the celebrated Nour Jehan. This clever, but unprincipled woman, was the daughter of a Persian adventurer,‡ who having succeeded in gaining admittance to the service of Akber, rose to a position of trust and honour. His wife frequently visited the royal harem with her young daughter, whose attractions speedily captivated the heir-apparent. Akber being made aware of what was passing, had Nour Jehan bestowed in marriage on Sheer Afghan, a young

opinions of the age, and on the demonology, alchemy, and various superstitions in which Jehangeer was as firm a believer as his royal compeer, James I., of England, whom he resembled in another point, namely, strong dislike to tobacco (then newly introduced by the Portuguese), against which he also issued a "counterblast," in the shape of a decree, forbidding its use in Hindoostan, as Shah Abbas had previously done throughout Persia.

* Besides the treasure accumulated by his father, he received the property (amounting, in jewels alone, to £4,500,000,) which Danial had contrived to amass in the Deccan, in great measure by open violence, or, as Jehangeer mildly phrases it, by compelling people to sell to him elephants and other property, and sometimes omitting to pay for them. The 300 ladies of the prince's harem were likewise sent to the emperor; who, being somewhat puzzled how to dispose of so large an addition to his family, gave them to understand that they were, one and all, free to bestow themselves and their dowries on any of the nobles who might desire them in marriage.

† There is a passage in the *Memoirs* which indicates pretty clearly that Jehangeer would have felt little scruple in following "the distinguished example" given by "the house of Othman, who, for the stability of their royal authority, of all their sons, preserve but one, considering it expedient to destroy all the rest."—(p. 66.)

‡ Gheias was a man well born, but reduced to poverty, and driven to seek subsistence by emigrating with his wife and children to India. Directly after reaching Candahar, Nour Jehan was born; and, being worn down with fatigue and want, the miserable parents exposed the infant on a spot by which the caravan was to pass. The expedient succeeded: a rich merchant saw and took compassion on the child, relieved the distress of its parents, and, perceiving the father and eldest son to be persons of education and ability, procured for them suitable employment.

Persian, distinguished for his bravery, to whom he gave a jaghire in Bengal, whither he proceeded, accompanied by his young bride. But the matter did not end here; for Jehangeer, about a year after his accession, took occasion to intimate to Kootb-oo-deen, the viceroy of Bengal (his foster-brother), his desire to obtain possession of the object of his unhallowed passion. Endeavours were made to sound Sheer Afghan on the subject; but the high-spirited chief, at the first intimation of the designs entertained against his honour, threw up his command, and left off wearing arms, as a sign that he was no longer in the king's service. After this, repeated attempts were made to assassinate him, until at length, at a compulsory interview with Kootb-oo-deen, perceiving himself entrapped, he resolved to sell his life dearly—slew the viceroy and several other officers, and at last fell himself, covered with wounds. Nour Jehan was seized and sent to court, but, either from some temporary aversion on her part to the murderer of her husband, or (for the tale is differently told) from some equally short-lived compunction on his, she was allowed to remain in the seraglio unnoticed for above four years. The passion of the emperor at length reviving, he made her his wife; bestowed on her, by an imperial edict, the title of empress; and styled her first, Nour Mahal (*the light of the harem*), and afterwards Nour Jehan (*the light of the world.*) Her influence became unbounded: beginning by a feminine desire for splendid jewels,* she soon manifested her capacity for coveting and exercising arbitrary dominion, and evinced as much energy and ambition, and as little principle as could be paralleled in many (so called) "great men." Honours never before enjoyed by the consort of any Indian potentate were lavished upon her, even to the conjunction of her name on the coin with that of Jehangeer; her father, Mirza Gheias, was made prime minister; her brother, Asuf Khan, placed in a high station; and, on every affair in which she took an interest, her will was law.

The legislative ability of Mirza Gheias produced beneficial effects in public affairs; and his modest, yet manly bearing, conciliated the nobility, who soon learned to appreciate the value of the control which he exercised over the ill-regulated mind of the emperor. Nour Jehan found employment in superintending the construction of public edifices and gardens; and by skilful management, increased the magnificence of the court and lessened the expenditure. The mode of preparing the famous otto of roses is generally attributed, in India, either to her or to her mother.

Soon after this marriage, the disturbances in Bengal, which had prevailed throughout the previous years of Jehangeer's reign, were brought to a close A.D. 1612. Malek Amber's Mahratta-like mode of warfare proved increasingly successful in the Deccan, and the imperial forces were decidedly worsted; but in Mewar, Prince Khoorum, at the head of 20,000 men, obtained the submission of Rana Umra Sing, who, after sustaining seventeen pitched battles, was at length compelled to bow to the Moguls "the crimson banner" which, for more than 800 years, had waved in proud independence over the heads of the Gehlotes. Prince Khoorum (the son of a Rajpootni) evinced affectionate respect towards his brave foe;†

* Jehangeer states that he assigned for her dowry an amount equal to £7,200,000 sterling, "which sum she requested as indispensable for the purchase of jewels, and I granted it without a murmur."—(p. 271.) He also gave her a pearl necklace, comprising forty beads, each one of great worth. These statements must, of course, be taken *quantum valeat*, and are only cited to enable the reader to form some idea of the numerous and costly jewels worn at the period: the accumulation of which had been for ages the favourite employment of the Hindoo princes, from whom they had been plundered. In evidence of the excessive desire for splendid jewels, may be noticed the testimony of Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain—that one of the courtiers purchased from a merchant a large pear-shaped pearl, which he had brought with him from England, for the sum of £1,200.

† The Rajpoots have been fortunate in having had Tod for a chronicler; but they still need a Walter Scott to popularize their deeds of love and war in the eyes of those who care not to look on truth unmixed with fiction. Yet Rajpoot annals, even in the sober page of the historian, are fraught with romance and chivalry. Take one instance. During the war with Jehangeer, an opportunity occurred to recover some frontier lands in the plains, and Umra, with all his chiefs, assembled for the purpose. Two rival clans (whose feuds largely contributed to the ruin of Mewar) disputed the privilege of forming the *herole* or vanguard, and the sword would have decided the question but for the tact of the prince, who exclaimed, "The herole to the clan that first enters Ontala." Ontala was a frontier fortress, about eighteen miles east of Oudipoor, situated on rising ground, with a stream flowing beneath its massy walls, round towers at intervals, and but one gate. Some hours before day-break the clans moved off to the attack; the Suktawuts arrived first, and made directly for the gateway; the Chondawuts, less skilled in topography, traversed a swamp, which retarded them; but they brought ladders, and, on arriving, their chief at once commenced the escalade. A ball struck him back lifeless among his vassals. Meanwhile, the Suktawuts were also checked; for the elephant on which

and Jehangeer himself, delighted at having obtained, by means of the valour of his favourite son, the homage of a prince whose ancestors, intrenched in their mountain strongholds, "had never beheld a king of Hindoostan, or made submission to any one," sent to the rana a friendly firman, with the "impress of his five fingers," and desired Khoorum, "by any means by which it could be brought about, to treat this illustrious one according to his own heart's wishes."* The personal attendance of Umra at the Mogul court was excused, and a similar exemption extended to the future reigning sovereigns of Mewar, the heir-apparent being received as their representative. Prince Kurrun, the son and successor of Umra, was most honourably welcomed by Jehangeer, who placed him on his right hand, above every other noble, and declared that "his countenance carried the impression of his illustrious extraction."† Nour Jehan likewise loaded him with gifts and dignities; but the prince, feeling his newly-forged chains none the lighter for the flowers with which they were wreathed, still remained sad and humiliated, though courteous in his bearing. Umra was yet further from being reconciled to become a fief-holder of the empire. To receive the imperial firman outside his capital was the only concession demanded from him, in return for which Khoorum offered to withdraw every Moslem from Mewar. But he could not be brought to submit to the humiliation; therefore, assembling the chiefs, he made the *teeka* (the ancient symbol of sovereignty) on his son's forehead, and forthwith quitted the capital, and secluded himself in a neighbouring palace, on the borders of a lake. The stately form of Umra, "the tallest and strongest of the princes of Mewar," never again crossed the threshold until it was borne, as dust and ashes, to be deposited in the sepulchre of his fathers; but Prince Khoorum visited him, as a friend, in his retirement, and, in after years, had abundant reason to rejoice in the sympathy which he had manifested towards the Rajpoot princes of Oudipoor.

In 1615, Sir Thomas Roe arrived at court, then held at Ajmeer, as ambassador from James I. His journey from Surat, by Boorhanpoor and Chittore, lay through the Deccan, where war was raging; and the rana's country, where it had just ceased; yet he met with no obstruction or cause for alarm, except from mountaineers, who took advantage of the disturbed state of the times to molest travellers. The emperor received him favourably, notwithstanding the opposition and intrigues of the Portuguese Jesuits, and the contrast afforded by the unpretending character of his presents‡ and retinue to the magnificent ceremonial which he daily witnessed, and in which he was permitted to take part without performing the humiliating prostration which Jehangeer, like Akber, demanded from those who approached him, despite the belief of all zealous Mohammedans, that such homage could be fitly offered to the Deity alone.

The greatest displays took place on the

their leader rode, and on whose strength he depended to force the gate, was deterred from approaching by its projecting spikes. His men were falling thick about him, when a shout from the rival clan inspired a desperate resolve. Springing to the ground, he covered the spikes with his own body, and bade the driver, on pain of instant death, propel the elephant against him. The gates gave way, and over the dead body of their chief the clan rushed on to the combat, and, fighting with resistless energy, slaughtered the Moguls, and planted on the castle the standard of Mewar. But the herole was not for them; for the next in rank and kin, and heir to the Chondawut leader, had caught the lifeless body as it fell, and, true to his title (the mad chief of Deogurh), wrapped it in his scarf, slung it on his back, and, scaling the wall, cleared the way with his lance, until he was able to fling his burden over the parapet, shouting—"the herole to the Chondawuts! we are first in!"

* Colonel Tod mentions having seen the identical firman in the rana of Oudipoor's archives. The hand being immersed in a compost of sandal-wood, is applied to the paper, to which the impression of the palm and five fingers is thus clearly, and even lastingly affixed.—*Rajast'han*, vol. i., p. 362.

† *Rajast'han*, vol. i., p. 364. Tod had probably a more perfect copy of *Jehangeer's Memoirs* than that translated by Price, as he cites passages not to be found in the English version.

‡ The most acceptable of these seems to have been a coach, a mode of conveyance then newly used in England. Jehangeer had it taken to pieces by native workmen, who, having built another with more costly materials, reconstructed the pattern-one, substituting double-gilt silver nails for the originals of brass, and a lining of silver brocade instead of Chinese velvet. Some pictures, likewise, proved suitable gifts; and one of them was so accurately copied by native artists, that Roe being shown the original and five copies by candle-light, could not, without some difficulty, distinguish that which he had brought from England. Once, being much pressed for some offering wherewith to gratify Jehangeer's insatiable covetousness, he presented to him a book of maps (*Mercator's Cosmography*), with which the emperor was at first excessively delighted; but, on examination, finding the independent kingdoms there delineated somewhat too numerous to accord with his grandiloquent title, he returned the volume, saying that he should not like to deprive the ambassador of so great a treasure.—*A Voyage to East India*, by Sir Thomas Roe's Chaplain. London, 1665.

emperor's birth-day, when there was a general fair and many processions and ceremonies, among which the most striking was the weighing of the royal person twelve times, in golden scales, against gold, silver, perfumes, and other substances, which were afterwards distributed among the spectators. The festivities lasted several days, during which time the king's usual place was in a sumptuous tent, shaded by rich awnings, while the ground, for the space of at least two acres, was spread with silken carpets and hangings, embroidered with gold, pearl, and precious stones. The nobility had similar pavilions, where they received visits from each other, and sometimes from the sovereign. But beneath the veil of splendour and outward decorum, all was hollow and unsound. The administration of the country was rapidly declining; the governments were farmed, and the governors exacting and tyrannical; though, occasionally, an appeal from some injured person brought upon the oppressor the vengeance of the emperor, from which neither ability nor station could purchase immunity. The highest officials were open to corruption; and Roe, finding the treaty he was sent to negotiate remained unaccomplished after two years' tarry, deemed it expedient to bribe Asuf Khan with a valuable pearl, after which he soon succeeded in procuring for the English a partial liberty of trade; and then joyfully took his leave. The military spirit of the Moslems had already evaporated in an atmosphere of sloth and sensuality; and the Rajpoots, Patans, and Beloochees were spoken of by cotemporary writers (Terry, Hawkins, Roe) as the only brave soldiers to be found. The language of the court was Persian, but all classes spoke Hindoostani. In the royal family, the succession was a matter of jealous discussion: Khosru was considered to have forfeited his prior claim by rebellion; and Parvaez, the next in age, being far inferior in ability to his younger brother, Khoorum, would, it was expected, be set aside to make way for the latter prince, who had married a niece of Nour Jehan, and was supported in his pretensions by her all-powerful influence.

In 1616, a great expedition was sent to the Deccan, of which the command was given to Khoorum, together with the title by which he was thenceforth known, of Shah Jehan (king of the world).* He succeeded in regaining Ahmednuggur and other places, captured by Malek Amber, who was compelled to make submission on the part of his nominal sovereign, Nizam Shah; but, in 1621, renewed the war. Shah Jehan was again dispatched to the Deccan; but, from some rising distrust, refused to march unless his unhappy brother, Prince Khosru (who, by the earnest mediation of Parvaez, had had his chains struck off, and some measure of liberty allowed him) were entrusted to his custody. This desire was complied with, and Khoorum proceeded to attack Malek Amber, whom he at length brought to risk a general action. The result was very favourable to the Moguls, who granted peace on condition of a further cession of land and a considerable sum of money. Soon after this success, Jehangeer was prostrated by a dangerous attack of asthma. At this critical juncture, Prince Khosru died suddenly, and his rival brother, to whose charge he had been entrusted, was accused of having incited his assassination. However caused, it is remarkable that this event, which seemed especially calculated to strengthen the pretensions of Shah Jehan to the succession, proved to be only the commencement of a long series of dangers and disasters. The emperor partially recovered, and ever after manifested distrust and aversion to his previously favourite child. He evidently shared the suspicions generally entertained regarding

* Jehangeer established himself at Ajmeer, in 1613, in readiness to support his son in his operations against the Rana of Oudipoor, and had held his court there ever since. He now proceeded to take up his residence at Mandu, in Malwa, for the similar reason of being nearer to the seat of war. Sir Thomas Roe was permitted to follow in the suite of the court. He describes the royal progress as resembling a triumphal procession on a scale of extreme magnificence. Jehangeer himself, before entering *his coach*, showed himself to the people, literally laden with jewels—from his rich turban, with its plume of heron feathers, whence "on one side hung a rubie unset, as bigge as a walnut, on the other side a diamond as great, in the middle an emerald like a heart, much bigger," down to his "embroidered buskins with pearle, the toes sharpe and turning up." Immediately after the king rode Nour Jehan, also in an English carriage. The Leskar, or imperial camp, was admirably arranged, and occupied a circumference of at least twenty miles; looking down from it from a height, it resembled a beautiful city of many-coloured tents; that of the emperor in the centre, with its gilded globes and pinnacles, forming a sort of castle, from whence diverged numerous streets, laid out without the least disorder, since every one, whether noble or shop-keeper, knew the precise spot on which he must place himself by its distance from, and situation with regard to, the royal pavilion.—(Murray's *Discoveries*, vol. ii. p. 153.)

Khosru's fate; besides which, the empress having recently affianced her daughter* by Sheer Afghan, to Prince Shehriar (Jehangeer's youngest son), attached herself to his interests, foreseeing that, in the event of his accession to the throne, she might continue to exercise a degree of power, which, under the sway of his more able and determined brother, was not to be expected.

With a view of removing Shah Jehan from the scene of his power and triumphs, he was directed to attempt the recovery of Candahar from the Persians, by whom it had been recently seized. The prince, perceiving the object of this command, delayed compliance on one pretext or another, until discussions arose, which issued in his breaking out into open rebellion, A.D. 1623. The crisis was fraught with danger to all parties. The father of Nour Jehan, on whom both she and the emperor had implicitly relied, was dead; Asuf Khan, though he seemed to move like a puppet according to her will, naturally leant towards his son-in-law; Parvaez, though a brave soldier, needed as a general an able counsellor by his side; nor does Shehriar seem to have been calculated to take the lead in this fierce and prolonged feud.† At length Nour Jehan cast her eyes on Mohabet Khan, the most rising general of the time, but, heretofore, the especial opponent of her brother, Asuf Khan. To him, jointly with Parvaez, was entrusted the conduct of hostilities against Shah Jehan, who retreated to Boorhanpoor, but was driven from thence to Bengal, of which province, together with Behar, he gained possession, but was expelled, and obliged to seek refuge in the Deccan, where he was welcomed and supported by his former foe, Malek Amber. At the expiration of two years he proffered his submission, and surrendered to Jehangeer the forts of Rohtas in Behar, and Aseerghur in the Deccan, together with his two sons (Dara and Aurungzebe), but he himself took refuge with the Rajpoots of Mewar.‡

Scarcely was this storm allayed, before a still more alarming one burst over the head of the emperor, provoked by his violent temper, and also by the domineering and suspicious conduct of Nour Jehan. The growing popularity of Mohabet Khan had, it would appear, excited jealousy, and he was summoned to answer, in person, various charges of oppression and embezzlement adduced against him during the time of his occupation of Bengal. He set out for court, attended by a body of 5,000 Rajpoots, whom he had contrived to attach to his service. Before his arrival, Jehangeer, learning that he had ventured to betroth his daughter without the customary form of asking the royal sanction, sent for the bridegroom, a young nobleman named Berkhordar, caused him to be stripped naked, and beaten with thorns in his own presence; seized on the dowry he had received from Mohabet, and sequestrated all his other property. On approaching the camp, Mohabet was informed of what occurred, and also that the emperor would not see him; upon which he resolved, while the means remained at his command, to make a bold stroke for life and liberty. Jehangeer was at this time preparing to cross the Hydaspes, by a bridge of boats, on his way to Cabool; the troops had passed, and he intended to follow at leisure, when Mohabet, by a sudden attack, just before day-break, gained possession of the bridge, and surprised the royal tent, where the emperor, scarcely recovered from the effects of the last night's debauch, was awakened by the rush of armed men. Mohabet pretended to have been driven to this extremity by the enemies who had poisoned the mind of his master against him, and Jehangeer, after the first burst of rage, thought it best to conciliate his captor by affecting to believe this statement, and agreed to accompany him, in public, under the guardianship of a body of Rajpoots. Nour Jehan, on learning that the emperor had been carried to the tents of Mohabet Khan, put on a disguise, and succeeded in reaching the royal camp on the opposite side of the river, where she set on foot immediate preparations for a forcible rescue. Jehangeer, afraid of what might happen to himself in the confusion, sent a messenger with his signet, to desire that no attack might be made; but she treated the message as a trick of Mohabet Khan's, and, at the head of the army, began to ford the river, the bridge having been, in the interim, burned by the Rajpoots.* Rockets, balls,

* Della Valle states, that Nour Jehan had previously desired to marry her daughter to Khosru, offering, on that condition, to obtain his release; but he steadily refused, from strong affection to the wife he had already married, and who, after vainly urging him to comply with the proffered terms, continued as heretofore the patient companion of his long and sad captivity.—(*London translation of* 1665, p. 30.)

† According to Gladwin, this war "so deluged the empire with blood, that there was hardly a family but shared in the calamity."—*Hindoostan*, vol. i. p. 45.

‡ Shah Jehan was warmly befriended in Oudi-

and arrows were discharged upon the troops, as they strove to make good their passage over a dangerous shoal, full of pools, with deep water on either side; and, on setting foot on the beach, they were fiercely opposed by the Rajpoots, who drove them back into the water, sword in hand. The ford became choked with horses and elephants, and a frightful sacrifice of life ensued. The empress* was among those who succeeded in effecting a landing, and at once became the special object of attack. The elephant on which she rode was speedily surrounded, the guards cut to pieces, and, among the balls and arrows which fell thick round her howdah, one wounded the infant daughter of Shehriar, who was seated in her lap, and another killed her driver. The elephant having received a severe cut on the proboscis, dashed into the river, and was carried along by the current; but, after several plunges, swam out, and safely reached the shore, where Nour Jehan was quickly surrounded by her attendants, who found her engaged in extracting the arrow, and binding up the wound of the terrified infant. The repulse was complete; for, although a portion of the royalists, under an officer named Fedai Khan, had, during the confusion of the battle, entered the enemy's camp at an unsuspected point, and penetrated so far that their balls and arrows fell within the tent where Jehangeer was seated, they were compelled to retire by the general defeat, and Fedai Khan, having lost most of his men, and being himself wounded, immediately took refuge in the neighbouring fort of Rohtas, of which he was governor.

Nour Jehan, perceiving the hopelessness of attempting the forcible rescue of her husband, determined to join him in his captivity; and her brother, with other leaders, were eventually obliged to surrender themselves to Mohabet Khan, who appeared to be completely triumphant, but whose position, nevertheless, demanded great circumspection. He had from the first affected to treat Jehangeer with much ceremonious deference; and the captive monarch, tutored by Nour Jehan, pretended to be completely reconciled to his position, and glad to be relieved from the thraldom of Asuf Khan. He even carried his duplicity so far as to warn Mohabet of the ambition and discontent of the empress, and acted his part so cleverly, as completely to deceive his gaoler. Meanwhile the army advanced to Cabool, and the Afghans in the neighbourhood showed every disposition to take part with the emperor, while the dissensions among the troops gave full employment to their general. Nour Jehan was too able an intriguante not to take advantage of such favourable circumstances. She employed agents to enlist fit men in scattered points at a distance, whence some were to straggle into the camp, as if in quest of service; while others were to remain at their positions, and await further orders. Jehangeer next suggested a muster of the troops of all the jaghiredars, of whom the empress formed an important member, holding large estates, and having been made a munsubdar of 30,000; commanders of that rank being, it will be remembered, only expected or even suffered to maintain a much smaller number. When summoned to produce her contingent, she expressed indignation at being placed on the level of an ordinary subject; but, on pretence of desiring to produce a respectable muster, increased her previous force, by gradually receiving the recruits from the country. Mohabet Khan began to suspect some plot, but suffered himself to be persuaded by Jehangeer to avoid personal risk, by forbearing to accompany him to the muster of Nour Jehan's contingent. The emperor advanced alone to the review, and had no sooner got to the centre of the line, than the troops closed in on him, cut off the Rajpoot horse, by whom he was guarded, and, being speedily joined by their confederates, placed his person beyond the reach of recapture. Mohabet Khan, perceiving himself completely duped, withdrew to a distance with his troops, and, after some attempts at negotiation, came to an open rupture, and entered into alliance with Shah Jehan. This prince had endeavoured to take advantage of his father's captivity to renew hostilities, by marching from the Deccan to Ajmeer at the head of little more than 1,000 men; but the death of his chief adherent, Rajah Kishen Sing, deprived him of at least half his followers, and he was compelled to fly across the desert to

poor, where a sumptuous edifice was raised for his use, adorned with a lofty dome crowned with a crescent; the interior richly decorated with mosaic in onyx, cornelian, jasper and agates, rich Turkey carpets, &c.; and that nothing of state might be wanting to the royal refugee, a throne was sculptured from a single block of serpentine, supported by quadriform female caryatidæ: in the court a little chapel was erected to the Moslem-Saint, Madar.

* Nour Jehan was a true Amazon: Jehangeer records with much pride her having, on a hunting party, killed four tigers with a matchlock from her elephant.

Sinde. Thence he purposed proceeding to Persia, but, being delayed by sickness, remained there until affairs took a more promising turn. Parvaez died at Boorhanpoor, according to the general account, of epilepsy, brought on by excessive drinking, though Tod asserts him to have been slain at the instigation of Shah Jehan, who proceeded to the Deccan, where he was joined by Mohabet Khan.

Jehangeer, shortly after his restoration to liberty, quitted Cabool for his residence at Lahore, and from thence set off on his annual visit to "the blooming saffron meads" of Cashmere. But the autumn was unusually cold, and the clear pure air of the lovely valley proved too keen for the broken constitution of the emperor. A severe attack of asthma came on, and an attempt was made to carry him back to the warmer climate of Lahore. The motion and passage of the mountains increased the complaint, and before a third of the journey was accomplished he expired, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

His character was full of contradictions. Though cruel and rapacious, he yet, in many ways, evinced a sort of paternal interest in the welfare of his subjects, and a desire for the impartial administration of justice between rich and poor—Moslem and Hindoo. He occasionally quitted the palace, and went abroad on nocturnal expeditions, mingling freely with the lower classes, without any fear of assassination, although his person, from his daily appearance in public, must have been well known. His easy and familiar manners rendered him popular, notwithstanding the frightful torments inflicted on real or alleged criminals by his express orders. Many of his proceedings favour the idea that he had inherited from his mother a taint of madness, which his excesses in wine and opium sometimes brought into action. He was probably as complete a deist as his father, but superstition had laid much heavier chains on his weak and wayward mind; and some of the tales gravely recorded by him might find a fit place in the *Arabian Nights*. Unfortunately, his autobiography ceases about the middle of his reign. Long before its conclusion, the whole tone and spirit changes; and instead of exulting over his immense possessions, the royal writer dwells bitterly on the unceasing anxiety attendant on sovereign power, declaring that the jewels formerly coveted had become worthless in his sight, and that satiety had utterly extinguished the delight he had once taken in contemplating the graces of youth and beauty. Like a far wiser monarch—even Solomon—he had discovered that all was vanity and vexation of spirit, but knew not, or cared not to search out the antidote.

With Jehangeer all the schemes of Nour Jehan perished. On her attempting to assert the claims of the absent Shehriar, her own brother, probably weary of the tyranny to which he had been so long subjected, placed her under restraint; but, on being released, she was treated with respect, and allowed a yearly stipend of a quarter of a million sterling. Throughout her widowhood she lived very quietly; abstained from all entertainments; wore no colour but white; and at her death, in 1646, was buried in a tomb she had herself erected, close to that of the emperor, at Lahore.

Reign of Shah Jehan.—On the death of Jehangeer, Asuf Khan immediately sent a messenger to fetch his son-in-law, whose cause he had resolved to support, although (according to Dow), by the will of the late emperor, the throne had been expressly bequeathed to Shehriar. Pending the arrival of Shah Jehan, the vizier, desirous to sanction his own proceedings by the semblance of legal authority, released Prince Dawir, the son of Khosru, from prison, and proclaimed him king. Shehriar, who had been at Lahore some weeks, on learning his father's death, seized the royal treasure, took command of the troops—whose favour he gained by extravagant largesses—and set free the two sons of Prince Danial from the species of honourable captivity in which they had been detained by Jehangeer ever since their father's death, in accordance with the cruel policy of oriental despotism. The confederate princes were defeated and captured by Asuf Khan. Meanwhile, the Rajpoot allies of Shah Jehan, delighted at the prospect of his rising fortunes, sent an escort to Surat to accompany him thence to Oudipoor, and there, within the hospitable walls which had sheltered him in exile, the now triumphant prince was first formally hailed Emperor of Hindoostan. Rana Kurrun did not live to witness the joyful return of the wanderer; he had died shortly before Jehangeer: his brother, Rajah Bheem, with many noble chiefs, had fallen in the cause; but their representative, Juggut Sing, received from the new emperor, on his departure, a ruby of inestimable value, the

restoration of five alienated provinces, and a most welcome permission to reconstruct the fortifications of Chittore. Other emotions besides those of gratitude were, however, at work within the breast of Shah Jehan. Resolved, by any means, to grasp the imperial sceptre, he sent to Asuf Khan a mandate for the execution of the puppet he had placed upon the throne, also of his brother Shehriar, the two sons of Danial, and another prince, the son of Khosru. The tyrannical command was obeyed.* Shah Jehan was proclaimed king at Agra, January, 1628, and not a male of the house of Timur remained to cause him present or future anxiety, save only his four sons, whose strife and rebellion were destined, by retributive justice, to scourge his crimes, to snatch the sceptre from his feeble hands, and immure him for long years the captive of a son, who, like himself, scrupled not to wade to a throne through the blood of near kindred.

But this is anticipating events; for Shah Jehan's reign lasted thirty years before its miserable termination. His first acts were evidently designed to obliterate from the public mind, and probably from his own, the means by which he had endeavoured to consolidate his authority. Following, to a limited extent, the example of his father, he opened the doors of the fortress of Gwalior to all state-prisoners, some of whom had been in confinement during the whole of the preceding reign—a measure which did more to procure him popularity than the magnificence of his festivals or the costly structures which he delighted in erecting. From these pursuits he was soon diverted by local disturbances. The Uzbeks invaded Cabool, but were driven out by Mohabet Khan. The Mogul arms were next directed against Narsing Deo, of Bundelcund (the destroyer of Abul Fazil), and the rajah, after long resistance, was eventually brought to submission.

As Shah Jehan considered it the bounden duty of every great prince to leave to his posterity a larger territorial sway than that which he had himself inherited,† it is not surprising that abundant reason was soon found for invading the Deccan. At this period, the three remaining governments held by Moslems—Ahmednuggur, Beejapoor, and Golconda, had nearly recovered their ancient limits. Khan Jehan Lodi, an Afghan officer of rank, being left with undivided authority over the Moguls after the death of Prince Parvaez, had deemed it necessary or expedient, during the troubled state of affairs occasioned by the disputes regarding the succession, and the proceedings of Mohabet Khan, to surrender the remaining portion of Shah Jehan's conquests in the Deccan to the son of Malek Amber, who had succeeded his father in the Nizam Shahi government: but the fort of Ahmednuggur was still held by a Mogul garrison, who refused to obey Khan Jehan Lodi's command. When Shah Jehan set out to ascend the throne, Khan Jehan refused to join him. On learning the defeat and death of Shehriar and Dawir, he proffered allegiance, and was confirmed in his government by the new emperor, but soon removed thence to Malwa, Mohabet Khan taking his place in the Deccan. Having co-operated in the reduction of Narsing Deo, Khan Jehan was invited to court, whither he proceeded with his two sons, relying for safety both on the assurances given to him individually, and on the edict of indemnity proclaimed to all who had opposed the accession of the reigning sovereign. The usher of the court evinced a marked disrespect towards him—or so at least the proud Afghan considered—but the ceremonies of presentation were passed without any positive disturbance. His son, Azmut, a lad of sixteen, with all his father's high spirit and less discretion, was next introduced; and he, considering that he had been kept too long prostrate, sprang up before the signal was given. The usher struck him on the head with his rod; the youth aimed a blow in return; upon which a general confusion ensued, and Khan Jehan, with his sons, rushed from the palace

* According to Dow, all the five princes were murdered; but Elphinstone (on the authority of Olearius, *Ambassadors Travels*, p. 190) states that Dawir found means to escape to Persia, where he was seen by the Holstein ambassadors, in 1688. The conduct of Shah Jehan on this occasion strongly favours the general belief of his having instigated the assassination of his brother, Khosru, (see p. 124.) Mr. Elphinstone partially defends him, by remarking, "that we ought not readily to believe that a life not sullied by any other crime could be stained by one of so deep a dye" (vol. ii. p. 368.) But, in a subsequent page, he expressly states, that Shehriar "was afterwards put to death with the sons of Danial, by order of Shah Jehan" (vol. ii. p. 388.) He does not adopt Dow's statement of the bequeathing of the throne by Jehangeer to Shehriar; and, consequently, regards that prince and his nephews as having forfeited their lives by rebellion against the lawful authority of Shah Jehan, the eldest surviving son. By Mohammedan law, the children of Danial were cut off from the succession by the death of their father, before their grandfather.

† Dow's *History of Hindoostan*, vol. iii. p. 167.

to their own house, and there shut themselves up within the strong stone walls, with about 300 dependents. The emperor, not caring to order a siege so near his own abode, endeavoured to entice the refractory noble by fair words; but, not venturing to put faith in them, Khan Jehan assembled his troops by night, and marched out of Agra, with his kettle-drums beating.* Within two hours a strong detachment was sent in pursuit, and came up with the fugitives at the river Chumbul. A desperate encounter took place, especially between the Afghans and a body of Rajpoots, who dismounted and charged with lances, according to their national custom. Azmut was slain, after first killing with an arrow the Mogul usher, who had struck him at court; and Khan Jehan, being wounded in an encounter with Rajah Pirthi Sing, plunged into the stream, and succeeded in gaining the opposite bank, from whence, though hotly pursued by a much superior force, he made his way through Bundelcund into the wild and woody country of Gondwana, where he opened a friendly communication with the king of Ahmednuggur.

Towards the close of 1629, Shah Jehan marched to Boorhanpoor, at the head of a powerful armament, and sent on three detachments (estimated by Khafi Khan at 50,000 men each), to march into Ahmednuggur. Khan Jehan and his friends could make no head against this overwhelming force. The kings of Golconda and Beejapoor, as long as possible, kept aloof from the conflict, and Mortezza Nizam Shah, of Ahmednuggur, was himself obliged to seek protection in his forts. Khan Jehan was at length driven from the Deccan, and hunted from place to place. Being overtaken in Bundelcund, he made a desperate stand, and when defeated endeavoured to force his way into the hill-fort of Calinjer, but was repulsed with the loss of his last remaining son, and finally overtaken at a pool, where he had stopped from exhaustion. The few brave adherents who still followed him, he entreated to seek safety in flight, but they (to the number of about thirty) refused to forsake their brave leader, and were, with him, cut to pieces after a desperate struggle with the Rajpoots. The head of the unhappy chief was fixed on a pike, and carried in triumph, as a most acceptable gift, to Shah Jehan, A.D. 1630.

The hostilities against Ahmednuggur did not end with the life of the person whose conduct had formed the pretext for them, but were prosecuted in the ferocious spirit befitting an invader, who declared war to be an evil which compassion contributed to render permanent.† Time passed on; fire and the sword were freely used to ravage the country and dishearten its defenders; drought, famine, and pestilence, to a frightful extent, lent their aid, but still, in 1635, repeated murderous campaigns were found to have left the Deccan as far as ever from being subdued to the imperial yoke.‡

At one time, indeed, affairs had seemed more promising, owing to the internal feuds which wasted the strength of Ahmednuggur. Mortezza Nizam Shah (the king set up by Malek Amber) being, on the death of the vizier, inclined to act for himself, threw the eldest son of his patron, Futteh Khan, into prison; but, being pressed by foes without, and faction within, was soon glad to release him and place him in his father's position. Mohammed Adil Shah of Beejapoor, who had looked on from neutral ground, and left the neighbouring kingdom to maintain single-handed the contest with the Moguls, became alarmed at the probable consequence of the ruin of a monarchy, which, though at all times a rival, and often an inimical state, had nevertheless long formed a valuable bulwark against invasion from Hindoostan. He now, therefore, declared war

* The account given by Elphinstone and Dow, on the authority of native writers, differs greatly. According to the former, Khan Jehan was accompanied in his flight by his women on elephants, and by twelve of his sons. Dow alleges a fearful tragedy to have been previously enacted. Thinking it hopeless to attempt carrying away the inmates of his harem, and dishonourable to abandon them to the lust of his foes, Khan Jehan knew not what to do; when the women, learning his perplexity, took the desperate resolve of destroying themselves, and thus removing all impediments to his escape. They did so, and their shrieks and groans reached the ears of Khan Jehan, who, after hastily performing the rites of sepulture, assembled his followers in the court-yard, threw open the gates and rushed out, maddened by rage and despair.—(Vol. iii., p. 133.)

† Dow's *History of Hindoostan*, vol. iii., p. 168.

‡ Azuf Khan "trod down the scanty harvest in the Deccan, and ravaged with fire and sword the kingdom of Beejapoor."—(Dow, vol. iii., p. 151.) The Hindoos, in despair, abandoned all attempts at cultivation, and prostrated themselves in crowds before the shrine of their gods, upon which, Shah Jehan issued an edict for breaking down their idols, and demolishing the temples. Many Brahmins were massacred; but the resistance offered was so determined, that the emperor was compelled to relinquish this species of persecution, and to adopt more gentle means of inducing them to till the ground.

against Shah Jehan; but the effect of the diversion intended to be created by this step, in favour of Mortezza Nizam Shah, failed in its effect, through the machinations of Futteh Khan, who, treacherously employing the power newly entrusted to him, to the ruin, instead of the protection of his royal master, caused him to be put to death, with his chief adherents. He then took the government into his own hands, and sent a large contribution, or rather bribe, to the Moguls, with offers of submission, and an open profession that the infant he had placed on the throne would hold his dignity in subordination to the emperor. Shah Jehan doubtless considered it as necessary, in the contingencies of war, to overlook perfidy and uphold its perpetrators, as to set aside the pleadings of compassion; and this is not to be wondered at; for justice and mercy, rightly understood—

> "Are twin-born sisters; and so mix their eyes,
> As if you sever one, the other dies."

Futteh Khan's proposals were immediately accepted; but having no intention of fulfilling his promise to any further extent than that which his own narrow views of expediency might dictate, he no sooner saw the whole Mogul force directed against Beejapoor, than he violated his engagements, and being consequently attacked by the Moguls, once more made common cause with the king of Beejapoor.

Shah Jehan returned to Agra in 1632, after having ineffectually besieged Mohammed Adil Shah in his capital, leaving Mohabet Khan in command. The operations under that general led to Futteh Khan's being shut up in the fort of Doulatabad, where he was besieged, and at length forced or induced to surrender. Notwithstanding all his treachery, he was received into the Mogul army,* while the unhappy child, whom he had styled king, was sent to languish in the lately emptied fort of Gwalior. Ahmednuggur was, however, not yet conquered. Shahjee Bhonslay, an officer who had played a conspicuous part in the recent war, and whose family were afterwards the founders of the Mahratta power, asserted the rights of a new claimant to the throne, and gradually conquered all the districts of that kingdom, from the sea to the capital.

The king of Beejapoor, after the capture of Doulatabad, made overtures of negotiation, but these being unfavourably received, continued to defend himself bravely, until Mohabet Khan, having vainly invested Purinda, was compelled to fall back upon Boorhanpoor, and to desist from aggressive operations. On learning the ill success of his deputies, Shah Jehan resolved to take the field in person, and dividing his troops as before, sent them first into Ahmednuggur to attack Sahjee: having driven him from the open country, they proceeded to assault Beejapoor. Adil Shah was, however, a bold and determined prince; he laid waste the country for twenty miles around, destroyed every particle of food or forage, choked the wells, drained the reservoirs, and rendered it impossible for any army to invest the city. Peace was at length granted, the king of Beejapoor agreeing to pay £200,000 a-year to Shah Jehan, who conferred upon him, in return, a share of the Nizam Shahi dominions. Shahjee held out for some time longer, but at length submitted, gave up the person of the pretended king, and entered into the service of Adil Shah, by the permission of the emperor. The king of Golconda had not ventured to contest Shah Jehan's claim to supremacy and tribute, which he had recognised at the commencement of this expedition, and the emperor returned in triumph, the kingdom of Ahmednuggur being now extinguished.

While these prolonged hostilities were carried on in the Deccan, contests of less magnitude were taking place in Little Thibet, Hooghly, Cutch Behar, and elsewhere.† During his rebellion, Shah Jehan had applied to the Portuguese at Hooghly for aid, and had received a refusal (couched, it is alleged, in terms of reproach for his undutiful conduct), which he only waited a convenient opportunity to revenge. His late wife,‡ Mumtaz Mahal, daughter to Asuf Khan, had also conceived an especial dislike to "the European idolaters," on account of the images before which they worshipped.

* He afterwards became mad, and died from the effects of an old wound in the head.

† In 1634 and 1636, a portion of the troops on the eastern frontier completed the settlement of Little Thibet; another detachment was defeated, and almost destroyed, in an attempt to conquer Srinagar in 1634; and a third, after subduing the petty state of Cutch Behar from Bengal, in 1637, was compelled to retire by the unhealthiness of the climate.—(Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 401.)

‡ This lady died in 1631. She had been married twenty years, and had borne nearly as many children. Shah Jehan erected to her memory a structure of extraordinary beauty and magnificence (called, by a corruption of her name, Taj Mahal), which forms one of the most interesting monuments of Agra.

These circumstances lent weight to a representation which arrived from the governor of Bengal, complaining of the insolent and aggressive conduct of the Portuguese,* and he received from the emperor the laconic command—"expel these idolaters from my dominions." Hooghly was carried by storm, after a siege of three months and a-half, involving a terrible destruction of life on the side of the Portuguese, whose fleet (including sixty-four large vessels) was almost entirely destroyed. The principal ship, in which about 2,000 men, women, and children had taken refuge, with all their treasure, was blown up by its captain, sooner than yield to the Moguls; and the example was followed in many other vessels. From the prisoners, 500 young persons, of both sexes, were selected, with some of the priests, and sent to Agra; the girls were distributed among the harems of the emperor and chief nobles, and the boys circumcised. The Jesuits and other friars were vainly threatened with severe punishment if they persisted in rejecting the Koran; but, after some months' confinement, were liberated and sent to Goa. The pictures and images, which had excited the displeasure of the queen, were all destroyed, and Hooghly became the royal port of Bengal, A.D. 1632.

In 1637, the Persian governor of Candahar, incited by the tyranny of his sovereign, surrendered this important frontier post to Shah Jehan, who appointed him to various high positions (including, at different times, the governments of Cashmere and Cabool), and made him leader of several important expeditions, the first of which was the invasion of Balkh and Badakshan, in 1644. The pretext for hostilities was Shah Jehan's desire to assert the dormant rights of his family; the inducement, the revolt of the son of the reigning Uzbek sovereign, Nazir Mohammed, and the consequent unfitness of the state to resist foreign invasion. After a large expenditure of blood and treasure, and the display of extraordinary valour on the part of a body of 14,000 Rajpoots, commanded by Rajah Juggut Sing,† who encountered the hardships of the rigorous climate as unshrinkingly as the fierce onsets of the Uzbeks, Balkh was at length captured. In this war the princes Morad and Aurungzebe were both employed; and Shah Jehan twice repaired to Cabool, to support their efforts. But all endeavours to restore order into the conquered territory were rendered ineffectual by the marauding incursions of Uzbeks from the other side of the Oxus, headed by Abdool Aziz, the prince whose turbulence had stimulated the Mogul invasion. Shah Jehan, despairing of being able to keep what it had cost so much to gain, re-instated Nazir Mohammed on his throne, on condition of receiving a small annual tribute; and after restoring the places of which he had got possession, left him to maintain the contest against his rebellious son as best he might.‡

In 1647, Candahar was taken by Shah Abbas II. in person. In 1649 and 1652, it was invested by Aurungzebe; and, in 1653, by Dara Sheko, the acknowledged heir to the throne—Shah Jehan, on each occasion, accompanying the army as far as Cabool. Dara made a fierce and determined attack; for the jealousy already springing up between the royal brothers, rendered him especially desirous to conquer where Aurungzebe had been twice defeated. Besides natural means, he had recourse to magicians and astrologers, who promised great things, but could not prevent the failure of his last desperate assault, in which, though the troops at one time gained the summit of the rampart, they were eventually repulsed, and Dara compelled to raise the siege, after losing the flower of his army in its prosecution. No after-endeavour was made by the Moguls to recover Candahar, of which they had held but precarious possession since its first conquest by Baber.

Two years of nearly undisturbed tranquillity followed, during which, Shah Jehan having completed a revenue survey of his Deccani dominions, gave orders for the adoption of the system of assessment and collection, introduced by Todar Mul, in Bengal. This period is likewise memorable for the death of Saad Ullah Khan, who had succeeded Asuf Khan§ as vizier. In him Shah Jehan lost a wise and upright minister,

* Among other accusations, the governor asserted, that the Portuguese were in the habit of kidnapping or purchasing children, and sending them as slaves to other parts of India.—(Stewart's *Bengal*, p. 240.)

† Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 402. This chief would appear to have been the son of Mokund Sing, Rajah of Kotah, a branch of the Oudipoor family.

‡ Upon this war, according to Dow, six million were expended out of the imperial treasury, besides estates granted to the value of one million more.

§ Asuf Khan died in 1641, leaving several children; but as the emperor loved money, and might possibly avail himself of the law which constituted the sovereign heir to all his officers, the prudent vizier

whose ability had made amends for the decreasing energy consequent on the criminal excesses in which the emperor had indulged after the death of his favourite wife.

Towards the close of 1655, a pretext was found for renewing the war in the Deccan. Abdullah Kootb Shah, of Golconda, had taken for his chief minister, Meer Jumla, originally a Persian adventurer, who had gradually acquired great wealth as a diamond merchant. During the absence of this officer, in command of an army in the eastern part of the kingdom, his son, Mohammed Ameen, a dissolute and violent young man, seated himself on the musnud, in a fit of intoxication; for which offence he was severely reprimanded, and forbidden to appear in the presence of the sultan. Meer Jumla, either from distrust of his sovereign, or, as is more probable, from some previous understanding with Aurungzebe, to whom he was personally known, took occasion to solicit the assistance of that prince. Such conduct was inexcusably disloyal; for it does not appear that either the life or liberty of the offender were in danger; and Abdullah, by the regular payment of the stipulated tribute since the last pacification, had left no plea for Mogul interference. Nevertheless, Shah Jehan was induced to send to the sultan a peremptory order for the discharge of both father and son, for whom the same envoy bore commissions in the imperial service as munsubdars, respectively of 5,000 and 2,000 horse. Before the arrival of the ambassador, Abdullah having learned his approach and mission, threw Mohammed Ameen into prison, and confiscated the property of his father. Shah Jehan then authorised Aurungzebe to carry his command into effect by force of arms, which the wily prince proceeded to do after his own treacherous and manœuvring fashion, by despatching a chosen force, under pretence of escorting his son, Sultan Mohammed, to Bengal,* there to espouse his cousin, the daughter of Prince Shuja, the viceroy of that province. Abdullah Shah was preparing an entertainment for the reception of the supposed bridegroom, when he suddenly advanced as an enemy, and took the sultan so entirely by surprise, that he had only time to fly to the neighbouring hill-fort of Golconda, while Hyderabad fell into the hands of the Moguls, and was plundered and half-burned before the soldiery could be brought into order. Abdullah Shah released Mohammed Ameen, restored the confiscated property, and did all in his power to enter into an accommodation on reasonable terms, but Aurungzebe persisted in investing Golconda, and Meer Jumla drew near with re-inforcements, in readiness to turn his unfortunate master's troops against himself.

After repeated unsuccessful attempts to obtain aid from Beejapoor, and to raise the siege by force, Abdullah Shah was compelled to submit to the severe terms imposed upon him of giving his daughter in marriage to Sultan Mohammed, with a large dowry in land and money, and paying a crore of rupees (£1,000,000 sterling) as the first instalment of a yearly tribute; in which, however, a considerable remission was afterwards made by Shah Jehan.

When these matters were settled, the kingdom of Beejapoor was invaded by Aurungzebe on a plea as hollow as that used for the attack on Golconda. Mohammed Adil Shah died in November, 1656, and was succeeded by his son Ali, a youth of nineteen. A large portion of the Beejapoor army was employed at a distance, in wars with the petty Hindoo princes of the Carnatic; and Aurungzebe, having obtained his father's approval of his nefarious project, asserted the right of the emperor to decide upon the succession, denied that the minor was the real issue of the late sovereign, advanced upon the capital, and by sudden and treacherous† proceedings, left the new king no resource but to sue for peace on any terms. Even this overture was rejected by Aurungzebe, who would probably have speedily obtained complete possession of the kingdom, had not his attention been suddenly diverted by the startling intelligence, that his father's disgraceful indulgences had brought on an attack of paralysis and strangury, which threatened to terminate fatally.

At this time, the children of Shah Jehan, by Mumtaz Mahal, were six in number. Dara Sheko, the eldest, then in his forty-second year, was a high-spirited prince, dignified in his manners, and generous to his adherents,

thought it best to distribute a certain portion of his wealth, amounting to £375,000, among his children and servants, leaving the remainder (nearly £4,000,000 stg.) to his grandson, Dara Sheko. His landed estates, of course, reverted to the crown.

* In the road from Aurungabad to Bengal, a circuit is made to avoid the forests of Gondwana, and thus the prince was enabled to come within a short distance of Hyderabad, without creating suspicion.

† He succeeded in corrupting Ali's prime minister.

but obstinate in the extreme, and impatient of advice, even from counsellors on whose judgment and ability he might be expected to place most reliance. Shuja was brave, and not devoid of capacity, but given up to wine and pleasure. Aurungzebe, the third brother, was a man of extraordinary ability. His talents for war and intrigue had been repeatedly manifested, and Dara appears to have fully appreciated the depth of ambitious resolve which lay hidden beneath the veil of extreme humility of deportment and an affected indifference to all worldly distinction.*

Zeal for the religion of Mohammed was the ostensible motive of Aurungzebe's conduct through life; how far felt or how far feigned, can scarcely be decided, owing to the profound and habitual dissimulation which marked his whole career. A creed to be unceasingly promulgated by any and every means, was, in either case, a convenient political weapon; and Aurungzebe used it skilfully and without scruple. Frugal and abstemious almost to asceticism, he seemed resolved to follow in the steps of the early caliphs, and drew the attention of the more zealous Moslems, by his studious fulfilment of every ordinance, until he became looked up to as the champion of Islam, in contradistinction to Dara, who openly professed many of the tenets of Akber, and had written a book to reconcile the Hindoo and Mohammedan doctrines. Shuja, the viceroy of Bengal, was unpopular with the orthodox party, on account of his attachment to the Persian sect of the Sheiahs. Morad, the youngest prince, the governor of Guzerat, was brave and generous, but presumptuous and self-willed, with little intellect, and addicted to sensual gratifications. Padshah Begum, the elder of the two daughters, was richly endowed with beauty and talent. She exercised unbounded influence over her father, and was a great support to her favourite brother Dara. Roushenara, the younger princess, though less gifted with personal or mental attractions, possessed considerable aptitude for intrigue; and having made common cause with Aurungzebe, served him materially, by forwarding reliable information respecting the state of affairs at court at critical periods.

Dara endeavoured to keep the illness of the emperor a profound secret until the crisis should be past, by intercepting correspondence and detaining travellers likely to spread the news throughout the provinces; but all in vain: the absent princes soon learned what had occurred, and at once prepared to struggle for life and empire. Shuja assembled the troops of Bengal, and marched forthwith into Behar, on his way to the capital. Morad seized the money in the district treasuries of Guzerat, and laid siege to Surat, where there was a governor independent of his authority. Aurungzebe prepared his forces, but made no open declaration of war, until orders came from Dara, in the name of the emperor, directing Meer Jumla and other commanders to quit his standard. This injunction carried considerable weight in the case of the above-named general. On joining the Moguls, he had been appointed to the highest offices at court, but through the solicitations of Dara, was sent back to the Deccan. His family remained at Agra: he therefore feared the consequences of disobeying the imperial mandate. The subtlety of Aurungzebe soon suggested an expedient. Meer Jumla was seized with pretended violence, and placed in the fort of Doulatabad, while his chief officers continued secretly to obey his commands. Dara and Shuja, Aurungzebe knew, might be safely left to fight out their own quarrel; in Morad, he calculated, with reason, upon finding a useful tool, as well as an easy dupe. He addressed him a letter in the most adulatory strain, proffering his zealous co-operation against the infidel Dara, and declaring, that after aiding his worthy brother to mount the throne, he should renounce the world, and devote his life to praying for his welfare in the holy retirement of Mecca. Morad, completely deceived, joyfully accepted the offer, and Aurungzebe marched to join him in Malwa, whither Rajah Jeswunt Sing had been already sent to oppose them; but he, from sheer fool-hardiness, is alleged to have permitted the junction of the princes. Meanwhile, Shah Jehan had sufficiently recovered to resume the general control of the government. The tender solicitude of Dara, during his illness, had rendered

* One of our best authorities for this period is Bernier, an intelligent French traveller, who having been reduced to a state of penury "by various adventures with robbers, and by the heavy expenses incurred on a journey of near seven weeks from Surat to Agra and Delhi," was glad to accept a salary from Shah Jehan in the capacity of physician, and also from Danechmund Khan, a distinguished noble of the Mogul court to which Bernier was attached for eight years.

this son more dear to him than ever, and he resented with energy the misconduct of the other princes. To Shuja he wrote, commanding him in imperative terms to return immediately to his government; but instead of obeying, the prince affected to consider the order dictated by Dara, and continued his progress until he encountered Soliman Sheko, the son of Dara, in the neighbourhood of Benares, by whom he was defeated and compelled to retreat into Bengal. This battle occurred at the close of 1657: in the spring of the following year, a fierce conflict took place between the forces of the confederate princes and Rajah Jeswunt Sing, who had encamped on the river Sipra, near Oojein. The Rajpoots fought bravely, but were ill-supported, for most of the Moguls deserted to the enemy. The rajah retired in disorder to his own country, and Morad, whose gallantry had been very conspicuous throughout the sanguinary conflict, which had lasted from morning to sunset, was hailed as sole victor, Aurungzebe still acting in conformity with the solemn oath of fidelity and allegiance he had voluntarily taken at their first meeting. Shah Jehan now determined to take the field in person against his turbulent sons. Had he persevered in this resolve, much bloodshed would probably have been spared, as the soldiers of the rebel camp were known to be well-disposed towards him personally, and would doubtless have rallied round his standard. But Dara did not comprehend the extent of the danger; regard for his father's infirm state, united perhaps to a more selfish desire of keeping the authority in his own hands, rendered him averse to this proposition, and Shah Jehan reluctantly gave way. Confident in his superior numbers, Dara refused even to wait for Soliman, then on his victorious march from Benares with the flower of the troops, and proceeded single-handed to meet the advancing foe.*

The hostile armies came in sight of each other at Samaghar, one march from Agra, in the beginning of June, 1658. The battle which ensued was long and bloody, the three brothers fighting with desperation. Morad was attacked by 3,000 Uzbek archers, who showered their arrows upon his howdah until they resembled the bristling quills of a porcupine, and the frightened elephant would have rushed from the field, had he not ordered its feet to be chained, thus (although wounded in several places) cutting off his own power of retreat. Aurungzebe saw his brother's danger, but was fully occupied in opposing Dara, who having, by a third fierce charge of cavalry, broken through the guns chained together in front of the enemy's line, now carried all before him, and, though again checked, would probably have eventually prevailed, had not a rocket struck the elephant on which he rode, while pressing forward and cheering on his troops by voice and action. The terrified animal became perfectly ungovernable. Dara threw himself from its back and sprang upon a horse; but an attendant, while fastening on his quiver, was killed by a shot. The momentary confusion which occurred among those immediately around him, added to the effect of his previous disappearance from the view of the more distant troops, occasioned a general panic. With him the sole object of the war was supposed to have perished; and the confederate princes perceiving their advantage, pressed forward and drove the now disordered foe, including Dara himself, before them, in irremediable disorder. Rajah Chutter-sal, of Boondi, with his vassals, formed the vanguard of the unfortunate prince, and made a devoted but unavailing effort to stem the torrent. The rajah himself, clad in saffron robes, with a chaplet of pearls on his head, was true to these ensigns of victory or death. Leaping from the back of his wounded elephant, which he could not restrain from joining in the general flight, he mounted his horse, and forming his men in a dense mass, led them to attack Morad, against whom he was about hurling his lance, when a cannon-ball laid him dead at his feet. The brave band were soon hemmed in, and the heads of every Hara clan, including six princes of the blood-royal of Boondi, perished, maintaining inviolate their oath of allegiance to Shah Jehan When the issue of the day was evident, Aurungzebe fell on his knees and returned thanks for the victory granted to Morad, whom he saluted, and affecting lively emotion at the sight of his wounds, wiped the blood from his face, and warmly congratulated him on the acquisition of a kingdom. While this hypocritical scene was being enacted, the unhappy Dara pur-

* Khafi Khan states the imperial force at above 70,000 horse, with innumerable elephants and guns. (Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 423.) Bernier, at 100,000 horse, 20,000 foot, and 80 pieces of cannon. He reckons the opposing army as not exceeding "40,000 men of all arms."—(Brock's *Translation*, vol. i., p. 50.)

sued his flight to Agra, with about 2,000 men, most of them wounded; and feeling ashamed to present himself before the indulgent father, whose counsels he had disregarded, proceeded to Delhi, accompanied by his wife and two children, and was subsequently joined by 5,000 horse, sent by Shah Jehan to his assistance. Three days after the battle, Aurungzebe encamped before the walls of Agra, took immediate possession of the city, but did not attempt to enter by force the royal residence, contenting himself for some days longer by sending messages to his father, pleading the necessity of the case, and requesting to be forgiven and admitted to his presence. It is probable that he really desired to conciliate the aged monarch, and would have preferred carrying on the government in his name, at least until all rivalry should be completely crushed; but Shah Jehan resented his protestations of filial affection as an additional insult, and did not swerve from his attachment to Dara. Aurungzebe, therefore, sent his son, Mohammed Sultan* to take possession of the citadel, and prevent all communication between the emperor and every one beyond its walls. This appears to have been done without difficulty; for there is no record of a single effort being made to assert the rights of the monarch, who remained in a sort of honourable captivity, until his death, seven years after, aged seventy-four. During the long reign thus abruptly closed, the internal administration of affairs had been conducted with more rectitude and ability than, perhaps, under any other Mogul ruler. Khafi Khan (the best historian of those times) asserts, that although Akber was pre-eminent as a conqueror and a law-giver, yet, in territorial and financial arrangements, he could bear no comparison with his grandson. Although a staunch Mussulman, Shah Jehan was warmly attached to the Hindoos, who, as we have seen, had spent their best blood freely in his behalf, and his foreign wars did not interrupt the tranquillity which prevailed, almost without interruption, throughout his dominions. Wealth, both public and private, increased in a remarkable degree, and the annual revenue is supposed to have exceeded thirty-two million sterling. A new city was built at Delhi,† on a regular plan, far surpassing the old one in magnificence; and the imperial establishments, retinue, and appurtenances‡ all exceeded in pomp those of previous reigns. Yet, notwithstanding the costly wars in which he engaged, the maintenance of a large regular army (including 200,000 horse), and the erection of many splendid structures, Shah Jehan left a treasure estimated at twenty-four million sterling, besides vast accumulations in wrought gold and silver, and in jewels.

After deposing his father, the next step of Aurungzebe was to get rid of Morad, whom he continued to delude, by submissive behaviour and unremitting attentions, till they had marched from Agra in pursuit of Dara. Taking advantage of Morad's addiction to pleasure, Aurungzebe invited him to supper, and, waving his own scruples (if

* The circumstances connected with this interesting period are differently told. According to Bernier (whose account Dow appears to have followed), Shah Jehan was tempted to encounter Aurungzebe with his own weapons, and hoping to secure his person, consented to listen to his excuses. The wily prince affected extreme delight at this concession, but alleged, that although he had perfect confidence in his father's good faith, he dreaded the intrigues of his elder sister, and dared not trust the garrison, unless he were permitted to introduce, for his protection, some troops under his son, Mohammed Sultan. Shah Jehan, desirous to get him within reach at all hazards, consented, relying for aid on his daughter, who posted some strong Tartar women belonging to the harem in readiness to seize the prince. Mohammed was suffered to take possession of the citadel in anticipation of the arrival of Aurungzebe, when intelligence came that he had suddenly ordered his cavalcade to change their course, and was gone to offer up his prayers at the tomb of Akber. Shah Jehan, enraged beyond measure, asked Mohammed what he had come for, if not to guard his father. The curt reply was, "to take charge of the citadel." The insulted monarch pointed to the imperial crown which was suspended above his head, and taking the Koran in his hand, swore that if Mohammed would release him, he would make him emperor, to the exclusion of all his own sons. The prince, from policy or principle, refused the offer, and quitted the presence of his grandfather —little dreaming how soon a stronger temptation would lead him to take the course from which he now turned.—(Bernier, vol. i., p. 72.) Khafi Khan, whose father was an actor in the turbulent scenes of this period, makes no mention of this plot and counter-plot.—(Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 427.)

† *Tavernier's Travels* in various parts of the empire; Mandelsloe's in Guzerat; Graaf and Bruton's (*Murray's Asiatic Discoveries*) in Bengal, Behar and Orissa; afford forcible evidence of the grandeur of the Indian cities of this period, including those situated in remote provinces; and also to the richly-cultivated state of the surrounding country.

‡ The famous throne, of which the chief ornament was a peacock, with its tail spread, represented in its natural colours by various gems, was constructed for Shah Jehan; and a vine was commenced, with leaves and fruit of precious stones, whose rays were reflected from mirrors set in large pearls.

he really had any), induced him, by the two-fold temptation of wine and feminine seductions, to separate himself from his companions, some of whom appear to have warned him against placing such implicit trust in his brother's professions. While stretched on a couch, sleeping off the stupor of intoxication, Morad was seized, fettered, and sent off, before day-break, on an elephant, to Selimghur, a portion of the citadel of Delhi, while three other elephants were dispatched with similar escorts, in different directions, to mislead people as to the actual place of confinement, which was afterwards changed to Gwalior, the Bastille of Hindoostan. The frankness and bravery of the unfortunate prince had rendered him popular with the army, but the suddenness of his seizure seems to have paralysed every effort on his behalf. His chief adherents were brought into the presence of Aurungzebe, who, after receiving their oaths of allegiance, proceeded to Delhi, where he caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and assumed the title of Alumgeer (the Conqueror of the Universe), by which he is designated in local histories and documents.

The *Reign of Aurungzebe* had lasted a twelvemonth before his name was stamped on the coin, or the ceremonial of coronation performed. More pressing affairs claimed his whole attention during the interim. At the time of the fatal battle, Soliman, a brave prince of five-and-twenty, was marching to the aid of his father. Rajah Jey Sing, of Amber, who, like most of the Rajpoot leaders, had taken part with the lawful heir, was associated with the prince in the command; but the promises of the usurper, under whom he had served in Balkh, tempted him to abandon Soliman on a very flimsy pretext, as did also another general, named Dileer Khan. Deprived of the strength of his army, and scarcely able to retain any authority over the remainder, the prince endeavoured to avoid an encounter with the troops of Aurungzebe by taking the road under the mountains to join Dara; but being intercepted near Hurdwar, his soldiers lost heart, and all, except 500 horse, deserted. With this remnant Soliman proceeded to Sireenuggur, near Kumaon, where a new trial awaited him. The rajah refused to admit him, unless he would first dismiss his faithful followers; and to this proposition he was ultimately compelled to submit, after making an unavailing attempt to return to the fort of Allahabad, in which more than half of his little band perished. On entering the fort of Sireenuggur, with five or six attendants, he was courteously received, but soon found himself, in effect, a prisoner.

Meanwhile, Aurungzebe continued, in person, to pursue Dara. Having, during the early part of his flight, procured some troops at Delhi, the prince marched thence to Lahore, and finding a large sum of money in the royal treasury, began to raise an army. Shah Jehan had written urgently in his favour to the viceroy of Cabool, Mohabet Khan (son of the great general), and Dara, had he proceeded thither, would probably have found valuable auxiliaries in the troops of the province, or, in case of need, a ready refuge among the Afghan tribes, and an easy exit to the territories of the Uzbeks or the Persians. These views, even if entertained, were disconcerted by the prompt measures of Aurungzebe; and Dara, unable to resist the force by which he was threatened, left Lahore with three or four thousand men, on his way to Sinde. The emperor followed him nearly to Moultan; but before reaching that city he learned that Shuja was marching in force from Bengal; therefore, sending a detachment to follow Dara, he hastened to Delhi, and from thence set out to arrest the progress of the advancing army, comprising 25,000 horse and a numerous train of artillery. The brothers met at Cujwa, thirty miles north of Allahabad, and drew up their forces, neither caring to begin the conflict. On this occasion, Aurungzebe was nearly worsted by arts similar to those he himself delighted to employ. Rajah Jeswunt Sing, after his unsuccessful efforts in favour of Dara, had received a message from the victor, with assurances of pardon, and a command to join the army then forming against Shuja. He feigned obedience, but it would appear only for the sake of watching an opportunity to serve the cause of the rightful heir, and his angry feelings were increased by the withholding of the rank to which he considered himself entitled. Having communicated his intentions to Shuja, Jeswunt Sing, one morning before day-break, attacked the rear-ward of the imperial camp with his Rahtore cavaliers; and, during the onset made shortly afterwards by the prince's army in front, the rajah deliberately loaded his camels with plunder, and marched off to Agra, leaving the brothers to a contest which he heartily wished might involve the destruction of both. Notwithstanding

this inauspicious commencement, the self-possession and valour of Aurungzebe gained the day. The battle began by a cannonade, followed by a close action, in which he was repeatedly in imminent danger; but the centre of Shuja's troops was at length broken, and they fled, leaving 114 pieces of cannon and many elephants on the field. Mohammed Sultan and Meer Jumla (whose mock imprisonment had ceased so soon as his family were set free by the flight of Dara) were sent with a strong force to Bengal, while the emperor proceeded to Agra. The governor of this city, Shaista Khan, had just been relieved from great alarm; for the triumphant approach of Jeswunt Sing, added to discouraging reports from the field of battle, and various signs of popular feeling in favour of Shah Jehan, had so perplexed him that he would have swallowed poison, but for the timely interposition of his wife. Had Jeswunt at once attacked the citadel, the garrison would probably have surrendered, and the aged monarch been set at liberty; but the attempt was fraught with hazard; for besides the danger of shutting up his troops within the precincts of the capital, it would prevent his forming a junction with Dara, whom he had instructed to hasten to the scene of action. Aurungzebe, on returning to Agra, had consequently the satisfaction of learning that Jeswunt had departed to his own territories in Marwar, whither he sent 10,000 men to seize his person and reclaim the spoils now safely housed within the castle of Joda. But this open hostility was soon changed for a policy more congenial to the character of the wily monarch. The affairs of Dara had taken an unlooked-for turn,—after being compelled, by the desertion of his followers and the death of his carriage-cattle, to relinquish his designs upon Sinde, the fugitive had, through the loyalty of the governor of Guzerat (Shah Nawaz Khan, father-in-law to both Aurungzebe and Morad), obtained possession of the whole province, including Surat and Baroach. The territories of Jeswunt Sing extended from Guzerat to Ajmeer: to prevent his forming the projected coalition with Dara, was, therefore, of the highest importance to Aurungzebe, who, laying aside his plans of vengeance for a more convenient season, instead of soldiers and musketry, sent the rajah a letter in his own hand-writing, full of flattery and blandishments, conceding the rank and office, the withholding of which had previously been a cause of irritation. This politic conduct, added to the delay of Dara, made Jeswunt falter in his resolve, and by the mediation of Jey Sing, Aurungzebe succeeded in persuading him to rely on his good faith, and keep aloof from a cause which could only end in the ruin of its object and all connected with him. Dara, disappointed of the expected co-operation, fortified a commanding position on the hills near Ajmeer, and there awaited the approach of his brother. Three days' cannonading was followed by a general assault, in which, after the lapse of many hours, Shah Nawaz fell just as a party of the imperial troops mounted the ramparts. The prince fled precipitately, attended by the females of his family and a small body of horse, and reached the neighbourhood of Ahmedabad, after eight days* and nights of almost incessant marching, rendered nearly intolerable by the heat and dust of a scorching season, to which were latterly added the merciless attacks of the hill Coolies, who stripped or massacred every man separated from his companions. When within a march of Ahmedabad, Dara was informed that the gates were shut against him, and he must seek shelter elsewhere. Amid tears and lamentations the weary cavalcade resumed its toilsome progress; and after much loss of life in the desert, through hunger, thirst, and fatigue, at length reached the small territory of Joon, on the eastern frontier of Sinde. The chief of Joon,† apparently an Afghan, had been twice condemned to death for murder and treason, but saved from the vengeance of Shah Jehan by the intercession of Dara, who now relied upon his gratitude, notwithstanding the warnings and entreaties of his adherents. Dara's wife (the daughter of Prince Parvaez), who had been wounded in the late battle, and was fast sinking under suffering and fatigue, implored him to leave her, and prosecute without delay his journey to Persia. But the

* On the fourth day, Dara was met by Bernier, who was on his way to Delhi, unconscious of passing events. The sultana had been wounded, and there was no physician among the little band. The profession of the traveller being discovered, he was obliged to join Dara, and would have been taken on to Sinde, but that neither threats nor entreaties could procure a single horse, ox, or camel for his use. Having beheld the hapless prince and his family depart, Bernier, after a week's detention, succeeded in persuading the Coolies, "by a grand display of professional skill," to attach a bullock to his carriage and conduct him to Ahmedabad. (Vol. i. p. 106.)

† Called Jihon Khan in Brock's *Bernier*.

prince could not be prevailed upon to forsake his faithful companion in the trying hour of death, and after she had expired in his arms, he sent a portion of his small force, with two confidential servants, to attend her remains to Lahore. When the period of mourning permitted, he set out towards the Indus, accompanied by a brother of the chief of Joon and a body of troops, under pretence of escorting him to the frontier; but suddenly, the signal being given, Dara and his son, Seper Sheko, were seized and carried prisoners to Aurungzebe, who was then engaged in celebrating the anniversary of his accession. Loaded with chains, habited in coarse and dirty raiment, and mounted on a sorry elephant without housings, the royal captives were conducted through the most populous streets of the capital, amid the tears and groans of the people. No attempt at a rescue was made; but the next day the chief of Joon being recognised on his way to court, was nearly torn to pieces by the populace.* The leader of the tumult was executed; and shortly after, a mock consultation having been held by the chief counsellors and lawyers, Dara was pronounced worthy of death as an apostate Mohammedan. Aurungzebe gave his consent with affected reluctance, and selected a personal enemy of his brother's to carry the sentence into effect. When the assassins entered the prison, Dara and his son were occupied in preparing some lentils, the only food they would touch for fear of poison. Seizing a small kitchen knife, the sole weapon in his possession, Dara defended himself to the last; but being overwhelmed by numbers, was thrown down and decapitated. His body was exhibited to the populace on an elephant, and his head carried to Aurungzebe, who, having satisfied himself of its identity by washing the blood from the distorted features, affected to weep, and directed its interment in the tomb of Humayun. Seper Sheko was sent to the dreary fortress of Gwalior, whose gates soon afterwards opened to receive no less a person than Mohammed Sultan, the eldest son and acknowledged heir of Aurungzebe.

This prince had been betrothed to his cousin, the daughter of Shuja, but the marriage was broken off by the outburst of civil war. Seeing the critical position of her father, the princess addressed a communication to Mohammed, reminding him of their engagement; this appeal, added to his restless disposition and jealousy of Meer Jumla, who was associated with him in the command of the army, induced him to go over to his uncle, a step which he probably thought would be followed by the majority of the imperial army. Any such movement was prevented by the zeal and influence of Meer Jumla, and hostilities were recommenced at the conclusion of the rainy season. Shuja received his nephew with honour, and gave him his daughter in marriage; but either from the machinations of Aurungzebe,† or some other cause not satisfactorily explained, distrust sprang up between them, and the prince again deserted his party, and threw himself upon the mercy of his father, who immediately sent him to Gwalior. After a series of unsuccessful struggles, Shuja retreated to Dacca, and being hotly pursued by Meer Jumla, fled, with a few attendants, to Arracan. The remainder of his history is very imperfectly known. A difference is said to have arisen between him and the rajah, whose avarice was roused by the sight of the wealth of the prince, and, on one pretext or another, he was prevented from hiring vessels in which to proceed to Mokha, *en route* for Mecca. Shuja, irritated by this treatment, entered into a plot with the Mussulmans of the country to overturn the existing government; but, being detected, was seized by the rajah's emissaries, and put to death. Of his wife and family, no certain particulars were ever made public in Hindoostan; but it is probable they all perished by violence about the same time.‡

* When returning to his own country, laden with the price of blood, he was waylaid and assassinated.

† Dow asserts (but without giving his authority, who is evidently neither Khafi Khan nor Bernier) that Aurungzebe wrote a letter to his son, as if in answer to an appeal for forgiveness, and caused it to fall into the hands of Shuja, who, thereupon, dismissed his son-in-law and daughter from the camp, not crediting their protestations of innocence.

‡ Bernier, vol. i., p. 124. According to Dow, Shuja and his son, after bravely defending the mountain passes while endeavouring to make good their retreat to Pegu, were overpowered by means of stones hurled upon them from the adjoining rocks. Shuja was drowned (the doom of royal criminals in Arracan) in sight of his wife and daughters, who, in despair, flung themselves headlong into the river, but were rescued and carried to the palace. Of these four unhappy ladies, three perished by their own hands; the fourth was married to the rajah, but did not long survive her sufferings and disgrace. The elder son of Shuja and his infant brother were both put to death. Shah Jehan, on learning the melancholy intelligence, exclaimed, "Alas! could not the rajah of Arracan leave one son to Shuja to revenge his grandfather?"—(*Hindoostan*, vol. iii. p. 390.)

At the commencement of 1661, Aurungzebe obtained possession of the person of Dara's eldest son, Soliman; the Rajah of Sireenuggur, after prolonged negotiations, having been at length persuaded, by the arguments of Jey Sing, to deliver up the prince to the imperial officers. He was paraded through the city on an elephant, and then brought into the presence of his uncle in golden fetters. Bernier, who was present, describes his manly bearing as having affected many of the courtiers to tears; and when he implored that his life might be taken at once, rather than that his strength and reason should be undermined by the hateful opium draught* (which he evidently believed to be the common fate of captive princes), even Aurungzebe seemed touched with compassion, and assured him of safety and good treatment.

It is not likely that this pledge was redeemed; for Soliman, together with his brother, Seper Sheko, and the young son of Morad, all died in Gwalior within a short space of time, while the emperor's own son, Mohammed, lived several years, and was eventually restored to comparative freedom. The doom of Morad was less easily decided; for it was necessary to Aurungzebe's views that his death should be well known; and the convenient method of poisoning him in prison might leave a doubt regarding his fate on the public mind, which, in the event of a political crisis, would be eagerly seized by agitators or pretenders. The prince was popular, despite (or probably on account of) his misfortunes: he had endeavoured to escape by means of a rope let down from the battlements;† and Aurungzebe felt that there was no time to lose in compassing his destruction. The son of a man who had been arbitrarily put to death by the prince, while viceroy of Guzerat, was incited to complain against him as a murderer; and, after the formality of a trial and sentence, the last act of this family tragedy closed with the execution of Prince Morad, in prison. The three brothers of Aurungzebe and their brave sons had now all fallen victims to his ambition and their own, goaded on by the hateful policy which too often leaves to eastern princes little choice beyond a throne or a grave. Their aged parent, by a terrible retribution, sickened with horror as the tidings of one catastrophe after another slowly reached him within the walls of his palace-prison. He execrated the name of the son whose crimes had thus cast his own into the shade, and would not suffer his presence. Aurungzebe made repeated overtures of reconciliation by affecting to seek his advice on various affairs of state, and ventured to proffer two requests—the first on behalf of his third son, Prince Akber, for the hand of the daughter of Dara, then under the protection of her aunt Jehanara; the second, for some of the jewels retained by Shah Jehan, for the decoration of the throne. The deposed monarch indignantly rejected both demands, declaring that his granddaughter should never, with his consent, be thus degraded; and the maiden, on her part, avowed her purpose of self-destruction, should force be attempted to ally her with the son of her father's murderer. With regard to the jewels, Shah Jehan sternly bade his son make wisdom and equity the ornaments of his throne, and use no importunity to obtain the coveted gems, since the hammers were in readiness which should, in that case, crush them to powder. Aurungzebe prudently gave way, and his father, gratified by this submission, and by the ample provision made for his expenditure, afterwards sent him various articles more especially connected with the insignia of royalty.

The early measures of the new emperor were well calculated to obliterate from the minds of his subjects the monstrous iniquities above detailed. In the Deccan he had gained a high character for justice as well as austerity; and on grasping the reins of government, he evinced a determination to make the welfare of the people his leading object. In marching to battle against Dara, Aurungzebe had strenuously restrained his soldiers from plundering the countries through which they passed, and had even given compensation for the damage unavoidably occasioned. During a terrible famine which prevailed over different parts of India, resulting from the combined effects of drought and civil war, he made great exertions for the relief of the wretched sufferers, by remitting the taxes, and spending large sums from the treasury in the pur-

* Bernier calls it pousta, and says it was simply a strong infusion of poppy-heads, which the intended victims were compelled to drink daily until they became torpid and senseless, and so died.

† Khafi Khan, quoted by Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 451. It is to be regretted that no complete translation has been made of the works of this author, whose real name was Mohammed Hashem Khan. He was brought up in the service of Aurungzebe, by whom both he and his father (also an historian) were employed in various important military and diplomatic positions.

chase and conveyance of grain, from Bengal and the Punjaub, to the chief seats of distress. This calamity having passed over, the emperor found leisure to plan the extension of his dominions, resting the justification, alike of past and future aggression, on the duty of propagating the Koran by all and every means. One quality, essential to the character of a statesman, or even a successful general, he wanted—namely, confidence in his fellow-men. It was the fitting curse of this arch-hypocrite, that suspicion should lie like the canker-worm at the root of his best-laid plans, occasioning the harassing distrust, or at least the want of cordial support to which the reverses of his generals may be for the most part attributed.

Towards the end of 1661, a successful expedition was despatched against the Rajah of Bikaneer; and early in the following year, Meer Jumla, whose talents were at once the dread and admiration of his distrustful master, was sent to attempt the subjugation of Assam. Having obtained possession of the capital, the victor boastfully declared his intention of pursuing his conquests, and opening the way to China. The rainy season brought with it a change of affairs. The rich plains on either side the Burrampootra were flooded; the cavalry could not march or even forage; and when the floods subsided, a pestilence broke out among the troops, so that Meer Jumla was glad to make terms with the rajah, renounce his magnificent projects, and withdraw his army. Before reaching Dacca he expired (January 7, 1663), stung by disappointment, and worn down by the fatigues which, despite the burden of advanced age, he had shared in common with the humblest soldier. His son, Mohammed Ameen, was immediately raised to the rank enjoyed by the deceased. Aurungzebe himself had recently received a forcible warning of the precarious tenure by which emperors and peasants alike hold, not merely worldly possessions, but life itself. A dangerous attack of fever completely prostrated him, and his tongue became so palsied as to deprive him almost entirely of the power of speech. Intrigues regarding the succession arose immediately; but Aurungzebe clung to political even more tenaciously than to physical existence, and during the crisis of his disorder, caused himself to be carried into the diurnal assembly of the nobles. Some days after, when scarcely recovered from a swoon (so long and deep that his death was generally reported), he sent for Rajah Jey Sing, and two or three other chief omrahs, to convince them that he lived; and in their presence, being still unable to articulate, wrote an order for the great seal, which had been placed in the charge of the Princess Roushenara, enclosed in a bag, and impressed with the signet which had remained fastened to his arm. These manifestations of a strong will triumphing over bodily weakness, inspired fear and admiration in the beholders, and had the desired effect of preventing any plots for the rescue of Shah Jehan, or conspiracies for less worthy ends. When convalescent, Aurungzebe sought repose and change of scene in Cashmere, little thinking of the fierce and prolonged strife about to burst forth in the Deccan, mainly in consequence of his own insidious policy. By gradually undermining the strength of the two remaining Mohammedan kingdoms of the south, he had anticipated their reduction to a state of enfeeblement and disorganisation, which must render them an easy conquest so soon as he should find leisure to take the field in person at the head of an extensive and powerful army. Meanwhile, he cared not to trust Jey Sing, Jeswunt Sing, Dileer Khan, or any other general, much less his own son, Mauzim, with a sufficient force for the reduction of these kingdoms, lest he should furnish weapons against himself: the troops placed under their command were, therefore, skilfully calculated as sufficient to maintain a distressing and desultory warfare, but nothing more. The imperial schemer had not a suspicion that in thus, as it were, drawing the claws of the Moslem rulers of Beejapoor and Golconda, he could possibly be serving the interest of a third party, as intriguing and hardly less bigotted than himself, though in a precisely opposite direction.

Rise of Mahratta power.—It will be remembered, that in sketching the ancient condition of India, the Mahrattas have been mentioned as inhabiting the territory lying between the range of mountains which stretches along the south of the Nerbudda, parallel to the Vindya chain; and a line drawn from Goa, on the sea-coast, through Beder to Chanda on the Wurda; that river being the eastern, and the sea the western boundary. This singular country will be described in a subsequent section, as also its inhabitants, of whom it is here only necessary to remark, that the soldiery were small sturdy men, active and persevering, posses-

sing nothing of the chivalrous sentiments or dignified bearing of the Rajpoots, but a great deal more worldly wisdom. The chiefs, in the time of the Great Moguls, were the representatives of families who had for generations filled the old Hindoo offices of heads of villages, or functionaries of districts, under the names of *patels, desmookhs*, &c., and had often been employed as partisans under the governments of Ahmednugger and Beejapoor. They were nearly all Soodras, of the same caste with their people, but some claimed to have Rajpoot blood in their veins. Though our present knowledge does not show that the Mahrattas formed at any time an united commonwealth, their strongly marked characteristics indicate a broad line of demarcation between them and the people of Carnara and Telingana, and also between the lower orders of Hindoostan; although the difference in this latter case is less striking. Mussulman writers, proverbially slow to recognise differences among infidels, scarcely notice the Mahrattas by this distinctive appellation until the beginning of the seventeenth century; although the surnames of chiefs, mentioned at earlier periods, prove their having belonged to that race. In the time of Malek Amber they first emerge into notice; and, under his government, the noblest of them, Lookjee* Jadu Rao, held a jaghire for the support of 10,000 men. Among his dependants was Malojee Bhoslay, a man of inferior rank, who, by a singular chain of circumstances,† obtained Jeejee Bye, the daughter of Jadu, in marriage for his son Shahjee, A.D. 1604; and the issue of this union was two children, of whom the younger was the famous Sevajee. Shahjee has been mentioned as an important actor in the concluding events of the Ahmednuggur state. He was subsequently employed by the king of Beejapoor on conquests to the southward, and obtained a considerable jaghire in the Mysore country, including the towns of Sera and Bangalore, in addition to that he had previously possessed, of which the chief place was Poona. Three years after the birth of Sevajee (in 1627), a disagreement arose between his parents, on account of a second marriage being contracted by Shahjee, who took his elder son with him to the Mysore, leaving the younger with his mother at Poona.

As all Mahratta chiefs were wholly illiterate, they usually retained a number of Brahmins in their service, styled *Carcoons*, or clerks, who were necessarily entrusted with their most private affairs. One of this class, Dadajee Konedeo, a man of talent and integrity, was left by Shahjee in charge of the Poona jaghire; and from him and his mother, Sevajee imbibed a deep and bitter hatred against the Mohammedans. The exploits of the heroes of the Ramayana and Mahabarat, with other wild and fantastic legends, were the boy's delight; he performed with earnest zeal the numerous observances enjoined by his creed, and anxiously waited the time when he should be old enough and strong enough to assert the rights and dignity of the insulted gods of his country. These feelings, in part, supplied the want of a more enlightened and exalted patriotism; and they afforded to Sevajee an object and a rallying point, of which, in after years, he learned the value. Like the mail-clad barons of old England, Shahjee deemed all book-learning undignified, if not degrading drudgery; and his son could never so much as write his name. In horsemanship, and the use of warlike weapons, he was unrivalled.

Poona is situated at the junction of the hilly country with the plains; hence Sevajee, in the hunting parties and military exercises, which formed his chief occupations, constantly associated with the soldiery in his father's service, and the plundering highlanders of the neighbouring Ghauts. The Bheels and Coolies, to the north of Poona —the Ramoosees to the south—viewed with admiration the young chief, to whom every glen and defile of their mountain recesses were well known; but his earliest adherents were the Mahrattas, called Mawulees, from the appellation of the valleys which they

* *Jee* is the Mahratta adjunct of respect, equivalent to our Mr. *Bye*, signifies lady.—(Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 121.)

† When Shahjee was about five years old, he was taken by his father to the house of Jadu Rao, where a large number of Hindoos of all castes had assembled to celebrate a religious festival. Pleased with the boy's bearing, Jadu merrily asked his daughter, a pretty child of three years' old, whether she would take her play-fellow for a husband; and the little maiden, by throwing at him some of the red colour at hand, in accordance with the usages of the festival, seemed to express assent. To the astonishment of all present, Malojee instantly started up, and desired the company to bear witness that Jeejee Bye and Shahjee were affianced. Jadu was exceedingly indignant at the advantage taken of him; but Malojee persisted in his claim, and being an active partisan, rose gradually in the service of the state of Ahmednuggur, and by the intercession of the king himself, eventually obtained the fulfilment of his long-cherished desire.

inhabited immediately to the west of Poona. Before he was sixteen, Sevajee began to talk of becoming an independent poligar, to the serious alarm of Dadajee, who endeavoured to wean him from his lawless associates by confiding much of the affairs of the jaghire to his superintendence, and tried earnestly to convince him that a much more brilliant destiny might be expected to await him, as a steady adherent of the Ahmednuggur government, than as a rebel. But the twig was already bent, and would grow only in one direction; and, in spite of the popularity gained by the courteous and winning manner of Sevajee among the respectable Mahrattas in the neighbourhood, it was whispered that he was a sharer in the profits of several extensive gang-robberies committed in the Concan.

The hill-forts possessed by Beejapoor, like most others under Moslem rule, were much neglected. Being remote and unhealthy, they were sometimes occupied by a single foreign commander, with a small garrison of ill-paid local troops; or, in other cases, left in charge of the nearest desmookh, or other revenue-officer. Our adventurer saw the opportunity afforded by this state of things for his plans of gradual and insidious aggression; and by some means, not precisely known, succeeded in getting possession of Torna, a hill-fortress, twenty miles S.W. of Poona, A.D. 1646. He immediately sent ambassadors to Beejapoor, representing his conduct in the most favourable light, and, by dint of arguments and bribery, was suffered to retain possession unmolested for several years, until it became known that he had built a stronghold on a neighbouring hill, by the aid of a golden treasure supposed to have been miraculously discovered to him, among some ruins at Torna, by the goddess Bhavani. A serious remonstrance was addressed to Shahjee, who wrote in strong terms to Dadajee and his son, reminding them of the danger to which he was exposed by their encroachments, and bidding them desist from all such attempts. Dadajee once more essayed to change the settled purpose of his young master; but soon afterwards, when about to expire, worn out with age and anxiety, he bestowed on him a parting benediction; and instead of further dissuasion, bade him protect Brahmins, kine and cultivators, preserve the temples of the Hindoos from violation, and—follow the fortune which lay before him.

These injunctions were obeyed to the letter. Under pretence of the poverty of the country and its increasing expenditure, Sevajee withheld the revenue from his father, and proceeded step by step, by manœuvring and bribery, to gain fort after fort; until at length, as before stated (p. 130), he had gained possession of the whole tract between the Chakun and the Neera, without bloodshed or any disturbance. "The manner in which he established himself," says Grant Duff, "watching and crouching like the wily tiger of his own mountain valleys, until he had stolen into a situation from whence he could at once spring upon his prey, accounts both for the difficulty found in tracing his early rise, and the astonishing rapidity with which he extended his power when his progress had attracted notice, and longer concealment was impossible." In 1648, Sevajee thought fit to throw down the gauntlet of open rebellion, by attacking and pillaging a convoy of royal treasure on the road to Callian; and the news had scarcely reached Beejapoor, before it was followed by tidings, that five of the principal hill-forts in the Ghauts, and subsequently Callian, and the whole of the northern Concan, were in the occupation of the same insidious foe.

Shahjee was seized and brought before Mohammed Adil Shah, who, heedless of his assurances that his son was acting in his defiance, as much as in that of their mutual sovereign, imprisoned him in a stone dungeon, of which he caused the door to be walled up, declaring, that if the insurrection continued beyond a certain time, the remaining aperture should be likewise closed. Sevajee was extremely alarmed by this menace, and is alleged to have been only dissuaded from submission by the arguments of his wife, who urged that his father's liberty might more probably be wrung by necessity from the king of Beejapoor, than obtained by blind reliance on the promises of a power so notoriously treacherous. He therefore maintained his position, and made overtures to Shah Jehan, who received his application the more favourably, as the wily Mahratta, anxious to leave himself a resource in the event of being hard pressed by his own government, had carefully avoided inroads on Mogul territory. It was probably by the intercession of the emperor that Shahjee was released from his dungeon; but four years elapsed before he was permitted to leave Beejapoor: at the expiration of which

time his presence in the Carnatic became necessary to the interests of the government, on account of an extensive insurrection, in which his eldest son had been slain. The restoration of Shahjee to his jaghire was the signal for the renewal of Sevajee's plans of aggrandisement. During the previous interval, he had delayed entering the imperial service, by preferring an hereditary claim to certain dues on land in the Joonere and Ahmednuggur districts, which he affected to desire to see settled before proceeding to Delhi. His first step, on resuming open hostilities against the Beejapoor state, was to seize the hilly country south of Poona, whose rajah, having refused to co-operate with him, he had allowed to be removed by assassination. The arrival of Aurungzebe in the Deccan, in 1655, somewhat disconcerted Sevajee, who at first addressed the prince as his suzerain; but, on seeing him engaged in war with Golconda, thought to profit by the general confusion, and, for the first time, invaded the Mogul dominions. He surprised and plundered the town of Joonere; but a similar attempt upon Ahmednuggur proved less successful: and, alarmed by the rapid conquests of the imperial troops, Sevajee sought, by excuses and promises, to obtain forgiveness for his recent proceedings. At this crisis the illness of Shah Jehan suddenly called off Aurungzebe to Delhi; and the Mahratta chief, taking advantage of his departure, immediately renewed his attacks on Beejapoor, where the king had been succeeded by his son, a minor. A large army was despatched, (A.D. 1659), under the command of a noble, named Afzool Khan, who, at his public audience of leave, boastfully declared that he would bring back the insignificant rebel, and cast him in chains under the footstool of the throne. Sevajee was informed of the vaunt of his opponent, with whose character he was acquainted, and concerted his measures accordingly. On the approach of the hostile force, he took up his residence in the hill-fort of Pertabghur, and sent offers of submission, couched in the humblest terms, to Afzool Khan, who deputed a Brahmin, high in his confidence, to complete the negotiation. This man, Sevajee, during a private interview by night, contrived to win over to his cause, which he affirmed to be that of the Hindoos and the Hindoo faith. By their joint artifice, the haughty Moslem was persuaded that Sevajee's excessive alarm could only be overcome by his personal assurances of mediation at the court of Beejapoor, and he readily consented to leave the army and advance to meet the repentant rebel. In compliance with the suggestion of the treacherous Brahmin, the 1,500 men, who had escorted their general to within a few hundred yards of the fort, were forbidden to proceed further, for fear of exciting the apprehensions of Sevajee. Accompanied by a single armed attendant, Afzool Khan advanced to the appointed place of meeting, and, descending from his palanquin, entered the open bungalow prepared for his reception, where, clad in thin white robes, with a straight sword in his hand, he impatiently awaited the arrival of Sevajee, whose figure (unpretending, from its diminutive size, and rendered ungainly by the extreme length of the arms) was seen descending the heights with slow and hesitating steps. His only follower carried two swords in his waistband, a common circumstance among the Mahrattas; but Sevajee himself was seemingly unprovided with any offensive or defensive weapon, although secretly prepared for deadly strife. The convenient axiom for evil-doers—that the end justifies the means—had induced the Mahratta chief to proceed on this occasion as if about to attempt an act of heroic self-devotion, instead of a treacherous assassination. After performing, with earnest solemnity, his morning devotions, he laid his head at the feet of his mother (Jeejee Bye), and having received her blessing, arose and equipped himself in a suit of chain armour, over which he placed his turban and a cotton tunic. His right sleeve concealed a crooked dagger, named from its form a "beechwa," or scorpion, and his left-hand held a small steel instrument, called a "wagnuck," or tiger-claw, on account of its three crooked blades, which are easily hidden by half-closed fingers. Thus provided, Sevajee approached the khan, and, at the moment of the embrace, struck the wagnuck into his body; then, instantly following up the blow, dispatched him with his dagger. The attendant of Afzool refused quarter, and fell vainly endeavouring to avenge his ill-fated master. The blast of a horn and the firing of five guns announced the unhallowed triumph of Sevajee to the Mâwulees. They rushed from the different wooded recesses, where they had been posted, upon the Beejapoor troops, who, suddenly roused from fancied security, were slaughtered or dispersed almost without resistance. Numbers were driven by hunger into a sur-

render, after long wandering in the neighbouring wilds, and all were humanely received by Sevajee, who, throughout his whole career, was remarkable for gentle treatment of prisoners, always excepting such as were suspected of concealing treasure, in which case, like the Great Moguls, he resorted to torture without stint or scruple.

By this violent deed, Sevajee gained possession of the whole train of equipment which had been sent against him, and many of the Mahrattas were induced to enlist in his service; but the most distinguished captive of that nation having steadily refused to renounce his allegiance, was honourably dismissed with costly presents. From this period, up to the close of 1662, Sevajee was engaged in hostilities with the king of Beejapoor, who took the field against him in person; but, after recovering much territory, was compelled to turn his chief attention to a revolt in the Carnatic, upon which the Mahratta chief regained his former conquests, with usury, and succeeded, through Shahjee's mediation, in obtaining a peace, by which he was recognised as master of the whole coast-line of the Concan for 250 miles (between Goa and Callian), and extending above the Ghauts for more than 150 miles from the north of Poona to the south of Merich on the Kistna. The extreme breadth of this territory did not exceed 100 miles. The hardiness and predatory habits of his soldiery, enabled Sevajee to support an army of 7,000 horse and 50,000 foot (a much larger force than the size of his country would seem to warrant), and he soon prepared to take advantage of his truce with Beejapoor, by extending his dominion at the expense of the Moguls.

To put an end to these aggressions, Shaista Khan (viceroy of the Deccan, and the emperor's maternal uncle) marched from Aurungabad, drove the marauding force from the field, captured Poona and Chakun, and took up his position at the former place, within twelve miles of Singhur, the hill-fort to which Sevajee had retired. The house occupied by the viceroy had been originally built by Dadajee for Jeejee Bye, and her son resolved to take advantage of his perfect acquaintance with its every inlet and outlet, by surprising the intruder, notwithstanding his well-planned precautions. Leaving Singhur one evening after dark, and posting small bodies of infantry on the road to support him, Sevajee, attended by twenty-five Mawulees, proceeded to the town, into which he gained admission by joining a marriage procession, planned for the purpose. By the aid of a few pickaxes, the party succeeded in entering the mansion, but not without awakening some of the women of the family, who gave the alarm. Shaista Khan escaped from the window of his bed-chamber, having first received a sword-cut, which severed two of his fingers, while letting himself down into the court below. His son, and most of his attendants, were cut to pieces in a moment, after which Sevajee retreated with all speed, and ascended Singhur amid a blaze of torches, in full view of the Mogul camp.

On the following morning, a body of the enemy's horse came galloping towards the fort, but were driven off in confusion; and on this occasion the Mahrattas, for the first time, pursued the Mogul cavalry. Shaista Khan, blinded by grief and mortification, instead of taking active measures against Sevajee, accused Jeswunt Sing (who had not long before arrived with re-inforcements) of treachery; and the dissensions of the leaders crippled the movements of the army, until Aurungzebe removed Shaista Khan to Bengal, and sent Prince Mauzim to command in conjunction with the rajah.

After a feeble attempt to invest Singhur, Jeswunt retired to Aurungabad; and Sevajee, glad to be released from the necessity of standing on the defensive, having spread several false reports of his intentions, set off with 4,000 horse, surprised the rich and defenceless city of Surat, and, after six days of systematic plunder, leisurely proceeded to Raighur, a newly-erected fort in the Concan, which became thenceforth the seat of his government. The booty acquired at Surat was very considerable, and would have been greater, but for the determined defence made at the English and Dutch factories, where some of the native chiefs had taken refuge. The English, especially, gained much favour with Aurungzebe, who granted them a perpetual exemption from a portion of the customs exacted from the traders of other nations at Surat.*

At Raighur, Sevajee learned the death of Shahjee, who, although of a great age, con-

* It seemed necessary to notice this circumstance here; but the progress of European power, until the close of the reign of Aurungzebe, so little affected the general state of India, that I have thought it best, for the sake of clearness, to reserve an account of it for a brief separate sketch.

tinued to pursue his favourite diversion of hunting, until he was killed by a fall from his horse, A.D. 1664. He had restored his jaghire to perfect order, and extended his dominions to the southward, with the tacit permission of the king of Beejapoor, until they comprehended the country near Madras, and the principality of Tanjore. Sevajee now assumed the title of rajah, struck coins in his own name, and carried on hostilities alternately against the Beejapoor and imperial authorities. He collected a fleet, took many Mogul ships, and exacted ransoms from all the rich pilgrims proceeding therein towards Mecca. On one occasion he embarked with a force of 4,000 men, in eighty-seven vessels, and made an unexpected descent on the wealthy town of Barcelore, about 130 miles below Goa, plundered all the adjacent territory, and returned in triumph to his mountain capital. His homeward voyage was, however, prolonged for many days by adverse winds, which, with several other unfavourable circumstances, were interpreted as indications of the displeasure of the goddess Bhavani, at this the only naval enterprise in which Sevajee ever in person engaged. Alarming intelligence awaited his return. Aurungzebe at length resolved to punish the sacrilegious conduct of "the mountain rat," as he contemptuously styled the Mahratta chief; had sent a powerful force against him under Jey Sing and Dileer Khan, with orders, after his subjugation, to proceed against Beejapoor. Sevajee, for once taken by surprise (in consequence of the neglect or treachery of one of his own commanders), held out for some time, and then opened a negotiation with Jey Sing, who assured him, "on the honour of a Rajpoot," of safety, and even favour, on the part of the emperor, in return for entire submission and co-operation. This guarantee, even Sevajee deemed sufficient; and he proceeded, with a few attendants, to the Mogul camp, and agreed to deliver up twenty of the forts which he possessed, together with the territories attached thereto. Raighur and eleven others, with the dependent country, he was to hold as a jaghire from Aurungzebe, in whose service his son, Sumbajee—a boy, seven years old—was to receive the rank of a munsubdar of 5,000; and, probably in lieu of the alleged hereditary claims which he had so pertinaciously asserted, Sevajee stipulated for certain assignments (Chout and Surdeshmooki) on the revenue of each district under Beejapoor; an arrangement which laid the foundation of the ill-defined claims of the Mahrattas in after-times.

No mention is made of this condition in the letter written by Aurungzebe to Sevajee, in which he distinctly confirmed every other article of the treaty; nor in the subsequent communications, in which he highly commended the conduct of Sevajee and his 10,000 followers during the invasion of Beejapoor by Jey Sing, and invited him to court, with a promise of returning at pleasure to the Deccan.

The wily Mahratta was, in this instance, duped by the equally wily Mogul, and, at the termination of the campaign, set off for Delhi, accompanied by his son, and escorted by 1,500 men. Aurungzebe thought his foe secure within his grasp; and instead of acting as Akber would have done, by surpassing in courtesy and generosity the expectations he had raised, and binding to him the now submissive chief by the ties of self-interest, at least, if not of gratitude,—he broke every pledge, received him with marked disrespect, and caused him to be placed among the commanders of the third rank, in the very position promised to his child. Overpowered by rage and mortification, Sevajee sank to the ground in a swoon, and, on recovering his senses, bitterly reproached Ram Sing with the breach of his father Jey Sing's plighted faith; and then, declaring that life was valueless to him without honour, abruptly quitted the imperial presence.

Aurungzebe, astounded by this unexpected display of vehemence, refused again to receive the Mahratta, who requested permission to return to the Deccan, but, not obtaining it, affected to be quite cast down, and begged that his followers at least might be suffered to depart, as the air and water of Delhi injured their health. This solicitation was gladly complied with, and Sevajee seemed completely at the mercy of his foes. But Ram Sing, feeling his father's honour compromised by the conduct of Aurungzebe, connived at the escape of the captive, who, having taken to his bed on pretence of sickness, caused himself and his son to be conveyed by night out of the house and city in two large hampers, which the guards suffered to pass without examination, having been purposely accustomed to see similar baskets sent to and fro, filled with sweetmeats, flowers, &c., as presents to the Brahmins and physicians. His couch was occupied by a servant, and his flight remained undiscovered till a late hour on the following

day. In the meantime, Sevajee repaired to an obscure spot, where a swift horse had been posted in readiness, and rode off with his son behind him. At Muttra he shaved off his hair and whiskers, assumed the disguise of a Gosaen, or Hindoo religious mendicant, and leaving Sumbajee under the charge of a Brahmin, pursued his journey by the most obscure and circuitous roads, arriving at Raighur in December, 1666, after an absence of nine months. Tidings of his recovered liberty reached the Deccan long before his arrival; and the English factors at Carwar, in the Concan, wrote, September 29th—"If it be true that Sevajee has escaped, Aurungzebe will quickly hear of him to his sorrow."

Shah Jehan died about this time, and his favourite child, Padshah Begum, or Jehanara, was formally reconciled to her brother, whose fortunes were then in the zenith of prosperity. Tranquillity prevailed throughout his territories, the limits of which had been extended by the acquisition of Little Thibet, to the north, and Chittagong, on the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal. Some questions of etiquette had arisen with Shah Abbas II., of Persia, which threatened to involve a war with India, and preparations were being made, but set aside in consequence of the death of the Shah. The sole drawback on the general success of the empire was the ill-fortune of its army at Beejapoor, where the king had resorted to the old plan of defence, by reducing the surrounding country to a desert. Jey Sing, after investing the capital, was compelled to withdraw with loss to Aurungabad. Being soon after recalled, he died on the road to Delhi, having (according to Tod) been poisoned by his second son, at the instigation of Aurungzebe, who promised that he should succeed to the raj (or kingdom) of Mewar, to the prejudice of his elder brother, Ram Sing; but, when the crime was committed, withheld the promised reward, giving the parricide only the district of Kamah,* and offering no opposition to the claims of the rightful heir. Jeswunt Sing was now associated in command of the troops with Prince Mauzim and Dileer Khan—an arrangement which proved very advantageous to Sevajee; for Jeswunt exercised great ascendancy over the mind of the prince, and was secretly better disposed towards the Hindoos than to the government he served. By his mediation a treaty was concluded, A.D. 1667, on highly favourable terms for Sevajee, to whom a considerable portion of territory was restored, a new jaghire granted in Berar, and his title of rajah recognised. Aurungzebe confirmed these extraordinary concessions in the hope of deluding Sevajee again into his power: with this view the Mogul leaders were enjoined to keep up a constant intercourse with him, and even directed to feign disaffection to their own government, and a disposition to enter into a separate alliance with the Mahrattas. The emperor long patiently waited the result of his scheme; but at length discovering or suspecting the truth—namely, that his intended victim had turned his weapons against himself, by conciliating both the prince and rajah by bribes and gifts—he renewed hostilities by giving orders for an open attempt to seize his person, A.D. 1670. During the preceding prolonged truce, Sevajee, after obtaining from Beejapoor and Golconda the promise of an annual tribute, had laid aside his sword, and diligently employed himself in giving a regular form to his government. His great and varied talents were never displayed in a more forcible light than when exerted in domestic administration; and his rules were rigorously enforced, whether framed to check oppression of the cultivators† or fraud against the government. In the arrangement of the army, the most careful attention to method and economy was manifest. Both troops and officers received high pay, but were obliged to give up their plunder of every description to the state, or to retain it at a fixed price.

The trump of war again sounded in the ears of the miserable inhabitants of the Deccan. Sevajee recovered Singhur near Poona, plundered Surat anew, carried his ravages over Candeish, and levied the famous "chout," which, like the black mail of Scottish border warfare, exempted from plunder the districts in which it was regularly paid. He equipped a powerful fleet, and resumed his attacks on the Abyssinians of Jinjeera, which induced them to seek the protection of the Moguls. These successes were, in great measure, attributable to the inadequacy of the opposing force. Aurungzebe at length convinced of this, sent 40,000 men, under Mohabet Khan, to the scene of action, but quite independent of the authority of Prince

* *Annals of Rajast'han*, vol. ii., p. 355.

† Sevajee's assessments were made on the actual state of the crop, of which he is alleged to have taken two-fifths.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 231.)

Mauzim, whose fidelity he doubted, and with whom he left Dileer Khan, but recalled Jeswunt Sing. The consequence of this divided command was the total defeat of 20,000 Moguls, A.D. 1672, in a field-action with the Mahrattas. Mauzim and Mohabet were recalled, and Khan Jehan Bahadur, the viceroy of Guzerat, sent to take their place; but active hostilities were soon dropped by mutual consent, the energies of both Aurungzebe and Sevajee* being fully employed in other quarters.

The emperor's attention was drawn off by the increasing importance of a war which had been going on for some time with the north-eastern Afghans, including the Eusofzies. In 1670, an army under Ameen Khan, the governor of Cabool, had been totally destroyed; and, about the same time, a king was set up by the Afghans, who is represented by European writers as an impostor, assuming to be the murdered Prince Shuja; but is described, by Indian authorities, as an Afghan chief. In 1673, the emperor proceeded to direct, in person, the military operations of his troops, accompanied by his son, Mohammed Sultan, who was now released from prison; but, at the close of two years of unsatisfactory effort, he returned to Delhi, and a very imperfect settlement was afterwards arranged with the Afghans.

In 1676, an insurrection of an extraordinary character broke out near the capital, originating in the disorderly conduct of some soldiers of the police, who had mobbed and beaten a Hindoo devotee of the sect of quietists, called Sadhs or Satnamis, in consequence of a quarrel between him and one of their comrades. The Satnamis came to the rescue, several lives were lost, and the affray increased until the numbers of both parties became considerable. The devotees took possession of the town of Narnol, and maintained it, defeating two separate detachments sent against them from Delhi. The idea gained ground that they were endowed with supernatural powers; that swords would not cut, nor bullets pierce them, while their weapons dealt death at every blow. From standing on the defensive, they took an aggressive part, and were joined by several of the neighbouring zemindars. The growing belief in their invincibility seemed likely to justify its assertion; for no troops could be induced to face them; and, on learning their approach to Delhi, Aurungzebe found it necessary to order his tents to be prepared to take the field, and, with his own hand, wrote extracts from the Koran, to be fastened to the standards as a protection against enchantment. The royal force made a stand, and the insurgents were defeated and dispersed with great loss. But the previous success had tempted many of the Hindoo inhabitants of Ajmeer and Agra to take up arms, and it was with difficulty that order could be restored in these provinces. Instead of the conciliatory measures which were imperatively needed, Aurungzebe, chafed by recent occurrences, took the only step necessary for the complete alienation of the minds of his Hindoo subjects, by reviving the jezia (capitation tax on infidels) abolished by Akber. In vain the populace assembled in crowds round the palace; no notice was taken of their tears and complaints. Determined that their appeal should be no longer ignored, they intercepted the emperor on his way in procession to the mosque; but the stern command was given to force a path, and many of the suppliants were trampled under the feet of the horses and elephants. The tax was submitted to without further demur, but the good-will of the Hindoos was gone for ever: in the Deccan every one of them became at heart a partisan of the Mahrattas; and the little fanning needed to blow into a flame the long-smouldering discontent of the Rajpoots was given within a few months of the imposition of the hated jezia.

Rajah Jeswunt Sing died at Cabool, and his widow immediately set out for India, without waiting the permission of Aurungzebe, who made this insubordination a pretext for endeavouring to seize her two infant sons.† By the ingenuity of Durga Das, the Hindoo leader, the rani and her children were enabled to escape to Marwar, over which principality the elder of the boys, Ajeet Sing, lived to enjoy a long reign, and became a formidable enemy to the Great Mogul.‡ Ram Sing, of Jeypoor or Amber, remained faithful to the master who had so

* Sevajee is said to have given a large sum of money to Khan Jehan, part privately, and part publicly: the Mogul styled the latter, tribute; but the Hindoo called it "oil-cake given to his milch cow."

† The three eldest sons of Jeswunt Sing had perished: two, it is alleged, in consequence of the inclement climate of Cabool. The third, a youth of great promise, expired suddenly at Delhi in extreme torture, owing to a poisoned robe of honour bestowed on him by the perfidious emperor.—(*Rajast'han.*)

‡ Another female and two infants were captured by Aurungzebe, the Rajpoots sacrificing their lives freely, as if the supposititious family had been really the widow and orphans of the deceased rajah.

little deserved such loyalty; but Raj Sing,* the rana of Oudipoor, entered heartily into the cause of the children of Jeswunt Sing, and refused to agree to the jezia. A long and tedious contest commenced with the year 1679, and was carried on by Aurungzebe in a spirit of the most barbarous intolerance. His orders to the two princes, Mauzim and Akber, were "to make the enemy feel all the evils of war in their utmost severity;"† and the Rajpoots, having at length caught something of the intolerant spirit of their foes, plundered the mosques, burned the Koran, and insulted the Moollahs. A strange turn was given to affairs by the conduct of Prince Akber, then only twenty-three, who was induced to join the Rajpoots, on condition of being proclaimed emperor, in lieu of his father. This rebellious attempt proved unsuccessful; and after being deserted by every Mohammedan follower, Akber resolved to take refuge with the Mahrattas, and, under the escort of Durga Das and 500 Rajpoots, arrived safely in the Concan, A.D. 1681. Great changes had taken place in the affairs of the Deccan since the withdrawal of the flower of the Mogul troops to the north-eastern frontier, in 1672. Sevajee having turned his arms against Beejapoor, had, in the course of the year 1673, become master of the whole of the southern Concan (excepting the points held by the English, Abyssinians, and Portuguese), and of a tract above the Ghauts, extending to the east beyond the upper course of the Kistna. In 1675 he crossed the Nerbudda, and began to invade the Mogul territory. In the next four years he formed separate alliances with the kings of Golconda and Beejapoor against the Moguls, now under the command of Dileer Khan; and, in return for his co-operation, received valuable cessions of territory, including the jaghire in Mysore, which had been suffered to descend to his half-brother, Venkajee.

One singular feature in this period of the history of Sevajee, is the flight of Sumbajee, the elder of his two sons, who had been imprisoned in a hill-fort for attempting to violate the wife of a Brahmin. This young man, of his father's better qualities, seems to have only inherited personal daring. He succeeded in making his escape, and took refuge with Dileer Khan, who welcomed him gladly, but on learning that Aurungzebe was treacherously disposed, connived at his quitting the imperial camp. Sumbajee then threw himself upon the mercy of his father, who sent him back to the fort of Panalla. From thence he was speedily released by an unexpected event. Sevajee, shortly after dictating a letter to Venkajee, in which he bade him "arouse and be doing," for the present was the time for great deeds, was seized with a painful swelling in the knee-joint, which threw him into a fever, and in a few days cut short his extraordinary career, in the fifty-third year of his age, A.D. 1680.

The emperor expected, that deprived of their leader, the Mahrattas would sink into insignificance. But he was mistaken. Sevajee well knew the character of his countrymen, and had carefully used that knowledge in laying down rules for their government. The Brahminical creed could not be used as a weapon of persecution, but its mingled tolerance and exclusiveness made it a powerful instrument for concentrating the religious feelings of the Hindoos, and directing their full force against the cruel and bigotted oppression commanded by the Koran, and practised by Aurungzebe. Sevajee made it his mainstay, scarcely less when the boy-chief of a band of half-naked and superstitious mountaineers, than when these had become the nucleus of a powerful army, and he the crowned king of a state (under Providence) of his own creation, with yearly-increasing territory and revenue. It is

* About this time Aurungzebe had sent a body of 2,000 horse to escort to his court a princess of Roopnagurh, a younger branch of the Marwar house, whom he demanded in marriage. The maiden, indignant at the thought of wedding the enemy of her race, sent a message to Raj Sing by her preceptor (the family priest), entreating him to come to her rescue. "Is the swan," she asked, "to be the mate of the stork; a Rajpootni, pure in blood, to be wife to the monkey-faced barbarian?" The rana accepted the challenge, appeared suddenly before Roopnagurh, cut off the imperial guard, and carried away the princess in triumph to Oudipoor.

† Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 498. The same paragraph states, "their orders were to employ part of their troops to cut off all supplies from the fugitives in the hills; and with the rest to lay waste the country, burn and destroy the villages, cut down the fruit-trees, and *carry off the women and children*," of course as slaves, or for the services of the harem and its degraded eunuch guards. This barbarity contrasts with the practice of the Hindoos, whether Rajpoot or Mahratta. Sevajee himself decreed, that "cows, cultivators, and women were never to be molested; nor were any but rich Mohammedans, or Hindoos in their service, who could pay a ransom, to be made prisoners" (Duff, vol. i., p. 230); and Elphinstone remarks, that "his enemies bear witness to his anxiety to mitigate the evils of it [war] by humane regulations, which were strictly enforced."

not wonderful that the memory of the man whose well-digested plans "raised the despised Hindoos to sovereignty, and brought about their own accomplishment, when the hand that had framed them was low in the dust," should be gratefully remembered by his countrymen; but it affords melancholy evidence of the darkness of heathenism to be told, that the murder of Afzool Khan is spoken of as a "commendable exploit," and its perpetrator "as an incarnation of the Deity setting an example of wisdom, fortitude, and piety."*

Impartial judges admit that Sevajee possessed qualities which, in an unenlightened Hindoo, may be termed admirable. Prepared for every emergency, peril could not daunt, nor success intoxicate him. Frugal even to parsimony in his habits, courteous and endearing in manner though passionate in disposition, he continued to the last to move freely about among the people, inspiring them with his own spirit of determined opposition to the Mohammedans. Intent on following every turn and winding of Aurungzebe's snake-like policy, he also practised treacherous wiles; but the use of these unworthy weapons did not detract from his personal courage. To have seen him charge, was the favourite boast of the troops engaged in the Deccani wars; and his famous sword (a Genoa blade of the finest temper, named after his tutelary goddess, Bhavani) was preserved and regarded with nothing short of idolatrous veneration.

On the death of Sevajee, one of his surviving widows burned herself with his body. The other, Soyera Bye, endeavoured to place her son, Rajah Ram, a boy of ten years old, on the throne, to the exclusion of Sumbajee, whose mother had died during his infancy. The attempt failed, and Sumbajee was proclaimed king. He caused Soyera Bye to be put to a painful and lingering death; imprisoned her son; threw the leading Brahmin ministers into irons; and slew such of his other enemies as were not protected by the sanctity of their caste. Prince Akber reached the Deccan in June, 1681, and was honourably received by Sumbajee, who acknowledged him as emperor, but showed no intention of supporting his pretensions; devoting such time as he could spare from drinking and debauchery to making war upon the Abyssinians of Jinjeera and the Portuguese. The vast treasure accumulated by his father was soon dissipated; the people were harassed by oppressive taxes; and the troops, being left in arrears of pay, began to appropriate the plunder taken on expeditions for their own use, and to degenerate from comparatively regular bands into hordes of rapacious and destructive freebooters.

Such was the state of things when Aurungzebe, in 1683, arrived at the head of the whole force of the empire. Sumbajee awoke from his stupor; and ably seconded by his father's trained troops, cut off the greater part of the army sent under Prince Mauzim to overrun the Concan, in 1684;† and, in the following year, retaliated this invasion by taking advantage of the march of the emperor against Ahmednuggur, to sack and burn the great city of Boorhanpoor. In 1685, the Moguls being again drawn off to the south, Sumbajee made another bold inroad into the territory in their rear, and plundered Baroach with the adjacent part of Guzerat. About this time he entered into a defensive alliance with the king of Golconda, which Aurungzebe resenting, sent an army against that state, then weakened by internal dissension. Its sovereign, Abool Hussun, though indolent and voluptuous, was popular, and his government and finances were ably managed by Maduna Punt, an active and upright Brahmin, in whom he placed full confidence, thereby exciting the discontent of the Mussulmans, especially of Ibrahim Khan, the commander-in-chief, who, on the approach of the imperial force, under Prince Mauzim, deserted to him with the greater part of the army. The obnoxious minister was murdered; the king fled to

* *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 297. The above account of Sevajee is almost exclusively derived from the able and interesting narrative of Grant Duff, whose labour of love has rendered him as eminently the historian of the Mahrattas, as Colonel Tod of the Rajpoots.

† Dileer Khan died in this year. He was, perhaps, the ablest officer in the service of Aurungzebe, whose battles he fought for six-and-twenty years; but he, like Jey Sing and Jeswunt Sing, found, in the suspicion and neglect of his crafty master, fit punishment for treachery to the brave and unfortunate Dara. The emperor confiscated the property of the deceased, and being disappointed in its value, vainly strove to extort, by torture, from his secretary, a confession of the manner in which the supposed surplus had been employed. The relatives of Dileer Khan were not, however, more unfortunate than those of Khan Jehan Bahadur, foster-brother to the emperor, who visited his death-bed, but appropriated his property, giving the usual order to seek for hidden deposits, and recover all out-standing debts.

the hill-fort of Golconda; and Hyderabad was captured and plundered for three days by the Mogul soldiery, notwithstanding the efforts of the prince to check this breach of discipline, which his suspicious father attributed to his connivance, as a means of embezzlement for ambitious purposes.

By a large pecuniary payment, Abool Hussun purchased a brief respite from Aurungzebe, who then moved in person against Beejapoor. The army of this monarchy had been so reduced by prolonged warfare, that the city, although surrounded by walls six miles in circumference, was soon completely invested. The Patan garrison seemed determined to perish sword in hand, and were therefore suffered to capitulate after a practicable breach had been made, through which Aurungzebe entered the place on a portable throne. The state was extinguished, A.D. 1686; and Beejapoor, after attaining a grandeur quite disproportioned to the extent of the kingdom of which it formed the capital, sunk rapidly into the deserted condition in which it now stands. The young king, after three years' close imprisonment in the Mogul camp, perished suddenly, it is said by violence, the fears of his imperial gaoler having been raised by a popular commotion in his favour.

Golconda, the last independent Mohammedan state, was next destroyed, after a duration of 175 years. Abool Hussun strove by costly gifts to deprecate the ambition of Aurungzebe, who, while receiving these offerings, was secretly occupied in intrigues with the ministers and troops of the unhappy king; and at length, his plans being matured, denounced him as a protector of infidels, and laid siege to Golconda. Roused by this treachery, Abool Hussun, though deserted on all sides, defended the fort for seven months, but was eventually betrayed into the hands of his merciless foe, by whom he was sent to end his days in the fortress of Doulatabad. His fate and treatment awakened the compassion of Prince Mauzim, whose mediation he solicited; and the prince, touched by the dignity and resignation with which the monarch bore his misfortunes, or rather injuries, made an earnest appeal in his favour. The result was his own imprisonment for nearly seven years, after which he was released and sent as governor to Cabool. All the territories which had been acquired by Beejapoor and Golconda were annexed to the empire, as well as many of Sevajee's conquests; Venkajee was deprived of the Mysore jaghire, and confined to Tanjore; and Sumbajee seemed to have sunk into a state of inertia, and become heedless of passing events. Prince Akber, dreading to fall into his father's hands, fled to Persia, where he remained till his death, about eighteen years afterwards.

Aurungzebe had now reached the culminating point of success; neither humanity nor policy had stayed his covetous grasp: he stood alone, the sole Moslem ruler in India—the despotic master of an unwieldy empire, over which the seeds of disorganisation and dissolution were sown broadcast. In Hindoostan, the finest provinces were, for the most part, entrusted to the care of incompetent and needy governors, chosen purposely from the lower ranks of the nobility. These men oppressed the people and neglected the troops—evils which Aurungzebe preferred to the risk of being supplanted by more able and influential officers. His policy in the Deccan was equally selfish and short-sighted. In the governments of Beejapoor and Golconda, he might have found valuable auxiliaries in keeping under the power of the Mahrattas; but, by their destruction, he threw down the chief barrier to lawless incursions, setting aside constituted authorities without supplying any efficient substitute.* Of the disbanded armies, the Patans and foreign mercenaries probably obtained service under the emperor; the remainder joined Sumbajee, or plundered on their own account; and amid the general anarchy and distress, the new-born feeling of religious opposition rapidly gained ground. Notwithstanding the inefficiency of their rajah, the Mahratta chiefs exerted themselves individually against the invader, and their energies were rather stimulated than enfeebled by the unexpected capture of Sumbajee, with his minister and favourite companion, a Brahmin named Kaloosha, who were surprised by a body of Moguls during a revel at a favourite pleasure-house in the Concan. It was sug-

* In all these countries Aurungzebe acquired little more than a military occupation. "The districts were farmed to the Desmookhs and other zemindars, and were governed by military leaders, who received twenty-five per cent. for the expense of collecting; and sent up the balance, after paying their troops, to the emperor; unless, as often happened, assignments were made for a period of years on fixed districts for the payment of other chiefs."—(Elphinstone's *History of India*, vol. ii., p. 6[illegible]2.)

gested, that Sumbajee might be used as a tool to obtain possession of the Mahratta strongholds; and with this view, he was offered life on condition of becoming a Mussulman. But misfortune had awakened in him a sense of degradation, and the only reply was a sarcastic message to Aurungzebe, and an invective on the False Prophet, for which offence a cruel punishment was decreed. His eyes were destroyed by a red-hot iron, his tongue cut out, and he was at last beheaded in the camp bazaar, together with Kaloosha, A.D. 1689.

Sumbajee had neither deserved nor obtained the confidence of his subjects; but they were deeply mortified by his ignominious fate. The chiefs assembled at Raighur, acknowledged the infant son of the deceased as his successor, and nominated his uncle, Rajah Ram, regent. Raighur was invested by a Mogul force, and taken in 1690, after a siege of several months, through the treachery of a Mawulee leader. The young rajah and his mother fell into the hands of Aurungzebe, who treated them with unusual kindness.* Rajah Ram remaining at liberty, proceeded to the distant fortress of Jinjee, in the Carnatic, and assumed the sovereignty. He did not attempt more than the general direction of affairs, sending two able leaders to create a diversion in his own country, and leaving independent commanders to carry on desultory operations against the Moguls, with whom a tedious and harassing struggle commenced, in which the advantage lay on the side of the apparently weaker party.

Yet Aurungzebe was indefatigable. Although far advanced in years, he superintended every hostile operation, and besieged in person the chief places.† His immense armies were marshalled forth in splendid array. The nobles went to battle in quilted cotton tunics, covered with chain or plate armour, and rode on chargers, whose huge saddles, housings of cloth or velvet, satin streamers, bells, chains, and other ornaments of gold and silver, with the frequent addition of pairs of the bushy ox-tails of Tibet hanging down on either side, were better adapted for a triumphal procession, than for warfare with mountaineers in their own country. The common soldiers imitated their superiors in their cumbersome attire, and likewise in sloth and effeminacy: the result was a total relaxation of discipline. The Mahrattas, on the contrary, were mounted on horses, small, strong, and active as themselves, with a pad for a saddle, and a black blanket folded over it for nightly covering during their expeditions, when each man slept on the ground, with his spear stuck by him, and his bridle tied to his arm, ready for any emergency. A led horse, with bags to contain the expected plunder, formed the remainder of their camp equipage. Their common food was a cake of millet, with perhaps an onion; their dress, a small turban, a fold of which was frequently passed under the chin,‡ a quilted cotton tunic, tight drawers descending to the knee, and a scarf or sash rolled round the waist. Some carried a sword and shield; a certain proportion were armed with matchlocks, or bow and arrows; but the prevailing weapon was a bamboo spear, thirteen or fourteen feet long, which they wielded with extraordinary skill. Thus armed and habited, they wisely adhered to the desultory warfare which could alone be successfully waged against the heavily-attired legions of the Mogul.§ Then, as now, their only name for a victory was, "to plunder the enemy," this being, in their eyes, the chief object as well as sole irrefragable evidence and measure of conquest.

Fort after fort was captured by the imperial army; but the Mahrattas meanwhile issued from their lurking-places and overspread the newly-acquired territories, as

* Begum Sahib, the emperor's daughter, evinced unremitting kindness to both mother and child during their long captivity. The boy, being much with her, attracted the notice of Aurungzebe, who jestingly applied to him the nick-name of Sahoo or Shao, a word signifying the opposite of thief, robber, and similar terms, by which he habitually designated Sumbajee and Sevajee.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, vol. i.)

† The traveller, Gemelli Carreri, who saw Aurungzebe at Beejapoor, in 1695, describes him as slender and of low stature, with a smiling aspect, bright eyes, a long nose, and a beard whose silvery whiteness contrasted with an olive-coloured skin. His dress was of plain white muslin, with one large emerald in the turban. He stood amid his omrahs leaning on a staff or crozier (like those used by the fakeers); received petitions, read them without spectacles, and endorsed them with his own hand. In youth, says Manouchi, he was pale even to ghastliness.

‡ The Mahratta description of a very fierce-looking person, includes a turban tied beneath the chin, and mustachios "as thick as my arm." Their national flag, swallow-tailed and of a deep orange colour, is emblematic of the followers of Mahdeo.

§ The Mawulees were famous for sword-in-hand combat; the Hetkurees (Concan mountaineers) used a species of firelock, and excelled as marksmen: both parties could, with ease, scale rocks and mount precipices, which the Moguls would have found certain destruction in attempting.

well as Berar, Candeish, and Malwa. Detachments were sent against them in various directions, but to little avail; for, on perceiving their approach, the wily mountaineers dispersed at once, without attempting to stand a charge; and after leading the Moguls a weary, and generally fruitless chase, were themselves ready to follow the retreating track of their disheartened pursuers, and take advantage of any opening or confusion in the ranks, occasioned by accident or exhaustion. Fighting such foes was like beating the air, and even worse; for while their number and power were rapidly increasing by the alliance of the zemindars of the countries which they overran, the troops of Aurungzebe, thinned by long and sanguinary sieges, required frequent recruitment from Hindoostan, whence also supplies of money had to be drawn.

Rajah Ram died A.D. 1700, and was succeeded by his infant son, Sivajee, under the regency of Tara Bye, mother of the young rajah. This change had little effect on the war. Aurungzebe went on taking forts, until, by the close of the next five years, all the principal Mahratta strongholds had fallen before him; but then the tide turned, and the rapidly-multiplying foe themselves became besiegers, and regained many fortresses, at the same time intercepting several convoys, and thus depriving the emperor of the means of paying his army.* No writer has delineated the condition of the agricultural population of the Deccan; but their sufferings from these prolonged and desolating wars must have been frightful. From them the circle of distress spread gradually but surely, until scarcity of food began to be felt even in the imperial camp, and was aggravated by the devastating effects of heavy rains. On one occasion, a sudden flood of the Beema inundated the imperial cantonment during the night, and caused the destruction of 12,000 persons, with horses, cattle, and stores beyond calculation.

The contempt with which the Moguls once regarded the Mahrattas had long given place to dread; while the Mahrattas, on their part, began to see the emptiness of the pomp which surrounded the Great Mogul, and mocked the Mussulmans, by pretending to ejaculate devout aspirations for the prolonged life of their best patron, Aurungzebe. The news from Hindoostan was of an increasingly-disheartening character; the Rajpoots were, for the most part, in open hostility, and their example had been followed by the Jats (a Hindoo people of the Soodra class), near Agra: against these, as also against a body of Sikhs at Muttra, it had been necessary to send a force under a prince of the blood. Zulfikar Khan, the chief Mogul general, being treated with irritating distrust by his sovereign, seems to have grown dilatory and indifferent, if, indeed, the dark clouds which were gathering over the political horizon did not induce him, like other nobles, designedly to temporize with the foe. The princes—now favoured, now disgraced—turned pale when summoned to the presence of their father;† while he, remembering the fate of Shah Jehan, trembled yet more at the semblance of overstrained humility than at open insubordination.

At length overtures of peace were made to the Mahrattas, and Aurungzebe was brought to consent to the liberation of Shao, the son of Sumbajee, and to the payment of ten per cent. of the whole revenues of the six soubahs of the Deccan (as Surdeshmooki), on condition of the maintenance of a body of horse to keep order; but the negotiation was broken off by the exorbitant demands and overbearing conduct of the Mahrattas. Disgusted and unhappy, with dispirited troops and exhausted cattle, the aged emperor retreated from Beejapoor to Ahmednuggur, harassed all the way by the enemy, who succeeded in dispersing and destroying a portion of the grand army; and, had they chosen to hazard a general attack, would probably have captured the person of their inveterate foe. That no such attempt was made is a subject of fervent exultation with Mussulman writers. Aurungzebe gained Ahmednugger in safety; and, when pitching his camp on the same spot whence it had marched in so much pomp and power twenty years before, he sorrowfully remarked, that his campaigns were ended—his last earthly journey completed. He had now entered the fiftieth year of his reign, and the eighty-ninth of his age; but the extreme temperance and regularity which characterised his physical existence, had preserved his faculties in an

* Among the many letters extant, written by Aurungzebe, are several addressed to Zulfikar Khan, desiring him to search for hidden treasures, and hunt out any that may have fallen into the hands of individuals, that means may be afforded to silence "the infernal foot-soldiers," who were croaking like the tenants of an invaded rookery.

† Khafi Khan.—(*Vide* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 544.)

extraordinary degree of perfection.* Yet to him, freedom from the imbecility frequently attendant on extreme age was rather a curse than a blessing. The few sands still remaining in his measure of life would, he feared, be rudely shaken by the ambition of his heirs, and, to avoid this danger, he made a last exertion of power by sending away his favourite son, Kaumbuksh, to Beejapoor, and preventing Mauzim (then in Cabool) or Azim (in Guzerat) from coming to Ahmednuggur. His own children could not be trusted to minister to their aged father, although, in this awful period, he seems to have had a newly-awakened yearning for human sympathy. Death was fast approaching; and what provision had he made for the stability of the empire, the welfare of the people, the salvation of his own soul? After his decease, which took place in February, 1707, a will† was found beneath his pillow, decreeing the division of the empire among his sons: but he probably foresaw the little attention which would be paid to it, and might reasonably have adopted the saying of another crooked politician, "*Après moi le déluge.*" His subjects—at least the Mussulman portion—he commends to the care of his sons, in his farewell letters, as a charge committed to them by God himself; and then proceeds to give vent, in disconnected sentences, to the terrible apprehensions before which his spirit shrank in dismay. "Wherever I look," writes the dying emperor, "I see nothing but the Deity. I know nothing of myself—what I am—and for what I am destined. The instant which passed in power hath left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire," he adds, in the same tone of remorse rather than repentance. * * * "I have committed many crimes; and know not with what punishments I may be seized. The agonies of death come upon me fast. Farewell! farewell! farewell!"‡

It has been shown that, during the latter part of the reign of Aurungzebe, the empire was manifestly losing its coherent power. After his death, strife, luxury, and corruption in the court; disorganization in the camp, and discontent among the people;§

* Khafi Khan says, "none of his five senses were at all impaired, except his hearing in a small degree; but not so that others could perceive it." Aurungzebe possessed, in perfection, what Lytton Bulwer, following a French proverb, calls the twin secrets for wearing well—"a bad heart and a good digestion."

† A previous will contained directions for his funeral, the expense of which was to be defrayed by a sum, equal to ten shillings, saved from the price of caps which he had made and sold: 805 rupees, gained by copying the Koran, were to be distributed among the poor. (Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii., p. 551.)

‡ These remarkable and well-authenticated letters contain many characteristic and interesting passages: for instance, "the camp and followers, helpless and alarmed, are like myself—full of affliction, restless as the quicksilver. The complaints of the unpaid troops are as before. * * * The fever has left me; but nothing of me remains but skin and bone. My back is bent with weakness; my feet have lost the power of motion. * * * The Begum [his daughter] appears afflicted; but God is the only judge of hearts." To Kaumbuksh he says, "Odiporee, your mother, was a partner in my illness, and wishes to accompany me in death; but everything has its appointed time."—(Scott's *History of the Deccan*, vol. i., pp. 8 and 9.) According to Tod, this lady was a princess, not of Oudipoor, but of Kishenghur, a minor division of Joudpoor.

§ As in the Deccan, so also throughout Hindoostan, we can only form an idea of the condition of the mass of the people by an incidental remark, scattered here and there, amid many weary pages filled with details of invasion and slaughter, pomp and intrigue. The Mussulman writers were usually pensioners of the monarch, whose deeds they chronicled; the Hindoo annalists were the bards of the leading families, of which they formed important and cherished members. Neither the one nor the other could be expected to rise above the class of mere annalists. To have given a true and lively picture of the actual state of the Indian population under Moslem rule, would have tasked to the utmost the intellect of a philosopher, the zeal of a philanthropist, the courage of a martyr. And to whom should an historian, thus richly gifted, have addressed himself? Would either the degraded Hindoo or the sensual Mohammedan have cared to trace "the practical operation of a despotic government, and rigorous and sanguinary laws, or the effect, upon the great body of the nation, of these injurious influences and agencies."—(Preface to Elliot's *Bibliographical Index of Historians of Mohammedan India.*) No; for to Christianity alone belongs the high prerogative of teaching men to appreciate justly their rights, duties, and responsibilities. Even with her teaching, the lesson is one which nations are slow to learn. Concerning the reign of Aurungzebe, we know less than of many of his predecessors; because he not only left no autobiography behind him, but even, for a considerable number of years, forbade the ordinary chronicling of events. Of the wretchedness prevailing among the people, and the indignation with which the imposition of the jezia was generally regarded, a forcible representation is given in a letter, addressed by Raj Sing of Oudipoor (wrongly attributed by Orme to Jeswunt Sing of Marwar) to Aurungzebe, in which he reminds him of the prosperity attendant on the mild conduct of Akber, Jehangeer, and Shah Jehan towards the Hindoos, and points out the opposite results of the present harsh measures, in the alienation of much territory, and the devastation and rapine which universally prevailed. "Your subjects," he says, "are trampled under foot, and every province of your empire is impoverished; depopulation spreads, and difficulties accumulate. * * * The soldiery are murmuring; the merchants complaining; the Mohammedans discontented; the Hin-

fostered by the imposition of the jezia and excessive imposts upon land, grew apace, and the power of the great Moguls crumbled into ruins, its decay being hastened by the rapid increase of the Mahratta nation; the struggles of the Rajpoots for independence; the irruption of the Sikhs; and the desolating invasion of the Persian monarch, Nadir Shah. The career of the successors of Aurungzebe need be but briefly narrated, since their reigns are not of sufficient interest to occupy space which can be ill-spared from more important matters; beside which, the leading events of the eighteenth century will again come into notice in sketching the marvellous rise of the English from humble traders to lords paramount of India.

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*Bahadur Shah.**—Prince Mauzim, the rightful heir to the throne, on receiving tidings of his father's decease, assumed the crown at Cabool with the title of Bahadur Shah, and offered to confirm to his brothers the territorial possessions bequeathed to them by Aurungzebe: viz., to Azim—Agra, with all the country to the south and south-west; to Kaumbuksh—Beejapoor and Golconda. The generous and upright character of Bahadur Shah warranted belief in his good faith; but Azim, who, on the death of the emperor, had hastened to the camp, from which he was not far distant, and caused himself to be proclaimed sovereign of the whole empire, could not be prevailed upon to retract this unwarrantable pretension.

Despite the exhausted state of the kingdom, very large armies were assembled on both sides, and a sanguinary contest took place to the south of Agra, in which Prince Azim and his two grown-up sons were slain. The third, a child, was taken by the soldier who decapitated his father, as he lay senseless in his howdah, and carried into the presence of the emperor, together with the bloody trophy of victory, the head of Azim. Bahadur Shah burst into tears, and strove to pacify the weeping boy with caresses, promising to treat him as one of his own children, a pledge he faithfully redeemed, in spite of the jealous insinuations of his own sons. In this important battle the valour and ability of Monaim Khan, who had been Bahadur Shah's chief officer in Cabool, were very conspicuous. Concealing his own dangerous and painful wounds, he remained on the field till late at night to restore order and prevent plunder; and then, perfectly exhausted, was lifted from his elephant, and carried into the presence of the emperor, by whom he was appointed vizier. Zulfikar Khan and his father, Assud Khan, who had at first taken part with Prince Azim, quitted his camp, disgusted by his arrogance, before the late engagement, of which they had remained spectators. On presenting themselves with fettered hands before the emperor, they were gladly welcomed, and appointed to high positions.

Prince Kaumbuksh, a vain and flighty young man, persisted in refusing to acknowledge the supremacy of his elder brother, who, after repeated attempts at negotiation, which were rejected with scorn and defiance, marched against him to the Deccan, and was again victor in a battle near Hyderabad. Kaumbuksh died of his wounds the same day; his children fell into the hands of their uncle, by whom they were treated as kindly as their orphan cousin.† The next important event was a truce with the Mahrattas, among whom internal dissensions had arisen, owing to the release of Shao (by Prince Azim, immediately after his father's death), and the disputed succession between him and the son of Tara Bye, whose claims, although an idiot, were actively upheld by his ambitious mother. The ascendancy of Shao was recognised by the Mogul government, and the chout, or fourth, of the revenues of the Deccan conceded to him. The Rajpoots were likewise permitted to make peace on very favourable terms. The territory cap-

doos destitute; and multitudes of people, wretched even to the want of their nightly meal, are beating their heads throughout the day in want and destitution. How can the dignity of the sovereign be preserved who employs his power in exacting tribute from a people thus miserably reduced?"—(Orme's *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*, p. 252.) Aurungzebe's persecution of his Hindoo subjects consisted in pecuniary exactions and systematic discouragement: they were excluded from office, their fairs and festivals forbidden, and even some of their temples destroyed; but bodily suffering was rarely, if ever, inflicted from mere bigotry; and capital punishments, for any offence whatever, were infrequent.

* Sometimes entitled Alum Shah Bahadur.

† Eradut Khan, one of the many rebellious nobles, who, after the defeat of Azim, were freely pardoned, says, that the sons of the fallen princes were always permitted to appear fully armed before the emperor, to accompany him daily in the chase, and share in all his diversions. Seventeen princes—his sons, grandsons, and nephews, sat round his throne: the royal captives of Beejapoor and Golconda were likewise suffered to take their place immediately behind the royal princes; and a crowd of the high nobility daily thronged "the platform between the silver rails."—(Scott's *Deccan*, vol. ii., p. 49.)

tured from the rana of Oudipoor was restored, and he became again independent in all but name. Ajeet Sing, the rajah of Marwar, and Jey Sing, of Jeypoor, appear to have obtained nearly similar advantages, but rather from necessity than good-will, since the emperor was about to advance against them, when his attention was diverted by intelligence of the capture of Sirhind by the Sikhs. These people, from an inoffensive, religious sect, founded about the end of the fifteenth century by a Hindoo named Nanuk,* had been changed by persecution into fanatical warriors. When driven from the neighbourhood of Lahore, which had been their original seat, they took refuge in the northern mountains, A.D. 1606, and there remained for nearly seventy years, until the accession of Guru Govind, the tenth spiritual chief from Nanuk. This leader conceived the idea of forming the Sikhs into a religious and military commonwealth. To increase their numbers, he abolished all distinction of caste, and all prohibitions regarding food or drink, except the slaughter of kine, which was strictly forbidden. Hindoo idols and Brahmins were to be respected, but the usual forms of worship were set aside. All converts were admitted to a perfect equality, and were expected to take a vow to fight for the cause, always to carry steel in some part of the person, to wear blue clothes, allow the head and beard to grow, and neither clip nor remove the hair on any part of the body.

The Sikhs fought desperately, but were too few in number to accomplish the plans of resistance and revenge planned by Guru Govind, who, after beholding his strongholds taken, his mother and children massacred, his followers slain, mutilated, or dispersed, was himself assassinated by a private enemy. To his spiritual authority, as Guru, no successor was appointed. The temporal command of the infuriated Sikhs was assumed by a Hindoo ascetic, named Bandu, under whose leadership they overran the east of the Punjaub, and, true to their vengeful motto of unceasing enmity to the Mohammedans, not only destroyed the mosques and slaughtered the moollahs, but massacred the population of whole towns, sparing neither age nor sex, and even disinterring the bodies of the dead, and exposing them as food for carrion. The chief seat of these atrocities was Sirhind, which they occupied after defeating the governor in a pitched battle: they subsequently retired to the country on the upper course of the Sutlej, whence they made marauding incursions, extending to the neighbourhood of Lahore on the one side, and of Delhi on the other.

Bahadur Shah marched against them in 1711, and soon obliged them to take refuge in the hills, where they long continued to struggle against the imperial force. Bandu was at last shut up in a fort, which was strictly blockaded; but the Sikhs continued the defence until large numbers perished of hunger, and then made a desperate sally, upon which the enemy took possession of the fort without further resistance; but Bandu escaped through the self-devotion of one of his followers, by whom he was personated.†

After this success, the emperor took his departure; but the Sikhs had received only a temporary check; and their power was again in the ascendant, when Bahadur Shah expired suddenly at Lahore (not without suspicion of poison), in the seventy-first (lunar) year of his age, and the fifth of his reign, A.D. 1712.

Jehandar Shah.—On the death of the emperor, a deadly conflict commenced between his four sons, in which three perished—the eldest ascending the throne, notwithstanding his well-known incapacity, by the aid of Zulfikar Khan, who had taken part with him from ambitious motives, hoping to govern absolutely under the name of vizier. All the princes of the blood, whose persons were within reach, were slain, to secure the authority of the new ruler. But this iniquity only served to heighten the hatred and disgust

* The beauty of Nanuk, when a mere boy, attracted the attention of a learned and wealthy Seyed, who caused him to be educated and instructed in the doctrines of Islam. As he grew up, Nanuk extended his reading, collected maxims alike from the Koran and the Vedas, and endeavoured to unite Mohammedan and Hindoo doctrines on the basis of the unity of God. Converts flocked around him, taking the name of Sikhs (*the instructed*), and giving to their preceptor the name and authority of Guru (*spiritual chief.*) The doctrines of the sect were gradually embodied in sacred volumes called *Grunths*, and the Sikhs silently increased; until, in 1606, the Moslem government took offence at their leading tenet—that the form of worship offered to the Deity was immaterial—and put to death their existing chief, whereupon the Sikhs took up arms under his son, Hur Govind.—(H. T. Prinsep's *Sikh Power.*)

† Though struck by the generosity of the impostor, Bahadur is said to have nevertheless sent him prisoner, in an iron cage, to Delhi, an act singularly at variance with his compassionate nature.

excited by the pride and tyranny of Zulfikar Khan, and the vices and follies of his imperial *protégé*, who lavished honours upon his favourite mistress (originally a public dancer), and promoted her relations, although, like herself, of a most discreditable class, to the highest dignities in the state. Dissatisfaction prevailed throughout the court, when tidings arrived that Ferokshеer (the son of one of the fallen princes whom Jehandar had vainly striven to get into his power) had prevailed upon two Seyed* brothers, the governors of Behar and Allahabad, to espouse his cause; and having, by their aid, assembled an army, was now marching towards Agra. Jehandar and Zulfikar met the invaders, at the head of 70,000 men; but, being defeated, the emperor fled in disguise to Delhi, and took refuge in the house of Assud Khan. The treacherous old man made him a prisoner, and persuaded Zulfikar (who arrived soon after, with the remaining troops) to make terms with the conqueror, by the surrender of their unfortunate master. The father and son then presented themselves to Ferokshеer, with fettered hands, as they had done to his grandfather, Bahadur Shah, some six years before, but with a very different result. Zulfikar and Jehandar were strangled with a leathern thong, after which their bodies were fastened to an elephant, and dragged through the leading thoroughfares of Delhi, followed by the wretched Assud Khan, and all the female members of his family, in covered carriages. Thus ended the nine months' sway of Jehandar Shah, A.D. 1713.

Ferokshеer's first act of sovereignty was to appoint the Seyed brothers to the highest offices in the empire—the elder, Abdullah Khan, being made vizier; the younger, Hussein Ali, ameer ool omra, or commander-in-chief. He next proceeded to remove from his path, by the bow-string, such of the old nobility as might be disposed to combine against him; and the same instrument was freely used among the remaining members of the royal family, including even his own infant brothers. These cruelties were sure indications of a suspicious and cowardly nature; and, as might be expected, his distrust was soon excited against the very persons by whom he had been raised to the throne. The consequence was, that his whole reign was a continued, though long-disguised struggle with the two Seyeds, whose watchfulness and confidence in each other rendered them eventually victorious.† Ferokshеer endeavoured to weaken, by dividing them; and, for this end, sent Hussein against Ajeet Sing, of Marwar, to whom a private intimation was forwarded, that the emperor would be well-pleased by the defeat and death of his own general. The plot failed; for the parties immediately concerned wisely consulted their mutual interest, by making a speedy peace, and Hussein returned to court, bearing with him the daughter of the rajah, to be the bride of his ungrateful sovereign. The nuptials were celebrated on a scale of extraordinary magnificence; but were no sooner terminated, than Hussein Ali was sent to the Deccan, ostensibly to prosecute hostilities against the Mahrattas. Daud Khan Panni, an Afghan commander, renowned for reckless courage, received orders to join Hussein, and, under pretence of co-operation, to take the first opportunity of effecting his destruction. But the agent selected to carry this nefarious scheme into execution was ill-chosen. Daud Khan, though well-disposed to revenge the death of his old patron, Zulfikar Khan,‡ would not stoop to stab in the dark; he therefore set the Seyed at defiance, engaged him as an open enemy, and, by the impetuosity of his charge, had nearly triumphed, when a ball pierced his brain, and at once changed the fortune of the day. Hussein Ali proceeded to execute his commission against the Mahrattas, without openly attributing

* Lineal descendants of Mohammed.

† The mother of Ferokshеer had taken a leading part in persuading the Seyed brothers, for the sake of her husband who had befriended them, to uphold her son; and had sworn upon the Koran, that if they would do so, no plot should ever be formed against them, of which she, if cognizant, would not give them immediate information. This pledge was conscientiously redeemed, and her timely warning more than once preserved their lives.—*Vide* Col. Briggs' revised translation of the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*—(Manners of the Moderns), a work comprising the history of the greater part of the eighteenth century, written in a very clear and interesting manner, by Mir Gholam Hussein, a Delhi noble. Mr. St. George Tucker, late chairman of the East India Company, who met him repeatedly at Gya Behar, in 1786–'7, alludes to him as "the finest specimen of a nobleman I had ever seen."—(*Tucker's Life and Correspondence*, edited by J. W. Kaye, vol. i., p. 40.)

‡ Zulfikar Khan, on receiving the appointment of viceroy of the Deccan, had been permitted to reside at court, leaving Daud Khan as his representative, or, as it was then termed, *naik subuh-dar*, deputy viceroy. He was himself succeeded, in 1713, by Cheen Kilich Khan (afterwards well-known under the titles of Nizam-ool-Moolk and Asuf Jah), who was in turn removed by Hussein Ali.

to the emperor the opposition which he had encountered, and sent a strong detachment against a chief named Dabari, who had established a line of fortified villages in Candeish, and by his depredations on caravans, shut up the great road from Hindoostan and the Deccan to Surat. While one portion of the imperial troops was thus employed, another was dispatched against the Sikhs, who had renewed their ravages with increased fury. Bandu was defeated, captured, and put to death in a most barbarous manner, and a large number of his followers were slaughtered in cold blood.* Those who remained at large were hunted down like wild beasts, and a considerable time elapsed before they became again formidable. In the Deccan the Moguls were less successful: the Mahrattas practised their usual tactics of evacuating assaulted positions, and leading their foes, by the oft-repeated expedient of a pretended flight, among hilly and broken ground, where they were easily separated and defeated in detail, many being cut to pieces, and others stripped of their horses, arms, and even clothes. This inauspicious campaign was at length brought to a discreditable conclusion; for Hussein Ali, determined at any cost to rejoin his brother at Delhi, made a treaty with Rajah Shao, acknowledging his claim to the whole of the territory possessed by Sevajee, with the addition of later conquests, and authorising not only the levy of the chout, or fourth, over the whole of the Deccan, but also of surdeshmooki,† or one-tenth of the remaining revenue. In return, Shao was to pay a tribute of ten lacs of rupees; to furnish a contingent of 16,000 horse; to preserve the tranquillity of the country; and to be answerable for any loss occasioned by depredations, from whatever quarter.

As Shao was at this time engaged in civil war, it was manifest that he could but very imperfectly perform his part of this extraordinary agreement, since a considerable portion of the country recognised as his, was really in possession of the hostile party. Feroksheer refused to ratify the treaty; but Hussein Ali gained his point, by returning to Delhi, where his presence was much needed by his brother, Abdullah Khan. This noble, though a man of talent, was indolent, and devoted to the pleasures of the seraglio; he therefore delegated the business of the vizierat almost wholly to his deputy, a Hindoo named Ruttun Chand, whose strict measures, arbitrary temper, and zeal for the Brahminical faith, aggravated the jealous feelings with which his administration was regarded by the Mussulman nobility. Of this state of affairs Feroksheer endeavoured to take advantage, by forming a combination of the chief persons to whom the vizier was known to have given offence. Among these were Jey Sing, of Jeypoor,‡ Cheen Kilich Khan, and others of importance, who entered warmly into the matter; but the irresolution and timidity of the emperor, together with the continued preference which he evinced, even at this critical period, for incapable and profligate advisers, disgusted and disheartened the nobles who were inclined to take part with him, and all except Jey Sing deserted his cause,§ and made their peace with the vizier, from whom Cheen Kilich Khan re-

* The majority were executed on the field of battle; but 740 were sent to Delhi, and after being paraded through the streets on camels, were beheaded on seven successive days, having firmly rejected the offer of life, on condition of belying their religious opinions. Bandu was exhibited in an iron cage, clad in a robe of cloth-of-gold and a scarlet turban: around him were the heads of his followers, fixed on pikes; and even a dead cat was stuck up to indicate the extirpation of everything belonging to him. On his refusal to stab his own infant, the child was slaughtered before his eyes, and its heart forced into his mouth. The wretched father was then torn to pieces with hot irons, and died defying his persecutors, and exulting in the belief that he had been raised up to scourge the iniquity and oppression of the age.—(Scott's *History of the Deccan.*)

† The Desmookh, literally *chief of the district*, was an hereditary officer under the Hindoo government, who received a portion of the revenue in money or in kind; "and," says General Briggs, "in the local or modern appellations of Dessavi, Nat Gour, Natumkur, Naidu, Dessye, Desmookh, and Zemindar, we recognise the same person, from Ceylon to Cashmere, to the present day."—(Note to *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, p. 146.) It was as compensation for an hereditary claim of this description, *purchased* by Shahjee, that his son Sevajee stipulated with Aurungzebe for certain assignments on the Beejapoor revenue as early as 1666.—(Grant Duff, vol. i., p. 497.)

‡ This chieftain had been employed against the Jats, whom, after a long course of operations, he had succeeded in reducing to extremities; when the vizier opened a direct negotiation with them, in a manner considered very derogatory to the honour of the Rajpoot general. The cause of offence to Cheen Kilich Khan was his removal from the viceroyalty of the Deccan to the petty government of Moradabad.—(Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii., p. 580.)

§ In marching through Amber, Hussein Ali, to punish the fidelity of Jey Sing to the emperor, gave full scope to the rapacity of the soldiery, who ravaged the land and carried away many persons, of both sexes, into captivity.—(*Siyar-ul-Mutakherin.*)

ceived large promises of increased rank and influence, in return for co-operation against Ferokshecr, whose doom was now sealed by the arrival of Hussein Ali, at the head of an army devoted to him, and strengthened by 10,000 Mahrattas. Hussein immediately demanded the dismissal of Jey Sing to his own principality. Feroksheer complied, and strove to deprecate the vengeance of his enemies by the most abject submission, giving no encouragement to the few nobles who were still inclined to take part with him. All was gloom and uncertainty, when the townspeople suddenly rose against the Mahrattas, upon which the Seyeds, taking advantage of the disturbance, marched into the city, forcibly occupied the palace, and wrung by torture, from the women of the seraglio, a knowledge of the hiding-place of the unhappy emperor, who was seized, flung into a dark closet, and soon afterwards put to death in a cruel and insulting manner. The body was then buried in that general receptacle for the murdered princes of the house of Timur—the sepulchre of Humayun: but the people evinced an unlooked-for degree of grief; and of the needy multitude who followed the funeral procession, no one could be induced to accept the money brought for distribution, or partake of the victuals prepared in conformity to custom. Three days afterwards a number of poor persons assembled at the place where the corpse had been washed and perfumed, according to Mussulman rites, and having distributed a large quantity of food, sent for several readers of the Koran, with whom they passed the whole night in tears and lamentations, separating in the morning in an orderly manner.

"Oh, wonderful God!" exclaims Khafi Khan, in concluding the above narration, "how did thy Divine justice manifest itself in the several events of this revolution! Feroksheer, in his days of power, had strangled his own brothers, yet in their tender years: he had murdered numbers of innocent persons, and blinded others; and he was, therefore, destined to suffer all these cruelties before he was permitted to die: he was doomed to experience, from the hands of strangers, all those agonies which others had suffered at his. Nor did the two brothers escape the day of retribution, or go themselves unpunished: in a little time they met with that same usage which they had inflicted on others."*

During their remaining tenure of prosperity, the Seyeds exercised unlimited power. Upon the deposition of Feroksheer, a sickly prince of the blood-royal was brought forth from the seraglio, and crowned under the name of *Rafi-ed-derjut*. He died of consumption in little more than three months, and his younger brother, *Rafi-ed-dowlah*, being set up in his stead, fell a victim to the same disease in a still shorter period.

Mohammed Shah was the title bestowed by "the king-makers" on *Roshen-akhter*, grandson to Bahadur Shah, whom they raised to the throne on the death of Rafi-ed-dowlah. This prince, now in his eighteenth year, had been educated, like his predecessors, in enervating seclusion; but he possessed an able counsellor in his mother, who enjoined the most unhesitating acquiescence with the will of his imperious protectors, until the time should arrive when he might safely defy their anger. The desired opportunity was not long in presenting itself. The decease of the two pageant emperors so soon after the murder of Feroksheer (although really not the interest of the Seyeds, but the reverse), had served to deepen the distrust and dislike with which they were generally regarded;† and in Allahabad, Boondi, and the Punjaub, efforts were made to take advantage of a government which was daily becoming weaker. In Cashmere, a furious contest took place between the Hindoos and Mussulmans, provoked by the persecuting and insulting conduct of the latter, in which some thousand lives and much property were destroyed before the authorities could restore tranquillity. But the most important event of this period was the revolt of Cheen Kilich Khan, the governor of Malwa. This chief, whose descendants were the famous Nizams‡ of the Deccan, is better known by his titles of Nizam-ool-Moolk or Asuf Jah, by which he will henceforth be indiscriminately

* Vide *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, vol. i., p. 193. From using such language respecting two Seyeds, Khafi Khan was evidently a Sonnite or Sunni (*see* note to p. 62); and disputes between this sect and the Sheiahs had risen to an alarming height during the late reign, a violent affray having taken place between them in the capital. In Ahmedabad, a still more serious contest, in which many lives were lost, had occurred between the Hindoos and the Mussulmans, in which the governor (Daud Khan Panni) took part with the former.

† *Rafi-ed-derjut* was said to have been poisoned for attempting to contravene the will of the Seyeds.

‡ Nizam-ool-Moolk, signifies *regulator of the state*, "the Nizam," though scarcely a correct expression, is commonly used by European writers to this day.

termed. His father, a Turk, had been a favourite officer with Aurungzebe, under whom he had himself served with distinction. The waywardness of Ferokshcer had induced him to take part with the Seyeds, from whom he received the government of Malwa; but their evident weakness tempted his ambition, and induced him to levy troops, and attempt the establishment of an independent power in the Deccan. Marching to the Nerbudda, he obtained possession of the fortress of Aseerghur, by the simple expedient of furnishing the garrison their two years' arrears of pay; the citadel of Boorhanpoor was acquired in a somewhat similar manner; and many Deccani officers, both Mussulman and Mahratta, joined the invader. Two armies were dispatched against him from Malwa and Aurungabad; but Asuf Jah, knowing the impetuous character of one of the commanders (Dilawur Khan), drew him into an engagement before he could be supported by his colleague, Alum Ali (a nephew of the two Seyeds); and both forces were separately engaged and defeated, with the loss of their respective leaders.

Much alarm was created at Delhi by the tidings of these disasters; and a violent earthquake, which occurred about this time, deepened the gloom of the political horizon. The usurping brothers shared the general feeling; and the young emperor, though closely watched, began to form plans of deliverance from his wearisome tutelage, being aided in this perilous enterprise by a nobleman, named Mohammed Ameen Khan, with whom he conversed in Turki, a language unknown to the Indian Seyeds. A party was secretly formed, in which the second place was occupied by Sadut Khan, originally a merchant of Khorasan, who had risen to a military position, and eventually became the progenitor of the kings of Oude. These combinations were not unsuspected by the brothers, between whom it was at length resolved that the younger, Hussein Ali, should march against Asuf Jah, carrying with him the emperor and certain nobles, leaving Abdullah at Delhi to watch over their joint interests. Shortly after their separation, Hussein Ali was stabbed in his palanquin while reading a petition presented to him by the assassin (a Calmuck of rank), who immediately fell under the daggers of the attendants, A.D. 1720. Abdullah, on learning his brother's death, set up a new emperor, and hastily assembling a large but ill-disciplined force, marched against Mohammed Shah, who had now assumed the reins of government. Choraman, chief or rajah of the Jats (whose number and influence had thriven amid the general disorganisation), joined the vizier, while Jey Sing sent 4,000 men to reinforce Mohammed, who was further strengthened by some chiefs of the Rohilla Afghans, a tribe now rapidly rising into importance. The armies met between Delhi and Agra, a cruel signal being given for the commencement of the conflict. Ruttun Chand having been seized immediately after the murder of Hussein Ali, was severely beaten and kept in chains until the day dawned on which the decisive encounter was to take place. Then, when "the trumpets sounded and the heralds had published three times, as usual, that courage in war is safer than cowardice," the prisoner was decapitated, and his body fastened to the elephant on which Mahommed Shah sat, in the centre of his troops, throughout the whole of the ensuing day and night, which the contest occupied. Abdullah Khan was at length defeated and made prisoner, having received several severe wounds, of which he died in the course of a few months. Mohammed Shah entered Delhi in triumph: the empress-mother received him at the entrance of the haram, bearing a basin filled with gems and new coins, which she poured over his head, as a "wave-offering" of joy and thanksgiving. The puppet-prince, crowned by Abdullah Khan, was sent back to his former seclusion, happy in thus escaping punishment for the part which he had been made to bear in the late events. Mohammed Ameen Khan became vizier, but had scarcely entered upon the duties of his office, before he was taken ill, and died, after a few hours of extreme agony.* Asuf Jah was appointed as his

* He appears to have been poisoned; but popular belief assigned a different cause for his death. An impostor, named Nemud, had established himself at Delhi, and promulgated a new scripture, written in a language of his own invention, framed from those spoken in ancient Persia, and had founded a sect, of which the teachers were called Bekooks, and the disciples, Feraboods. The influence of the new pretender increased. His proceedings induced Ameen to issue orders for his apprehension; but before they could be executed, the vizier was taken ill, and his alarmed family, believing the wrath of Nemud to be the cause of this sudden attack, endeavoured, by gifts and entreaties, to avert his vengeance; but could obtain no other answer than—that the arrow being shot, could not be recalled. He was, nevertheless, left undisturbed, and died about three years after.—(*Siyar-ul-Mutakherin.*)

successor,* it being hoped that his abilities might prop up the falling monarchy. He did not, however, choose to leave the Deccan until his arrangements with the Mahrattas should be placed on a satisfactory footing. Meanwhile Mohammed was left to make his own terms with Ajeet Sing, whom he had offended by breaking his secret pledge, that as the reward of the rajah's neutrality, with regard to the Seyeds, he should receive the government of Ajmeer, in addition to that of Guzerat, which he already possessed. But the hour of peril having passed, its engagements were forgotten; not only was Ajmeer withheld, but Ajeet Sing was removed from Guzerat, upon which, assembling a large army of Rajpoots, he occupied Ajmeer, plundered Narnol, and marched within fifty miles of Delhi, the emperor being at length glad to compromise the matter by confirming him in the possession of Ajmeer. This happened at the close of 1721: in the beginning of the following year, Asuf Jah arrived in Delhi, and beheld with dismay the shameless dissipation which prevailed there. Corruption and intrigue were venial sins, if not necessary expedients, in the sight of a diplomatist brought up at the court of Aurungzebe; but indolence and sensuality were vices of a class which Asuf Jah held in well-merited abhorrence. It would seem as if the emperor had by this time cast off the salutary influence of his mother, since, among the circumstances that excited the stern reprobation of the vizier, was that of the royal signet being entrusted to the care of a favourite mistress, who accumulated a large fortune by means of the petitions she was suffered to carry within the seraglio. The dissolute companions of the young monarch cordially reciprocated the dislike of the minister, and, from mimicking the antiquated dress and formal manners of "the old Deccani baboon," as they insolently termed him, soon began to form serious conspiracies, which, he perceiving, quitted Delhi on pretence of a hunting excursion, and then sent in his resignation of the vizierat. Returning to the Deccan, he assumed the full powers of an independent ruler; still, however, affecting to recognise the supremacy of Mohammed Shah, who, with equal duplicity, returned this empty compliment, by conferring on him the highest titles that could be held by a subject; but, at the same time, sent secret orders to Mubariz Khan, the local governor of Hyderabad, to endeavour to dispossess Asuf Jah, and assume the vice-royalty of the Deccan. Mubariz perished in the attempt; and Asuf Jah, not to be out-done in dissimulation, sent his head to the emperor, with presents and congratulations on the suppression of the rebellion. Then, fixing his abode at Hyderabad, he strove to secure himself against the aggression of the Mahrattas, by various manœuvres, alternately endeavouring to direct their efforts against the Delhi court, or fomenting their own internal divisions. Considerable changes had taken place since the reign of Bahadur Shah. The idiot son of Tara Bye died in 1712, and a party set up the claims of Sumba, a child of the younger widow of Rajah Ram. In the struggle between the cousins, Shao acquired the superiority by the favour of the Moguls, and maintained it through the abilities of his minister, Balajee Wiswanath (the founder of the Brahmin dynasty of Peishwas), who, shortly before his death, in 1720, obtained from Mohammed Shah a ratification of the treaty made with Hussein Ali Khan in 1717. Chout and surdeshmooki being thus made legal claims, Balajee demanded, on account of the former, one-fourth of the standard assessment fixed by Todar Mul and Malek Amber; but, as of this only a small portion could now be realised from the exhausted country, the best that could be done was to secure at least 25 per cent. of the actual receipts. The latter claim, styled the rajah's *wutun*, or inheritance, it suited both the foreign and domestic policy of the Mahrattas to keep undefined; "but," says Grant Duff, "one system in practice—that of exacting as much as they could, was as simple as it was invariable."† The revenue thus acquired was parcelled out by Balajee in assignments on various districts, and distributed among different chiefs, in such a manner as to give each an interest in the increase of the general stock, while to none was allotted a compact property calculated to tempt its holder into forming plans of independence. This was the general rule; but some Mahrattas were already landed proprietors, and others were occasionally permitted to become so. The complicated state of affairs which naturally resulted from the above arrangements, rendered the illiterate chiefs more than ever dependent on their carcoons, or Brahmin

* *Asuf Jah* signifies "in place and rank, as Asuf," who is supposed to have been Solomon's vizier.

† *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 454.

clerks.* The power of the peishwas grew with that of their caste; and from being second† in the counsels of the rajah, they became paramount even over their nominal master, to which result, the talents and energy of Bajee Rao, the son and successor of Balajee, greatly contributed. This remarkable man united to the enterprise and vigour of a Mahratta chief‡ the polished manners and address which frequently distinguish the Brahmins of the Concan. He saw clearly that the predatory hordes, so useful in an enemy's country, would prove ungovernable at home; and, therefore, urged their immediate employment in invading the northern provinces. Shao hesitated: brought up in a Mussulman seraglio, he had retained little of the restless spirit of his countrymen; but when Bajee Rao pointed out the weakness of the Mogul empire, adding, "now is our time to drive strangers from the land of the Hindoos—let us strike at the trunk of the withering tree, the branches must fall of themselves," the rajah, roused to enthusiasm by the prophecy that his standard should fly from the Kistna to the Attock, exclaimed—"You shall plant it on the Himalaya, noble son of a worthy father."§ These ambitious projects were materially forwarded by the disputes between the emperor and Asuf Jah. The latter, while vizier, had obtained possession of the government of Guzerat; but was deprived of it, as also of Malwa, after his return to the Deccan. In Guzerat, Hameed Khan (Asuf's uncle and deputy) resisted the occupation of the newly-appointed governor, Sirbuland Khan, and called in the aid of the Mahrattas (A.D. 1725), giving, in return, the chout and surdeshmooki of the country under him, which grant, Sirbuland Khan, though victorious over Hameed, was eventually obliged to confirm.|| Bajee Rao, about the same time, made incursions into Malwa, entrusting the chief commands to the afterwards famous leaders, Puar, Holcar, and Sindia.¶

The nizam (Asuf Jah), beheld with alarm the growing power of the peishwa, which he strove to undermine in various ways. But secret plots and open hostility alike failed;** and fearing that the emperor might be disposed to revenge his insubordination, by transferring the viceroyalty to his powerful foe, he changed his policy, and made overtures to Bajee Rao, which produced the mutual good understanding necessary to the immediate plans of both parties.

The presence of the peishwa was now needed for the support of the Mahratta interest in Guzerat, the court of Delhi having refused to ratify the grant made by Sirbuland Khan, who had been dismissed from the government, and forcibly expelled by his successor, Abhi Sing, rajah of Joudpoor, the unnatural son of the brave Ajeet Sing.†† Pilajee Guicowar (the ancestor of the family still ruling in Guzerat) repre-

* "Bajee Rao," says Grant Duff, "had not leisure to attend to detail or arrangement; the minute divisions which were made of the revenues ceded by the Moguls, served to provide hundreds of Brahmin carcoons with bread; and every one interpreted the amount of his own or his master's claims to Surdeshmooki, Baptee, Mokassa, &c.; rather according to his power to enforce his demands, than his ability to prove their justice."—(Vol. i., p. 568.)

† The *prithee nidhee*, or representative of the rajah, took rank above the eight ministers or *purdhans*, of whom the peishwa was the chief; and Bajee Rao long found a troublesome rival in Sreeput Rao, the prithee nidhee, whose influence with the rajah frequently obliged the peishwa to return to Sattara while engaged in distant expeditions, lest his power should be undermined through prolonged absence.

‡ During his first campaign against Bajee Rao, the nizam, desiring to form an idea of the person of his opponent, desired a famous painter in his service to proceed to the hostile army, and take the likeness of its leader, in whatever attitude he might be first seen. The result was a sketch of the handsome figure of the peishwa, mounted, with the head and heel-ropes of his horse in its feeding-bag, his spear resting on his shoulder, and both hands employed in rubbing some ears of ripening grain (the common *joowaree*), which he ate as he rode.

§ Duff's *Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 486.

|| In 1729, he granted deeds, ceding ten per cent. (*surdeshmooki*) of the whole revenue, both on the land and customs, with the exception of the port of Surat and the district around it; together with one-fourth (*chout*) of the whole collections on the land and customs, excepting Surat; and five per cent. on the revenues of the city of Ahmedabad.—(Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 514.)

¶ Udajee Puar was a chief before his connection with the peishwa. Mulhar Rao Holcar was a shepherd on the Neera, south of Poona; and Sindia, though of a respectable family, near Sattara, had acted as a menial servant to Bajee Rao.

** The nizam first affected to doubt whether the money due from his revenues was to be paid to Shao or Sumba; but this question was decided by the treaty which the latter was compelled to sign, accepting, in lieu of all other claims, a tract of country round Kolapoor, bounded on the west by the sea. Asuf Jah next allied himself with a powerful leader, named Dhabari (the hereditary *senaputee*, or commander-in-chief), who had mainly assisted in the establishment of Mahratta power in Guzerat, and viewed with envy the paramount sway of Bajee Rao. Dhabari assembled an army of 35,000 men, and marched against the peishwa, by whom he was defeated and slain, A.D. 1731.

†† Ajeet Sing refusing to sanction the nefarious schemes of the two Seyeds, they sent for his son, and

sented the rights or claims of the Mahrattas in that district; and Abhi Sing, finding him a formidable adversary, procured his removal by assassination. This crime roused the indignation of the countrymen of the deceased: his son and brother appeared in great force; the hill tribes of Bheels and Coolies flocked round their standard; and, beside throwing the whole province into confusion, made a sudden irruption into the hereditary dominions of the Rajpoot governor, who, leaving a very inefficient deputy in Guzerat, withdrew to defend his own principality. In Malwa, the fortune of the Moguls was equally on the decline: Bajee Rao invaded it in person in 1732, and, taking advantage of the hostility between Mohammed Khan Bungush, the viceroy of Malwa and Allahabad,* and the rajah of Bundelcund, whose territory lay between those two provinces, made common cause with the latter, and succeeded in expelling the imperial governor. The Bundelcund rajah, in return for this co-operation, ceded the territory of Jansi, on the Jumna, to the peishwa, and, at his death, bequeathed to him certain rights in Bundelcund, which paved the way to the occupation of the whole of that country by the Mahrattas. Rajah Jey Sing II., of Amber, was now made viceroy of Malwa. This prince, so celebrated for munificence, learning, and love of science,† does not seem to have inherited the Rajpoot passion for war. He considered it hopeless to oppose the partition of the empire, and, therefore, surrendered the province to the peishwa (A.D. 1734), with the tacit concurrence of Mohammed Shah, on whose behalf it was still to be held. By this conduct, Jey Sing is said, by his own countrymen, "to have given the key of Hindoostan to the Southron;" but it is certain that he strove to curb the excesses of the Mahrattas, whose power and influence continued to increase during the two following years, at the expiration of which Bajee Rao, after a short interval spent in arranging the internal affairs of the Deccan, again took up the negotiation, and demanded, as the price of peace, a jaghire, comprising nothing less than the whole province of Malwa, and all the country south of the Chumbul, together with the holy cities of Muttra, Allahabad, and Benares. As the Mahrattas, like many other diplomatists, invariably began by demanding much more than they expected to obtain, the emperor tried to pacify them by minor concessions, including authority to levy tribute on the Rajpoots, and to increase that already legalised on the territories of Asuf Jah. This permission had the doubtless desired effect on the mind of the nizam. Becoming seriously alarmed by the rapid progress of his allies, he thought he had carried his policy of weakening the Moguls too far, and listened gladly to the solicitations of Mohammed Shah, who, overlooking his rebellious conduct, now earnestly desired his assistance. The courtiers, likewise, changing their tone, began to reckon upon the advice of the nizam as that of "an old wolf who had seen much bad weather." Asuf Jah was yet deliberating how to act, when Bajee Rao marched towards the capital, sending a detachment of light troops, under Holcar, to ravage the country beyond the Jumna. Sadut Khan, the governor of Oude, advanced to the defence of the adjoining province; and the check given by this spirited proceeding was magnified into a decided victory, the report of which occasioned excessive rejoicing at Delhi, and so galled Bajee Rao, that avoiding the army sent out to meet him, he advanced at the rate of forty miles daily, being resolved, as he said, to prove to the emperor that he had not been expelled from Hindoostan by showing him flames and Mahrattas at the gates of the capital.‡ As his object was,

informed him that the deposition and death of his father were the only means of averting the destruction of Marwar. By the offer of the independent sovereignty of Nagore, Abhi Sing prevailed on his younger brother, Bukht Sing, to murder their father, who was stabbed while sleeping. The mother of these parricidal sons burnt herself with her husband's body; and no less than eighty-four persons shared her fate; for, says Tod, "so much was Ajeet beloved, that even men devoted themselves on his pyre."—(*Rajast'han*, vol. i., p. 745.)

* Mohammed Khan threw himself into a fort, and was almost driven to surrender at discretion, when his wife sent her veil (the strongest appeal to Afghan honour) to her countrymen in Rohilcund; and by means of the volunteers thus assembled, her husband was rescued and escorted to Allahabad. (Scott, vol. ii.)

† This prince occupied the *gadi*, or cushion of Amber, for forty-four years. When dismissed by Feroksheer (*see* p. 158), he retired to his hereditary dominions, devoting himself to the study of astronomy and history. He built the city of Jeypoor; erected observatories, furnished with instruments of his own invention, at Delhi, Jeypoor, Oojein, Benares, and Mat'hura, upon a scale of Asiatic grandeur; and caused *Euclid's Elements*, the *Treatises on Plain and Spherical Trigonometry*, and *Napier on the Construction and Use of Logarithms*, to be translated into Sanscrit.—(*Rajast'han*, vol. ii., p. 358.)

‡ Duff's *Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 532.

however, to intimidate rather than provoke, he exerted every effort to prevent the devastation of the suburbs by his troops, and, for this purpose, drew off to some distance from the city. This movement being attributed to fear, induced the Moguls to make a sally; but they were driven back with heavy loss. The approach of the imperial forces, and also of Sadut Khan, warned Bajee Rao of the necessity of making good his retreat to the Deccan, which the nizam quitted some months later for Delhi, tempted by the promise not only of the vizierat, but also of the viceroyalty of Malwa and Guzerat, provided he could expel the Mahrattas.

With an army of about 34,000 men under his personal command, supported by a fine train of artillery and a reserve, the nizam advanced to Seronje against his formidable foes, while Bajee Rao crossed the Nerbudda at the head of a nominally-superior force. This circumstance, added perhaps to reliance on his artillery, led Asuf Jah, with characteristic caution, to establish himself in a strong position close to the fort of Bhopal, and there await the enemy. But he ought to have been better acquainted with Mahratta tactics. Seldom formidable in pitched battles, they gladly avoided a decisive encounter, and resorted to their usual plans of laying waste the surrounding country, intercepting all communication, and attacking every detachment that ventured beyond the lines. Dispirited by watching and privation, many of the nizam's troops were inclined to desert; but Bajee Rao gave them no encouragement, well knowing, that so long as the blockade could be secured, the greater the numbers the greater their straits. After the lapse of a month or six weeks, Asuf Jah, straitened for supplies, and completely cut off from the reserve force, attempted a retreat northward, under cover of his powerful artillery, but was so harassed by the Mahrattas as to be compelled to come to terms, and agree, on condition of being suffered to pursue his humiliating march unmolested, to give up Malwa, with the complete sovereignty of all the country from the Nerbudda to the Chumbul, solemnly engaging to use his best endeavours to procure from the emperor a confirmation of this cession, together with a payment of fifty lacs of rupees (£500,000), to defray the peishwa's expenses.* Bajee Rao proceeded to occupy the territory thus acquired; but before the decision of the emperor could be pronounced, an event occurred which, for the time, threw into the shade the internal dissension that mainly contributed to bring upon unhappy Hindoostan so terrible a visitation.

Invasion of Nadir Shah.—The last mention made of Persia was the circumstance of the intended hostilities between Shah Abbas II. and Aurungzebe being broken off by the death of the former monarch in 1666. Since then, great changes had occurred. The Saffavi, or Sophi dynasty, after a duration of two centuries, had fallen into a state of weakness and decay; and Shah Hussein, the last independent sovereign of that race, was defeated and deposed by Mahmood, the leader of the Afghan tribe of Ghiljeis, who usurped the throne of Persia, A.D. 1722. Two years (spent in the unsparing destruction of the wretched Persians, whose numerical superiority was their worst crime in the eyes of their barbarous conquerors) terminated the career of Mahmood: he died raving mad, and was succeeded by his nephew, Ashruf. The new king resisted successfully the assaults of the Russians and Turks, who entered into a confederacy for dismembering Persia, the western provinces of which were to be appropriated by the Porte; the northern, as far as the Araxes, by Peter the Great. The death of the czar relieved Ashruf from these difficulties; but a more formidable foe arose in the person of Prince Tahmasp, the fugitive son of Shah Hussein, whose claims were supported by a freebooting chief, already widely celebrated as a daring and successful leader, under the name of Nadir Kooli, *slave to the Wonderful.*† On entering the service of the prince, this designation was exchanged for that of Tahmasp Kooli Khan, *the lord who is slave to Tahmasp;* but when, after some severe struggles, the Afghans had been expelled,‡ this nominally-devoted adherent,

* "I tried hard," says Bajee Rao, in a letter to his brother, "to get something from the nabob himself; but this I scarcely expected. I recollected his unwillingness to part with money when I entered on an agreement to assist him;" alluding to their compact six years before.—(Duff, vol. i., p. 542.)

† *The Wonderful* being used as a title of the Divinity. The father of Nadir Kooli belonged to the Turki tribe of Afshar, and earned his livelihood by making coats and caps of sheep-skins: his famous son was born in Khorasan, in 1688. An uncle of Nadir Kooli's, who appears to have been at the head of a small branch of the Afshars, was governor of the fort of Kelat; but, having quarrelled with his turbulent nephew, fell a victim to his resentment, Nadir Kooli slaying him with his own hand.

‡ Ashruf was murdered by a Beloochee chief, between Kerman and Candahar, in 1729.

finding his master disposed to exercise the prerogatives of royalty, found means to depose him, and place his infant son on the throne, usurping the sole authority under the name of regent. Repeated victories over the Turks, ending in a treaty of peace with both Turkey and Russia, rendered this soldier of fortune so popular in Persia, that he felt the time had arrived to give free rein to ambition. The boy-king died opportunely at Ispahan; and Nadir, assembling the army and the leading persons in the empire, to the number of 100,000, in the spacious plain of Mogham, bade them choose a ruler. They named him unanimously; upon which he, after a hypocritical declaration that he looked upon the voice of the people as the voice of God, and would therefore abide by their decision, although it contravened his own intention in calling them together, accepted the crown, on condition of the general renunciation of the Sheiah doctrine and the establishment of that of the Sunnis, or Sonnites, throughout Persia. This proviso was evidently designed for the purpose of eradicating any lingering regret from the public mind regarding the Saffavis, who had ever been the champions of the Sheiah sect: but it proved unsuccessful; for the people secretly adhered to their former belief, and its prohibition, together with the strangling of the refractory chief moollah, or high-priest, only served to alienate them from their new ruler, who, on mounting the throne (A.D. 1736), assumed the title of Nadir Shah, *the Wonderful King*.

Hostilities with the Ghiljeis, from whom Candahar was captured after a close blockade of nearly a twelvemonth, brought Nadir Shah to the frontiers of the Mogul empire. He could not be ignorant of its weakness; and the prospect thus afforded of lucrative and congenial employment for the warlike tribes who owned his sway, offered temptations not to be resisted. In such cases, pretexts are seldom wanting; nor were they now. While besieging Candahar, Nadir Shah had applied to the court of Delhi for the seizure or expulsion of some Afghans who had fled into the country near Ghuznee; a demand to which the indolent and effete government, after a long interval, returned an ambiguous answer, being, it would appear, at once unable to comply with the request, and disinclined to acknowledge the title of the Persian sovereign. Nadir Shah advanced on Ghuznee and Cabool, and, from the latter place, which he captured with little difficulty, sent another messenger to Delhi, who failed in fulfilling his embassy, being cut off, with his escort, by the Afghans at Jellalabad.* This circumstance was set forth as warranting the invasion of India; and after spending some months in settling the affairs of the country round Cabool, Nadir marched to the eastward in October, 1738.† Even these proceedings failed to rouse the supine authorities at Delhi, or teach the necessity of merging internal strife in defensive operations against a common foe. They knew that Cabool was taken, but believed, or tried to believe, that the mountain tribes and guarded passes between that city and Peshawer would check the further advance of the invading force, although, in fact, even this barrier had been cast down by the peculation or misplaced economy of Khan Dowran, the ameer-ul-omra, who, by withholding the sum of twelve lacs of rupees, formerly sent every year for the payment of guards, had caused the breaking up of garrisons, until roads and defiles being all unwatched, marauding Afghans or invading Persians alike passed without obstruction. Its commencement being unopposed, the march of Nadir Shah was speedy and terrible. Having sacked Jellalabad, he passed through Peshawer, crossed the Attock in boats, and entered Moultan. The governor of Lahore made some show of opposition, over which Nadir triumphed with little difficulty; and, in fact, met with no serious opposition until, on approaching the Jumna, within 100 miles of Delhi, he found himself in the neighbourhood of the whole Indian army.

Mohammed Shah, at length thoroughly roused to a sense of the impending calamity, strove to meet the danger it was now too late to avert; and, being joined by Asuf Jah, moved to Kurnaul, where he occupied a fortified camp. Sadut Khan, the viceroy of Oude, arrived to join his sovereign; and Nadir Shah, by attempting to intercept

* Khan Dowran, and his supporters, treated the account of the intercepted embassy from Cabool as a report originated by Nizam-ool-Moolk and the Turani party at court, and jeeringly declared, that the houses of Delhi had very lofty roofs, from which the citizens might see Nadir Shah and his troopers from afar whenever they chose.—*Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, p. 414.

† The number of his force is nowhere satisfactorily stated. Fraser, in one place (*History of Nadir Shah*, p. 155), gives the total, including armed followers, at 160,000; but, in a previous page, a more distinct enumeration, made by a Persian news-writer at the camp at Jellalabad, only shows 64,500 fighting-men and 4,000 followers.

him, commenced hostilities, which issued in a general engagement. In this battle it would appear, that few (if any) Rajpoot princes took part, no longer caring to shed their blood for a foreign dynasty, whose ingratitude they hated, and whose weakness they despised. Even in this emergency, disunion prevailed in the Indian camp. Asuf Jah, from some real or pretended misconception, took no part in the action. Khan Dowran, the commander-in-chief, was killed; Sadut Khan taken prisoner; and Mohammed Shah, seeing his troops completely routed, had no resource but to send Asuf Jah to offer his submission, and repair himself, with a few attendants, to the Persian camp. Nadir Shah, considering the affinity between himself, as of Turcoman race, (though the son of a cap-maker), and the defeated monarch (a lineal descendant of the house of Timur), received his unwilling visitor with every demonstration of respect, and would probably have accepted a ransom, and spared Delhi, but for the selfish intrigues of Sadut Khan and the nizam. The accounts recorded of this period differ materially;* but it is certain, that after some time spent in apparently fruitless negotiations, Nadir Shah marched into Delhi, established himself in the palace, distributed his troops throughout the city, and stationed detachments in different places for the protection of the inhabitants. During the first day strict discipline was maintained, and all was quiet, though, probably, the usurpers could as ill-disguise their exultation as the Indians their hatred and disgust; but on the second, a rumour spread of the death of Nadir Shah,† and the citizens immediately rising, slew all the Persians within reach, to the number of 700, including some of those who had been stationed for the protection of private dwellings. The tumult continued during the whole night: at daybreak, Nadir Shah mounted his horse and sallied forth, believing that his presence would at once restore order by proving the falsity of the current report. Flights of stones, arrows, and fire-arms from the houses, soon undeceived him; and one of his chiefs, being killed at his side by a shot aimed at himself, he ordered his troops to retaliate, and not leave a soul alive wherever they should discover the corpse of a Persian. This command, which, of course, warranted nothing less than a general massacre, was eagerly obeyed: the soldiery entered the houses, and gave free loose to those hateful passions—covetousness, lust, revenge; the true "dogs of war." The streets of Delhi streamed with blood; many thoroughfares became blocked up with carcasses; flames burst forth in various places, where the wretched citizens, distracted by the thought of beholding their wives and children in the hands of the foe, had preferred sharing with them a fiery death; the shrieks and groans of the dying and the dishonoured pierced the air, overpowering at moments the fearful imprecations, or yet more fiendish scoffing of their persecutors; and from sunrise to broad noon these horrid sights and sounds continued unabated. Nadir Shah, it is said, after issuing the murderous order, went into the little mosque in the Great Bazaar, near the centre of the city, and there remained in gloomy silence until he was aroused by the entrance of Mohammed Shah, whose deep distress (for though weak and sensual, he was compassionate and gentle) obtained a command for the termination of the massacre. The prompt obedience of the troops, is quoted by historians as a remarkable proof of discipline; but these tigers in human form must have been weary of a slaughter, in which, according to the lowest trustworthy statement, 30,000 human beings were put to the sword.‡

* According to the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, Nadir Shah, at an interview with Asuf Jah (procured by the diplomacy of the captive, Sadut Khan), consented to conclude a peace, and return to his own dominions, on condition of receiving two crores of rupees (£2,000,000 sterling), a piece of intelligence which so delighted Mohammed Shah, that he instantly conferred the office of ameer-ul-omra on the successful mediator. Sadut Khan, enraged by the success of his rival, told Nadir Shah, that the ransom he had consented to receive was absurdly insufficient—that he himself could afford to pay it from his private fortune; and, by these treacherous representations, induced the invader to violate his pledge, enter the city, and pillage it without mercy.

† This rumour is said to have been spread by the proprietors of certain granaries, which had been forcibly opened, and the wheat sold at a low price.

‡ *Nadir-nameh*, translated from Persian into French, by Sir W. Jones (*Works*, vol. v.) Scott states the number at 8,000; but Mr. Elphinstone naturally remarks, that it is incredible so small a result should have been produced by a detachment of 20,000 men, employed for many hours in unresisted butchery (vol. ii., p. 630.) Fraser, who among much valuable authority, quotes the journal of a native Indian, secretary to Sirbuland Khan, writes—"of the citizens (great and small), 120,000 were slaughtered: others computed them at 150,000;" adding, in a note, "about 10,000 women threw themselves into wells, some of whom were taken out alive, after being there two or three days."—(pp. 185-187.)

The wretched survivors seem to have wanted energy even to perform the funeral obsequies of the dead. "In several of the Hindoo houses," says Fraser, "where one of a family survived, he used to pile thirty or forty carcasses a-top of one another, and burn them: and so they did in the streets; notwithstanding which, there still remained so many, that for a considerable time, there was no such thing as passing any of those ways." After some days, the stench arising from the multitudes of unburied dead becoming intolerable, the bodies were dragged into the river, thrown into pits, or else collected together in heaps, without distinction of Mussulman or Hindoo, and burned with the rubbish of the ruined houses, until all were disposed of.

The sufferings of the wretched people of Delhi were not yet complete; the rapacity of Nadir afforded fresh cause for bloodshedding, aggravated by cruel tortures. The usurper sat on the imperial throne, receiving costly offerings from the humiliated monarch and his degraded courtiers. He now demanded, under the name of peisheush (*a gift*), a sum stated at from twenty-five to thirty million sterling,* exclusive of the jewels, gold-plate set with gems, and other articles already appropriated. How to provide this enormous ransom was a new difficulty; for Mohammed Shah was far from inheriting the wealth of his ancestors. The prolonged wars of Aurungzebe, and the continued struggles of his successors, had well nigh emptied the treasury; and the present emperor had neither striven to replenish it by legitimate methods, nor, to his credit, be it recorded, by injustice or oppression. The jezia had been formally abolished at the commencement of his reign; and he alone, of all the Great Moguls, had steadily refused to confiscate the property of deceased nobles, leaving, not a small portion, as a matter of favour, for the maintenance of their families, but suffering the appropriation of the whole as a matter of right. The result was, that Mohammed Shah had comparatively little to lose: even the famous peacock-throne, now seized by Nadir, had been deprived of its most costly ornaments; and other portions of the imperial regalia were proportionately diminished in value. During the administration of the Seyeds, large sums had been abstracted from the treasury; and even the gold and silver rails of the hall of audience had been coined into money. A large quantity of gold, silver, and jewels was found in vaults, sealed up long ago (probably by Shah Jehan), and immense sums were levied from the nobles. Neither the crafty nizam nor his treacherous rival, Sadut Khan, were exempted from furnishing their quota, the former being compelled to disgorge treasure exceeding in value a million and a-half sterling; the latter, above a million; while both were treated by the conqueror with undisguised contempt and distrust. Sadut Khan died suddenly, whether from the effects of disease, anger, or poison, is an open question: the old nizam lived on, waiting for the turn of the wheel destined to restore to him that political power which was the sole end and aim of his existence.† The means of exacting the required tribute grew severe in proportion to the difficulty of its obtainment. The property of the nobles, merchants—even of the smallest tradesmen—was subjected to an arbitrary assessment, which, being frequently much above the actual value, impelled numbers of all ranks to commit suicide, as a means of avoiding the disgrace and torture likely to follow their inability to furnish the amount required;‡ while others perished

* *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*; on the authority of Hazveen, an eye-witness; and Scott's *Deccan*, vol. ii., p. 208.

† Dow's account of this period, though very interesting, is not deemed reliable; the rumours in circulation at the period, being too often suffered to usurp the place of carefully-sifted facts. This want of judgment is aggravated by the infrequency with which he gives authorities for particular statements. He describes Nadir Shah as having been invited to Hindoostan by Asuf Jah and Sadut Khan, and afterwards represents him as reproaching them for the treachery, by which he had gained the battle of Kurnaul, and spitting upon their beards. The nizam, seeing the fury of Sadut at this public disgrace, proposed that they should end their lives by poison, which being agreed to, they returned to their respective homes. Sadut, doubting the sincerity of his wily colleague, sent a messenger to his house to discover whether the oath had been carried into effect. Being made aware of the presence of the spy, the nizam swallowed an innoxious draught, and pretended to fall down dead. The trick succeeded; Sadut Khan took poison, and died, leaving his rival to exult over his wicked device.—(*Hindoostan*, vol. ii., p. 425.)

‡ The vakeel from Bengal, being ordered to send for seven crore of rupees, said, "so much would fill a string of waggons from Bengal to Delhi; for which, being roughly used, he went home, and murdered himself and family." (Fraser, p. 200.) The rough usage here alluded to was probably a severe bastinadoing; since that punishment was frequently inflicted on men of station and character, by the orders and in the presence of Nadir Shah, whose partiality for this species of discipline is strange enough, since, if the authorities quoted by Fraser may be relied on, he had been himself, in early youth, bastinadoed by the

under the tortures inflicted by the mercenary wretches to whom the power of extorting the tribute was farmed, and who made their own profit, or wreaked their private revenge unchecked, amid universal misery and desolation. "It was before a general massacre, but now the murder of individuals. In every chamber and house was heard the cry of affliction. Sleep and rest forsook the city." The pangs of hunger and sickness were not long absent; and "no morning passed that whole crowds, in every street and lane, did not die."* The citizens vainly strove to escape these multiplied calamities by flight; the roads were blocked up; and all such attempts punished by mutilation of the ears or nose; until at length—the dignity of human nature subdued by terror—the wretched sufferers slunk away into holes and corners, and cowered down before their oppressors like the frightened animals of the desert. The Persian horsemen sallied forth in different directions, seeking provisions and plunder; ravaging the fields, and killing all who offered resistance; but were occasionally attacked by the Jats, who had taken up arms. Intelligence of what was passing at Delhi had reached the Deccan: it was even reported that 100,000 Persians were advancing to the southward. Bajee Rao, undismayed, prepared to meet them, declaring, that domestic quarrels and the war with the Portuguese were to him as nought—there was now but one enemy in Hindoostan. "Hindoos and Mussulmans," he said, "the whole power of the Deccan must assemble; and I shall spread our Mahrattas from the Nerbudda to the Chumbul." Nadir, however, does not appear to have had any intention of risking his rich booty by exposing it to the chances of Mahratta warfare. He contented himself with inveighing bitterly against the insolence of the infidel "wretches of Deccan," in venturing to demand tribute from the dominions of a Mussulman emperor, and the weakness of the government by which it had been conceded; and then, having drained to the uttermost those very resources on which the means of resisting similar extortion depended, he prepared to quit the desolated city. Before departing, he caused a marriage to be celebrated between his son and a princess of the house of Timur, with a degree of regal magnificence sadly at variance with the gloom and desolation which prevailed throughout the once stately capital. Seating Mohammed Shah anew on his dishonoured throne (after severing from the Mogul empire the whole of Sinde and Cabool, together with some districts that had always been set apart for the pay of the garrisons of the latter province), he placed the crown upon his head, and bade him keep strict watch over the intrigues and corruption of his courtiers—especially of Asuf Jah, who was too cunning and ambitious for a subject. To this advice he added an assurance, that in the event of any cabals, an appeal from Mohammed Shah would bring him to his assistance, from Candahar, in forty days; and although this speech would, at first sight, appear only an additional insult, yet it is just possible, that it was dictated by a sort of compassionate feeling, which the misfortunes of the delicately-nurtured, indolent, and easy-tempered monarch had awakened in the breast of his victorious foe, whose mental characteristics contrasted no less forcibly than the extraordinary physical powers of his stalwart frame,† with the handsome but effeminate person and bearing of his victim. To the principal Hindoo leaders, including Jey Sing, Abhi Sing, Shao, and Bajee Rao, Nadir Shah issued circular-letters, bidding them "walk in the path of submission and obedience to our dear brother;" and threatening, in the event of their rebellion, to return and "blot them out of the pages of the book of creation."‡ On the 14th of April, 1739, the invader quitted Delhi, after a residence of fifty-eight days, bearing with him plunder in coin, bullion, gold and silver plate, brocades, and jewels (of which he was inordinately fond) to an incalculable extent. The money alone probably exceeded thirty million.§ Numerous elephants and camels were likewise carried away, as

order of Shah Hussein, "until his toe-nails dropt off." However, it is doubtless true, that in forming an opinion regarding the use of the rod, it makes all the difference which end falls to our share.

* Scott's *History of the Deccan*, vol. ii., p. 210. This description is quoted from a journal kept by an eye-witness, during this terrible epoch. The work somewhat resembles De Foe's masterpiece—the *Plague of London;* though the misery which it records is of a far more varied character.

† Fraser's description of a weather-beaten man, of fifty-five—above six foot high, very robust, with large black eyes and eyebrows—exactly coincides with the full-length picture of Nadir Shah preserved in the India-house. His voice was so strong, that he could, without straining it, give orders to the troops at above 100 yards' distance.—(Fraser, p. 227.)

‡ Scott's *Deccan*, vol. ii., p. 215.

§ Scott, Fraser, and Hanway. The Nadir-nameh states it at only 15 million: but this is not probable.

also many hundreds of skilful workmen and artificers. Exactions were levied in the towns and villages through which the retreating army marched, until they reached Cabool, where the mountaineers threatened to attack them; and Nadir, considering that the soldiers had suffered much from the intense heat, and were heavily laden with booty, thought it best to purchase forbearance, and reached Herat in safety, where he proudly displayed the spoils of Hindoostan.*

Reign of Mohammed Shah resumed.—The Persian invasion had plunged the court and people of Delhi into a "slough of despond," from which it was long before they summoned sufficient resolution to attempt extricating themselves. The state of public affairs held forth no promise that future prosperity might make amends for past suffering; and the worst of all indications of the decadence of the empire, was the readiness with which the courtiers relapsed into the habits of sensuality and intrigue, that had rendered them impotent to resist the power of a foreign foe; while the lower classes, imitating their apathy, grew to regard the brutal excesses of the Persian soldiery, rather as a subject of coarse merriment than deep humiliation; and, in mimicking their dress and manners, gave vent to feelings no less different from what may be termed the natural dignity of uncivilised man, than from the magnanimous forgiveness of injuries, which is the very crown of Christian virtue.

The influence of Asuf Jah was now supreme at Delhi. He was supported by the vizier, Kamer-oo-deen, with whom he was connected by intermarriage, and by a few leading families, who being, like himself, of Turki descent, were called the Turani nobles. He was secretly opposed by a large number of malcontents, among whom the emperor was thought to be included; and thus the counsels of government were again weak and divided at a time when there was most need of energy and union. On the departure of Nadir Shah, Bajee Rao sent a letter to the emperor, expressive of submission and obedience, together with a *nuzur*, or offering of 101 gold mohurs, and received in return a splendid *khillut*,† accompanied by assurances of general good-will, but not by the expected *sunnud*, or grant of the government of Malwa, an omission which the peishwa naturally attributed to a breach of faith on the part of the nizam. Had Bajee Rao, on this, as on previous occasions, chosen to advance to the gates of the capital, and there insist on the confirmation of the agreement, he might have probably done so with impunity, so far as the Moguls were concerned; for Nadir Shah had ravaged the only provinces which the Mahrattas had left intact; the imperial army was broken up, and the treasury completely empty. But Bajee Rao was himself in a critical position: hostilities abroad, intrigue at home, crippled his ambitious plans, and surrounded him with debt and difficulty. His foreign foes were the Abyssinians of Jinjeera, and the turbulent sons of Kanhojee Angria, of Kolabah, a powerful chief, whose piracies (which he called levying chout on the sea) had rendered him a formidable enemy to the Portuguese and English.

After the death of Kanhojee, in 1728, a contest ensued between his sons. Bajee Rao took part with one of them, named Mannajee, whom the Portuguese also at first assisted; but, being disappointed of the expected reward, changed sides, and appeared in arms against him. For this inconstancy they paid dearly by the loss of their possessions in Salsette, Bassein, and the neighbouring parts of the Concan; and hostilities were still being carried on, when the tacit refusal of the Delhi government to recognise his claims, induced the peishwa to direct his chief attention to his old antagonist, the nizam. Before recommencing hostilities in this quarter, it was necessary to provide against the coalition of the prithee nidhee with other domestic foes (of whom the chief was Rugojee Bhonslay, of Berar,‡ and the next in importance, Dummajee

* A portable tent was constructed from the spoils; the outside covered with scarlet broad cloth, and the inside with violet-satin, on which birds and beasts, trees and flowers, were depicted in precious stones. On either side the peacock-throne a screen extended, adorned with the figures of two angels, also represented in various-coloured gems. Even the tent-poles were adorned with jewels, and the pins were of massy gold. The whole formed a load for seven elephants. This gorgeous trophy was broken up by Nadir Shah's nephew and successor, Adil Shah.—(*Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurreem*, a Cashmerian of distinction, in the service of Nadir Shah. Gladwin's translation, Calcutta, 1788, p. 28.)

† A *khillut* comprises a complete dress, or *sir-pa* (head to foot), with the addition of jewels, horse, elephant, and arms.

‡ Parsojee, the founder of the Bhonslay family, from whom sprang the rajahs of Berar, being one of the first to tender allegiance to Shao on his release at the death of Aurungzebe, was promoted from the rank of a private horseman to high position. Not-

Guicowar, of Guzerat), who, envying his power, were plotting its overthrow, under pretence of emancipating their mutual sovereign. This difficulty Bajee Rao met by engaging the Bhonslay chief in a remote expedition into the Carnatic; but another, of a different character, remained behind. The vast army he had kept up, and the necessity of giving high rates of pay, in order to outbid the nizam, and secure the best of the Deccan soldiery, had induced him to incur an expenditure which he had no means of meeting.* The troops were in arrears, and, consequently, clamorous and inclined to mutiny. His financial arrangements would appear to have been far inferior to those of Sevajee; and, as a nation, the Mahrattas, from various causes, no longer found war a profitable employment. Still, Bajee Rao persisted in endeavouring to carry out his ambitious designs, and taking advantage of the absence of the nizam, surrounded the camp of his second son, Nasir Jung, who had been left in charge of the viceroyalty. The defence was carried on with such unlooked-for vigour, that after some months of active hostility, the peishwa became convinced that his means were inadequate to the task he had undertaken, and entered into an accommodation with his young and energetic opponent. The prudence of the general triumphed over the rash valour of the soldier; yet it was a moment when many in his position would have been inclined to struggle on; for it would appear, that his retreat to court was cut off by the machinations which he had sought to circumvent by procuring the absence of Rugojee Bhonslay. Addressing his *mahapooroosh*, or spiritual adviser, he writes—"I am involved in difficulties, in debt, and in disappointments, and like a man ready to swallow poison: near the rajah are my enemies; and should I at this time go to Sattara, they will put their feet on my breast. I should be thankful if I could meet death."† After such an avowal, there is something strange and startling in the fact that Bajee Rao set off suddenly, with his army, towards Hindoostan, with what object is not known, but only lived to reach the Nerbudda, on whose banks he expired in April, 1740.‡

Rugojee Bhonslay, although about besieging Trichinopoly when he heard of the death of his rival, instantly hastened to Sattara; but being obliged to leave the greater part of his army behind him, had no sufficient force to cope with Balajee Bajee Rao, who asserted his hereditary claim to succeed to the office of his father; neither was Dummajee Guicowar ready to take the field. In this conjuncture, Rugojee proposed that Bappoojee Naik,§ a connection, but bitter foe (because a disappointed creditor of the late peishwa's), should be appointed to the vacant position; and very large sums were offered to Shao, on condition of his seconding the arrangement.

These attempts failed; and Balajee Bajee Rao was formally appointed by the rajah. Being answerable for his father's debts, he was immediately assailed by Bappoojee Naik with the harassing pertinacity frequently exercised by Mahratta creditors.‖ From this persecution, his own efforts, ably seconded by the influence and credit of his *dewan* (treasurer, or high steward), relieved him; and, after more than a year spent in internal arrangements, he prepared to resist

withstanding the coincidence of his surname with that of the rajah, they do not appear to have been related.

* The soucars, or bankers, to whom he already owed a personal debt of many lacs of rupees, refused to make any further advances; and he forcibly describes his embarrassments, by declaring—"I have fallen into that hell of being beset by creditors; and to pacify soucars and sillidars (military commanders), I am falling at their feet till I have rubbed the skin from my forehead"—a figurative expression, used in allusion to the Hindoo custom of placing the forehead at the threshold of the temple, or at the feet of the idol, in humble supplication.

† *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 559. The manner of his death does not appear.

‡ Bajee Rao left three sons—Balajee Bajee Rao, Rugonat Rao, or Ragoba (who was at one time much connected with the English), and Shumsheer Bahadur, to whom, though the illegitimate offspring of a Mohammedan woman, and brought up in that creed, he bequeathed all his claims and possessions in Bundelcund. The names of the peishwas (first Balajee, then Bajee, and now Balajee Bajee, combined) will, it is to be feared, confuse the reader; but the alliteration is unavoidable.

§ Brahmin soucars and money-changers assume the appellation of Naik.

‖ A species of dunning, called tuquazu, is practised as a trade. Several men, hired for the purpose, follow the debtor wherever he goes, and establish themselves at the door of his house, subsisting all the while upon the food with which the invariable custom of the country obliges him to supply them. If humble petitions and insolent demands alike fail, the creditor himself sometimes resorts to the last expedient (as Bappoojee Naik did in the present instance), by the practice of *dhurna*—that is, by taking up his position in person, as a dun, and observing a rigid fast, in which his unfortunate debtor is compelled by that powerful agent, public opinion, to imitate him, even at the hazard of starvation, until he can induce him to raise the siege.

the encroachments of inimical Mahratta chiefs, and to demand the government of Malwa from the Delhi court.

In the interim, no endeavour had been made by the Mogul party in the Deccan to take advantage of the dissensions in the Mahratta state. The active viceroy, the successful opponent of Bajee Rao, had been fully occupied in rebellion against his own father, the nizam, who, in 1741, marched into the Deccan to oppose his refractory representative, and received, during his progress, a personal visit from the new peishwa, together with the assistance of a body of troops.

Rugojee Bhonslay, upon the failure of his political schemes at Sattara, returned to the Carnatic, and after the successful termination of the campaign, by the surrender of Trichinopoly and the capture of Chunda Sahib, the soubahdar (or, according to the English phrase, the nabob), he sent a force into Bengal under his Brahmin minister, Bhaskur Punt.

At this period, the viceroyalty of Bengal was possessed by Ali Verdi Khan (sometimes called Mohabet Jung.) This celebrated individual was of Turki descent, and had been promoted by Shuja Khan, the late viceroy, to the subordinate government of Behar. After his death, Ali Verdi turned his arms against Serferaz Khan, the son and successor of his late patron, slew him in battle, and usurped the government, for which he obtained an imperial firman by dint of large bribes and hypocritical assurances of devoted submission. He made a determined resistance to Bhaskur Punt;* but, alarmed by the advance of Rugojee in person, he besought the emperor to assist him in the defence of the province; and this request resulted in an appeal for aid to the peishwa, seconded by the long-withheld grant of the viceroyalty of Malwa.

Such an invitation would have been at all times welcome; for the Mahrattas were invariably solicitous to find excuses for interfering in the affairs of the various provinces still more or less subject to Mogul rule, and were ever labouring silently to increase their influence. In the present instance, Balajee Bajee was especially glad to be called in to act as an auxiliary against his private foe, and immediately marching by Allahabad and Behar, he reached Moorshedabad in time to protect it from Rugojee, who was approaching from the south-west. After receiving from Ali Verdi the payment of an assignment granted to him by the court of Delhi on the arrears of the revenue of Bengal, the peishwa marched against the invader, who retired before him, but was overtaken, and suffered a rout and the loss of his baggage before he was completely driven out of the province, A.D. 1743. The reprieve thus purchased for Bengal only lasted about two years; for the peishwa, who, in the name of his sovereign, Rajah Shao, wielded the power of the head of a confederacy of chiefs, rather than that of a despotic ruler, found it necessary to come to terms with Rugojee, by ceding to him the right of levying tribute in all Bengal and Behar, if not also in Allahabad and Oude. Bhaskur Punt was again sent to invade Bengal (1745), and proceeded with success, until he suffered himself to be inveigled into an interview with Ali Verdi Khan, by whom he was treacherously murdered. Of twenty-two principal officers, only one (Ru-

* Ali Verdi Khan was encamped at Midnapore, when he heard of the approach of Bhaskur Punt, at the head of 40,000 horse. He marched to Burdwan, and there strove to bring on a general engagement, which the Mahrattas of course avoided, and ravaged the environs with fire and sword, offering, however, to evacuate the country on payment of ten lacs of rupees. This Ali Verdi refused; and resolving to force his way to Moorshedabad, issued orders that the heavy baggage and camp-followers should remain at Burdwan. Instead of obeying, the people, terrified at the idea of being left to the mercy of the enemy, persisted in accompanying the retreating army; and the result was, that on the first day's march, the Mahrattas surrounded the line, and captured the chief part of the stores, artillery, and tents. The sum previously demanded as the price of peace was offered, but rejected: Bhaskur Punt would now accept nothing less than a crore of rupees (a million sterling), with the surrender of all the elephants. Ali Verdi refused these degrading terms, and continued his retreat, for three days, through a flat country, amid heavy rains, constantly harassed by the enemy, and greatly distressed for food and shelter. On the fourth morning he reached Cutwa; and although the foe had been beforehand with him, by setting on fire the magazines of grain, enough remained to afford means of subsistence to the famishing soldiery until further supplies could be procured. Yusuf Ali Khan, one of Ali Verdi's generals, states, that the first day of the march, he and seven nobles shared between them about one pound's-weight of kichery (boiled rice, mixed with pulse); the next, they had a few pieces of a sweet confection; the third, a small quantity of carrion, which, while it was cooking, was eagerly watched by others, who could not be refused a single mouthful. The common soldiers strove to maintain life on the bark of trees, leaves, grass, and ants.—(See *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, done into English by a Frenchman, in 3 vols. 4to.) This translation, though full of gallicisms, is of great value to inquirers on Indian history; since the able labours of General Briggs, as yet, extend only over the first part of the first volume.

gojee Guicowar) escaped, having been left in charge of the camp, and by him the army was conducted back to Berar. No long time elapsed before an opportunity to revenge this perfidious massacre arose, as a direct consequence of the crime itself; for Mustapha Khan, the leader of a body of Afghans who had borne the chief part in it, quarrelled with Ali Verdi for withholding the promised reward—namely, the government of Behar. Both parties were well aware that assassination was an expedient likely enough to be attempted, and soon came to open hostilities, in which the Afghans supported their countrymen. Rugojee Bhonslay took advantage of this state of affairs to invade Orissa, where he obtained possession of several districts, and named 30,000,000 rupees as the sum for which he would spare the remainder, and quit the country. Before narrating the result of these proceedings, which occupied several years, it is necessary, for the sake of the chronological succession of events, to return to the court of Delhi. On the departure of Asuf Jah for the Deccan, A.D. 1741, his place at court was taken by his son, Ghazi-oo-deen, the son-in-law of the vizier, Kamer-oo-deen. These two nobles, being closely united by political and by domestic ties, resisted successfully many intrigues and combinations; but they fought with the same unholy weapons that were employed against them. Treacherous and sanguinary deeds became frequent, offering unmistakable evidence of the weakness as well as wickedness of those who bore sway, and indicating to all accustomed to watch the decline of national power, its rapidly-approaching dissolution. The only person who appears to have profited by the bitter medicine of adversity, was the emperor; he became a wiser and a better man: but long-continued habits of ease and indolence are not to be lightly broken; and he gladly sought refuge in the devotion of the closet, from the cares, vexation, and intrigue which beset the council-chamber. Nevertheless, "while he lived, the royal name was respectable, and his prudence sustained the tottering fabric of the state from falling into total ruin; but he could not repair the unwieldy fabric."*

Of the various communities whose separate existence was more or less fostered at the expense of the empire, the only one against which Mohammed Shah took the field in person, after the departure of the Persians, was that founded by the Rohillas, an Afghan colony, composed chiefly of Eusofzeis and other north-eastern tribes, who had acquired possession of the country east of the Ganges, from Oude to the mountains, and, under a chief named Ali Mohammed, had attained to so much importance, as to be with difficulty reduced to even temporary submission. Turbulent and rebellious as subjects, they were yet more dangerous as neighbours; and scarcely had tranquillity been partially restored in the territory above designated, before a formidable combination of Afghans, in their own dominions, threatened India with another desolating irruption. The chief cause was an event which, above all others, would have been least expected to contribute to such a result—namely, the assassination of Nadir Shah, the spoiler of Hindoostan, whose leading share in the expulsion of the hated Afghan dynasty and victories over the Turks, had gained him a degree of renown which, despite his crimes, made him the boast of his subjects. On returning to Persia, he was received with the utmost enthusiasm; and the troops whom he had trained and led to conquest, gloried in the renown of their successful leader. At first, it appeared as if he were disposed to use his ill-gotten wealth for the relief and improvement of his kingdom; but it soon became evident, that the hardening influence of rapine and slaughter had extinguished every better impulse, fostered his evil passions, and rendered the once enterprising adventurer nothing better than a cruel and capricious coward. Even his ability and energy in war seemed to fail; and his latest proceedings against the Turks evinced little of his early skill. When this contest was terminated by a treaty, Nadir Shah, no longer occupied by external hostilities, gave free vent to his fierce, savage, and dastardly nature, and instead of the boast, became the terror and execration of his country. All around him trembled for fear of becoming the object of suspicions which their slavish submission served only to increase. Among other atrocities, he accused his eldest son of having incited an attempt to kill him by a shot, which slightly wounded him while traversing a forest in one of his campaigns; and, although there appeared no reason to think that the assassin was not one of the enemy, the unhappy prince was blinded at the command of his still more unhappy father, who, in a paroxysm of gloom and remorse, subsequently caused no less than fifty of his chief nobles to be put to death, because they had

* Scott's *History of the Deccan*, vol. ii, p. 228.

witnessed the execution of his wicked sentence without one prayer for mercy.* Covetousness was one of the distinguishing vices of his advancing age; and, instead of pursuing his avowed intention of relieving the Persians from the pressure of taxation by means of his enormous private wealth, he became extortionate and oppressive, as if ravaging a conquered territory. Disaffection and revolts ensued, and afforded pretexts for fresh cruelties. Whole cities were depopulated; towers of heads raised to commemorate their ruin: eyes were torn out; tortures inflicted; and no man could count for a moment on his exemption from death in torments.† The mad fury of Nadir was aggravated by his knowledge of the angry feelings excited, at the time of his accession, by the prohibition of the Sheiah doctrines, and the confiscation of the lands and stipends of the priests, and his conviction that, after all, the people generally, maintained the forbidden opinions. At length, he came to regard every Persian as his enemy, and entertained for his protection a band of Uzbeg mercenaries, placing his entire confidence on them and the Afghans, taking a delight in aggrandising these, his former enemies, at the expense of his own countrymen. To such a height had his madness attained, that he actually ordered the Afghan chiefs to rise suddenly upon the Persian guard, and seize the persons of the chief nobles: but the project being discovered, the intended victims conspired in turn; and a body of them, including the captain of Nadir's guard, and the chief of his own tribe of Afshar, entered his tent at midnight, and after a moment's involuntary pause—when challenged by the deep voice at which they had so often trembled—rushed upon the king, who, being brought to the ground by a sabre-stroke, begged for life, and attempted to rise, but soon expired beneath the repeated blows of the conspirators.‡

With the morning light, the rumour of this sanguinary deed spread alarm and amazement throughout the army. The Afghans, under the command of a young chief, named Ahmed Khan, the head of the Abdalli tribe, were joined by the Uzbegs in an effort made in the hope of being still in time to rescue Nadir Shah; but being repulsed, and finding that the Shah was really dead, they marched to Candahar, obtained possession of that city, and captured a large convoy of treasure on its way from Cabool and Sinde to the Persian treasury. Ali, the nephew of the murdered monarch, was placed on the vacant throne under the name of Adil Shah,§ and, during his short and inglorious reign, had probably neither the ability nor inclination to interfere with the proceedings of Ahmed Khan, who, having rapidly extended his influence over the neighbouring tribes and countries, including Balkh, Sinde, Cashmere, and other previously-conquered provinces, was, in the course of a few months, formally declared king of Candahar. In the plains and cities he established absolute authority; but the Afghan tribes retained their internal government: Beloochistan, Seestan, and some other places remained under their native chiefs, but owned allegiance and military service. Without, however, waiting the settlement of all the above-named countries, Ahmed Shah directed his attention to India as a means of employing his army and increasing his pecuniary resources. The coronation festivities were scarcely concluded before he marched to the eastward, and, having rapidly subjugated all the territory as far as the Indus, proceeded to invade the Punjaub. The viceroy being in revolt, could claim no aid from the Delhi government; and Ahmed,

* Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii., p. 652.

† The sole exception is that afforded by his desire to encourage commerce; but even this was, for the most part, only another incentive to despotic and harsh measures. To foreign traders he, however, extended protection; and Jonas Hanway, the eminent merchant, who visited his camp at a time when all Persia was devastated by his exactions, obtained an order that the property of which he had been plundered, during a rebellion at Asterabad, should be restored, or compensation given instead.

‡ Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 653, on the authority of Père Bazin, a jesuit, who acted as physician to Nadir Shah during the last years of his life. Malcolm states, that being suddenly aroused from sleep, the king started up, and had slain two of the meaner assassins before a blow from Salah Beg, the captain of his guards, deprived him of life.

§ To assuage the fears of the guilty chiefs by whom he was raised to the throne, Adil Shah publicly but falsely declared, that he had himself incited the deed by which Persia had been relieved from the curse of a despot, who delighted in blood. This character was equally applicable to himself; for he slew the unfortunate blind prince, Reza Kooli, and thirteen of Nadir's sons and grandsons, sparing only Shah Rokh, a lad of fourteen, who was afterwards protected in his residence at Meshhed, by Ahmed Shah, who possessed dependencies immediately to the east of that city. All the assassins of Nadir did not escape with impunity; for the Afshar leader, having incurred the displeasure of Adil Shah, was delivered over to the vengeance of the female relatives of the murdered monarch, by whom he was cut to pieces.—(Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. ii., p. 56.)

with little difficulty, triumphed over the feeble opposition offered to his usurpations, and occupied Lahore and other towns on the road to the Sutlej. News of his approach had reached the court, and Prince Ahmed, the heir-apparent, with Kamer-oo-deen, the vizier, at the head of the Mogul army, were sent to arrest his progress.* They had taken possession of the fords of the Sutlej; but the Candahar king, despite the inferior number of his troops, resolved to force a passage; and having succeeded in crossing at an unguarded, because unfordable part, left the enemy in his rear, and advancing against Sirhind, captured that place, together with the baggage, stores, and guns deposited therein. The Moguls, intimidated by the rapidity of these movements, intrenched their camp, soon after which the vizier was shot by a cannon-ball; but the army continued to repel the assaults of the Dooranis (as the Abdallis were now termed),† and on the tenth day succeeded in effecting their complete defeat, obliging them to march off homeward during the ensuing night.

Mohammed Shah expired within a month of this victory (A.D. 1748), and his only son, Ahmed, ascended the throne. For the first time from the commencement of the Indian annals of the house of Timur—in the beginning of the 15th century—the succession was uncontested.‡ In truth, it was a woeful heritage—little to be coveted by the most ambitious pretender.

Reign of Ahmed Shah.—The events of the next eighteen years can scarcely be woven into a connected narrative. The Great Mogul is no longer the chief feature in the picture; his proceedings have ceased to form the centre around which all other incidents could be easily and naturally grouped; the governors of provinces, from simple servants of the crown, having become independent powers, whose assistance their nominal sovereign was glad to purchase, at any cost, to ward off a foreign foe.

After the battle of Sirhind, the victor sent a governor to the Punjaub, believing that important province secured to the empire by the retreat of the Afghan monarch; but this latter, on learning that the prince had been recalled to Delhi, by the illness of his father, turned back before he had reached the Indus, and forced from the newly-appointed viceroy an engagement to pay a permanent tribute. Ahmed Shah, anxious to form connections which should enable him to provide against the incursions of his turbulent neighbour, offered the "ink-stand of the vizierat"§ to Asuf Jah, who had become reconciled to his son, Nasir Jung, and was employed in consolidating his own power over the territories in the Deccan, conquered with so much difficulty by the most powerful of the house of Timur, and so easily snatched from their feeble descendants. The nizam declined the proffered office, on account of his great age, and died, shortly after, at Boorhanpoor, in his ninety-sixth year.‖

Nasir Jung assumed his father's government, and Sufdur Jung (son and successor of Sadut Khan) became vizier, on condition of retaining likewise the viceroyalty of Oude. In the northern part of that province, the Rohillas had again become formidable, and the efforts of the imperial force were directed to their suppression. Sufdur Jung acted in this matter with shameless ingratitude,¶ and his ill-disciplined troops sacked their own town of Bara (famous for being peopled by Seyeds), and massacred such of the inhabitants as attempted resistance. The Rohillas, though greatly inferior in number, gained a complete victory; wounded the vizier, set the imperial power at defiance, and penetrated to Allahabad. In this emergency, the common error was committed of avoiding one danger by incurring another involving greater, though less immediate hazard. Mulhar Rao Holcar, and Jeiapa Sindia, had been recently sent to Malwa by the peishwa: to them Sufdur Jung now applied for aid; as also to Suraj Mul, rajah of the Jats. With these auxiliaries, he defeated the Rohillas, in a pitched battle;

* Elphinstone states his force at 12,000 men; Elliot's *Hafiz Rehmet* at 15,000; but the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* at 67,000 horse.

† By the advice of a dervish, who had predicted his future greatness, Ahmed assumed the title of *Door-dowran* (the pearl of the age); and the Abdalli tribe took the name of Doorani.

‡ The accession of Jehangeer can scarcely be deemed an exception, since opposition was attempted before the death of Akber; and by Prince Khoorum within four months after.

§ An ornamented ink-stand, or rather ink-horn, is the insignia of office worn by viziers.

‖ Or 104 lunar years, according to the Mohammedan mode of computation; their years consisting of 13 months—of 28 days 6 hours each.

¶ He induced Kaium Khan Bungush, the Afghan governor of Furruckabad, to conduct the war against his own countrymen. Kaium was slain in battle, and his employer strove to dispossess the widow of the chief part of her legitimate possessions, but with no avail; for the people rose upon his representative,

drove them into the lower branches of the Himalaya, about the Kumaon range, which forms their north-eastern boundary, and by authorising the Mahrattas to levy the promised subsidy on the conquered territory, soon reduced his foes to such straits for subsistence, that they submitted on the sole condition of receiving the assignment of a few villages for their chiefs.

In the Deccan many important changes had occurred since 1745, when Rugojee Bhonslay, taking advantage of the rebellion of Mustapha Khan, had invaded Orissa. The defeat of the Afghans, and the fall of their leader, in an attempt to obtain possession of Behar, relieved Ali Verdi from one dangerous foe, and enabled him to direct his efforts to the expulsion of the Mahrattas. In this undertaking he was less successful; driven off at one point, they attacked another, fighting ever in true Cossack* style, until Ali Verdi, in 1751, weary of beholding his fertile plains desolated by their incursions, and possibly influenced by the craving for quiet, natural to the old age of even men of war, bought off the invaders by the cession of Cuttack (the southern division of Orissa), and an engagement for the annual payment of twelve lacs of rupees, as the chout of Bengal and Behar. This very inadequate sum, Rugojee was doubtless induced to accept by the necessity of returning to the Deccan, where the renewal of internal strife among the Mahrattas, and the quarrels and intrigues of the sons of Asuf Jah, together with the ambitious projects of M. Bussy, the French leader, warned every wandering chief to guard his home interests.

The death of Shao, in 1750, gave the expected signal for a struggle between the peishwa and his rivals. The rajah was childless, and had not complied with the Hindoo custom of adopting an heir. His wife, Sawatri Bye, an intriguing and ambitious woman, had strongly urged the claims of the nearest relative, the rajah of Kolapoor; but Shao, who, after remaining for some years in a state of imbecility, had shortly before his death recovered his senses, rejected this candidate, because he also was without offspring, and declared that he had received a private intimation of the existence of a posthumous son of Sevajee II., who had been concealed by Tara Bye. The story sounded sufficiently improbable: but the peishwa and Tara Bye agreed in asserting its truth; and the former procured from the rajah an instrument, transferring to him all the powers of the government, on condition of his maintaining the royal dignity in the house of Sevajee, through its newly-discovered representative and his descendants. Whether this document was authentic or not, the peishwa acted as if it had been so, by placing the alleged grandson of Tara Bye on the throne, with the title of Ram Raja, and by removing all obstacles to his own supremacy either by force, fraud, or bribery. The prithee nidhee was seized and thrown into prison, and Sawatri Bye goaded into performing suttee, in accordance with her own declaration, made before her husband's death, to disguise her real designs. Rugojee Bhounslay, who was anxious to prosecute his annual incursions into Bengal—not having then come to the above-mentioned agreement with Ali Verdi—formally acknowledged the succession of Ram Raja, receiving, in return, a portion of the confiscated lands of the prithee nidhee, and other concessions; while the good-will of Holcar and Sindia was secured by assignments of almost the entire revenue of Malwa.† Believing his path now clear, Balajee Bajee left the rajah at Sattara, under the control of Tara Bye, and starting from Poona, to which place he had before transferred his residence, and which may be henceforth considered as the Mahratta capital, proceeded to take part in the civil war that had broken out between the sons of the late nizam. He was speedily recalled to Delhi by the machinations of Tara Bye, who, having vainly endeavoured to induce her weak and timid grandchild to assert his independence, and set aside the dominant influence of the peishwa, vehemently declared, that she believed he was, after all, no true descendant of Sevajee, but a base-born Gonedulee,‡ having been changed, at nurse, by the cottagers to whose charge he had been confided; then throwing him into a damp, stone dungeon, with the coarsest grain doled out as food,

and called in the Rohillas, against whom the vizier took the field in person.—(Scott, vol. ii., p. 225.)

* The Mahrattas have borrowed this term from the Moguls, finding it perfectly applicable to their favourite mode of warfare.

† Of the annual revenue, estimated at about £1,500,000, £750,000 was allotted to Holcar; £650,000 to Sindia; and £100,000 to Puar and other chiefs.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, vol. ii., p. 40.)

‡ The Gonedulees are a low cast of musicians, in the house of one of whom Rajah Ram (according to the statement of Tara Bye) had been first concealed.

the old virago assumed the government in her own name, and called in the assistance of Dummajee Guicowar, who had previously refused to acknowledge the succession of Ram Rajah. Dummajee was treacherously captured by the peishwa at a pretended friendly interview, and his army completely dispersed. Tara Bye proved a more troublesome opponent, being regarded by the people as the rightful regent; besides which, popular superstition attributed to her the possession of supernatural power; but whether she was a *deo* or a *dyt*—that is, a good or an evil spirit—was a disputed point, though one on which most persons, acquainted with her character and history, would scarcely entertain much doubt.

At Delhi, another revolution was impending. During the absence of the vizier in Rohilcund, the Doorani king had extorted from the emperor the cession of the Punjaub; and this arrangement, though it would seem to have been almost inevitable, the vizier made the pretext for insult and reproach; and soon after, vented his jealous spleen by the assassination of Jaweed, a eunuch much favoured by the emperor and his mother, at a banquet to which the victim had been purposely invited. Exasperated by this outrage, Ahmed Shah turned to the ameer-ool-omra for aid against the vizier. This young man, named Shaab-oo-deen,* was grandson to Asuf Jah, and had inherited too much of his ancestor's unprincipled ambition to hesitate taking any part that promised to gratify his dominant passion; he, therefore, gladly sided with the emperor against the very man whose patronage had placed him in an influential position. A civil war ensued, determined not by one great battle, but carried on for six months in daily combats in the streets, during which time the vizier being a Sheiah, and his opponent a Sunni, the war-cry of their respective adherents was the test-word of either sect. Becoming wearied of this unprofitable contest, the rival ministers came to terms; and the unhappy monarch, betrayed by both, made an effort to assert his independence; but being captured by the Mahratta auxiliaries of his treacherous servants, under Mulhar Rao, was delivered over into the hands of the ameer-ool-omra, by whom he was deposed and blinded, together with the queen his mother, A.D. 1754.

* He also bore his father's and grandfather's title of Ghazi-oo-deen; but to avoid confusion, I have adhered to his original appellation.

Alumgeer II.—Under this name a prince of the blood was placed on the vacant throne by Shaab-oo-deen, who, upon the death of the vizier, which happened about this time (at Lucknow, the capital of Oude), took upon himself the vacant office, and soon afterwards marched towards Lahore, secretly hoping to take advantage of the state of affairs in the Punjaub. Upon the death of the Mogul governor, whom Ahmed Shah had continued in his office after the cession, his infant son had been appointed to the viceroyalty under the tutelage of his mother. It so happened, that Shaab-oo-deen had been affianced to the daughter of the late viceroy, and he now approached on pretence of claiming his bride. The marriage festivities were in course of celebration, when a sudden attack was made upon the town, and the governess captured in her bed. While being conveyed to the camp, she vehemently denounced the treachery which had been practised, declaring, that the vengeance of Ahmed Shah would be swift and terrible. Her prediction was verified: the Doorani king marched rapidly from Candahar, passed through the Punjaub without opposition, and advanced upon Delhi to enforce his demand of pecuniary compensation. The culprit escaped through the intercession of his mother-in-law, whom he had contrived to conciliate; but the devoted city was again given over to pillage and slaughter, Ahmed Shah, if willing, being quite unable to restrain the excesses of his soldiery. A detachment was sent into Bengal to levy a contribution, and Ahmed proceeded in person to Agra, against the Jats, with a similar object. The troops enforced his exactions by the most barbarous methods, and found, in bigotry, an excuse and incentive for the indulgence of their natural ferocity. The ancient and venerated city of Muttra was surprised during the celebration of a religious festival, and the defenceless worshippers massacred without distinction of sex or age.

Happily, the career of these destroyers was stopped by the excessive heat, which occasioned an alarming mortality among them, and compelled Ahmed Shah to renounce the siege of the citadel of Agra, which was defended by a Mogul governor, and be content with the money already levied. Before returning to his own territories, he married a princess of the house of Timur, and affianced another to his son, afterwards Timur Shah. He also caused an able and enterprising Rohilla chief, named

Nujeeb-oo-dowla, to be appointed ameer-ool-omra at the especial request of the emperor, who hoped to find in him a counterpoise against his intriguing vizier. This scheme failed; for Shaab-oo-deen called in the assistance of the Mahrattas, under Ragoba (brother to the peishwa), who had recently acquired notoriety by his proceedings in Guzerat, and in levying contributions on the Rajpoot states. Thus aided, the vizier forcibly re-established his paramount influence in Delhi, the prince, afterwards Shah Alum, having first escaped to a place of safety, and Nujeeb to his own country about Seharunpoor, to the north of Delhi.

The ascendancy of his ally being secured, Ragoba next turned his attention to the Punjaub, where a turbulent chief, named Adina Beg, whose whole career had been a series of intrigues, was plotting the overthrow of Ahmed Shah's sway by means of the Sikhs, who, during the late disorders, had again become considerable. Ragoba, seeing in this disorganisation the promise of an easy conquest, marched to Lahore (May, 1758), and took possession of the whole of the Punjaub, the Dooranis retiring across the Indus without hazarding a battle. The death of Adina Beg threw the power wholly into the hands of the Mahrattas, who now began to talk unreservedly of their plans for the obtainment of unquestioned supremacy over the whole of Hindoostan. These pretensions, though little likely to be vigorously contested by the nominal emperor, were opposed to the interests of various individuals, especially of Shuja-oo-dowla, who had succeeded his father, Sufdur Jung, in the government of Oude, and who now joined his hereditary foes, Nujeeb-oo-dowla and the Rohillas, against the common enemy. The first result of this alliance was the invasion of Rohilcund by the Mahrattas, and the destruction of 1,300 villages in little more than a month: but Shuja marched from Lucknow to the relief of his allies, and drove the invaders, with heavy loss, across the Ganges, obliging their leader, Duttajee Sindia, to conclude a peace, which he did the more readily on account of the reported approach of Ahmed Shah from Cabool.

The retaliation of the Afghan ruler for the expulsion of his son from the Punjaub, had been retarded by the attempt of Nadir Khan, chief of the Belooches, to establish his entire independence; but this question was no sooner settled than Ahmed, for the fourth time, invaded India (September, 1759), advancing by the southern road of Shikarpoor to the Indus, and marching along its banks to Peshawer, where he crossed the river and entered the Punjaub. The Mahrattas offered no obstacle; and he continued his progress towards Delhi, avoiding the swollen rivers, keeping near the northern hills until he passed the Jumna, opposite Seherunpoor.

The approach of the Afghans greatly alarmed the vizier, who, conscious of the friendly feeling existing between Ahmed Shah and the emperor, thought to remove an obstacle from his path, and ensure a safe tool, by causing the assassination of Alumgeer II., and hurrying from the palace-prison of Selimghur to the throne, another ill-fated descendant of Aurungzebe.

Extinction of Mogul power.—The title of the prince brought forward by Shaab-oo-deen was never recognised; and the heir-apparent (Shah Alum) being, happily for himself, beyond the reach of his father's murderer, the strange confederacy of Moguls, Mahrattas, and Jats, against Doorani and Rohilla Afghans, had no crowned leader whose uncontested supremacy could afford a bond of union to all concerned.

At this crisis, the question naturally arises —where were the Rajpoots, and how occupied, at an epoch so favourable for the assertion of national independence and individual aggrandisement? Their eloquent historian, Colonel Tod, candidly admits, that, absorbed in civil strife, enfeebled by luxury, degraded by intrigue—their position, in no small degree, resembled that of the once powerful dynasty, whose most distinguished members they had opposed so bravely, or served so loyally. Yet, even had Mewar possessed a rana able and energetic as Pertap or Umra—Marwar, a rajah like Jeswunt or Ajeet; or Amber (Jeypoor), like Maun or Jey Sing, it is still not probable that Rajast'han would have become the nucleus of a Hindoo empire. The characteristics of feudal confederacies are, under any circumstances, scarcely consistent with comprehensive and enlightened patriotism; and the temporary alliances between Rajpoot states, formed in an hour of mutual peril, were thrown aside as soon as their immediate cause was removed. The spirit of clanship, unrestrained by higher and holier principles, prompted in proud and ardent breasts many deeds which, at the first glance, seem grand and heroic, but when tried by the standard of Christian law, severe in its sim-

plicity, are found to be fair-seeming fruit rotten at the core. To raise the honour of a clan—to humble a rival—to avenge an affront—these were objects to be gained at any cost of blood or treasure, and without regard to the character and true interest of the state. It was by taking advantage of the opportunities thus offered, and by becoming partisans in disputed successions, that the Mahrattas, as much by stratagem as by force, were enabled to levy chout over all Rajast'han.

The Mahratta power was now at its zenith. The whole territory, from the Indus and Himalaya, on the north, to nearly the extremity of the Peninsula, was either subjugated or tributary. The authority of the peishwa had become absolute, Tara Bye having, though ungraciously enough, been compelled to enter into terms of peace. She still, however, persisted in retaining the unfortunate Rajah Ram in rigorous confinement, a measure which entirely coincided with the views of the wily Brahmin, who ensured its continuance by perpetually soliciting its revocation. The army, no longer composed of predatory bands, now included a large body of well-paid and well-mounted cavalry, 10,000 infantry, and a train of artillery. Nor were external signs of increasing wealth and dominion wanting. The pomp which had characterised the palmy days of the Delhi court, together with much of the ceremonial of Rajpoot states, was now observed at Poona; and the peishwa and inferior ministers, possessing the comely forms and courteous manners common among Concan Brahmins, bore their new-fledged honours with natural dignity. The case was very different with the field-officers, who, by exchanging the rude but picturesque garb and homely manners of former days, for the cumbersome attire and wearisome conventionalities, in which they rather caricatured than copied the Moguls, not only rendered themselves ridiculous, but really lost much efficiency in vain attempts to assume a stateliness of demeanour in correspondence with the cloth-of-gold uniforms in which their short, sturdy, active, little bodies were now encased. Their love of plunder had, however, undergone no change: they even seemed to have become more extortionate in proportion to their growing passion for ostentatious display. Their conduct, at this epoch, brought its own punishment; for, although there were 30,000 Mahratta horse in the field, in two bodies, at some distance from each other, when the Dooranis crossed the Jumna, the country people, exasperated by their depredations, kept them in complete ignorance of the movements of the enemy. Ahmed Shah was consequently enabled to prevent their junction; and, coming suddenly on the body under Duttajee Sindia, slew that chief and two-thirds of his force, while the other division was overtaken and almost destroyed by a detachment which had made an extraordinary march for that purpose. The news of this inauspicious commencement of the war, enraged but did not dispirit the Mahrattas, who prepared for a desperate and decisive encounter. The command of the assembled force was given to the peishwa's cousin, Sewdasheo Rao Bhow, commonly called the Bhow,* a brave soldier, but too violent and headstrong for a safe general. He was accompanied by Wiswas Rao, the youthful son and heir-apparent of the peishwa, and by almost all the leading Mahratta chiefs.† The pressing necessity of uniting to repel the common foe of the Hindoos, seems to have aroused even the Rajpoots from their apathy, and induced them to lay aside their private quarrels; for several Rajpoot detachments were sent to join the Mahratta force on its march from the Deccan, and Suraj Mul came to meet them with 30,000 Jats. This experienced old chief beheld with dismay the gorgeous appearance of the advancing cavalcade, and earnestly entreated the Bhow to leave his heavy baggage, infantry, and guns, under the protection of the strong forts in the Jat territory, and practise the same tactics which had so often proved successful; urging, that if the war could only be protracted, the Dooranis, who had been already many months in India, would probably be constrained by the climate to withdraw to their native mountains. This judicious counsel, though seconded by the Mahratta chiefs, was haughtily rejected by their commander, who affected to despise the Jats;‡ treated Suraj Mul as a petty zemindar,

* The Bhow, or brother, is a term commonly applied by the Mahrattas to cousins German.

† Ragoba remained in the Deccan, having given offence by his improvidence in previous campaigns.

‡ The Jats (who, according to Tod, are "assuredly a mixture of the Rajpoot and Yuti, Jit, or Jete races") formed the chief part of the agricultural population of Agra in the reign of Aurungzebe, by whose persecutions they were driven to rebel and elect Choramun for their leader and rajah.

incapable of judging of politics on a large scale; and marched on, in defiance of all counsel, with his whole force to Delhi, which was held by a small garrison of Dooranis and their partisans, Ghazi-oo-deen having sought refuge in the Jat country. The citadel yielded after a feeble defence. The Bhow triumphantly entered the ill-fated capital; defaced the palaces, tombs, and shrines, for the sake of the rich ornaments which had been spared by the Persians and Afghans; tore down the silver ceiling of the hall of audience (which was coined into seventeen lacs of rupees); seized the throne, and all other royal ornaments; and even talked of proclaiming Wiswas Rao emperor of India. Disgusted and alarmed by these rash and grasping proceedings, Suraj Mul returned to his own territory, and the Rajpoots likewise withdrew from the confederacy. Ahmed Shah passed the rainy season on the frontier of Oude, and during that time succeeded in procuring the co-operation of Shuja-oo-dowla. He then marched rapidly towards Delhi, and on reaching Cunjpoora, on the Jumna, learned that the Doorani garrison stationed there had been captured by the enemy, and put to the sword. In a paroxysm of rage, the Shah, thirsting for revenge, crossed the river between fording and swimming; and this impetuous act, by which many lives were sacrificed, so astonished the Mahrattas, that they retired to Paniput, and intrenched their camp.

The force of Ahmed Shah was computed at less than 100,000 men; that of his opponent at 300,000, including followers.* This disparity prevented the invader from venturing an attack, and induced him to encamp, and fortify his position. For three months the hostile armies remained face to face, without coming to any decisive engagement. During that time the state of affairs underwent a material change. The Mahrattas at first endeavoured to provoke an attack, by cutting off the supplies of the Doorani camp; and with this object a chief, named Govind Rao Bondela, was ordered to collect troops on the lower course of the Jumna, and spread over the country in the Mahratta fashion. Govind Rao obeyed, and levied 10,000, or 12,000 men, who proved very successful plunderers, until their leader was surprised in a mango-grove and cut off, with about a thousand followers, by a body of horse, who had come upon them, after performing a march of sixty miles. Other disasters followed; and, at length, all means of forage being cut off, Ahmed Shah succeeded in establishing a rigid blockade; and the resources of the town of Paniput, which was within the lines, being quite exhausted, the pressure of want began to be severely felt; and, from clamouring for arrears of pay, the Mahrattas now began to lack daily food. Cooped up amidst the stench of a besieged camp, among dead and dying animals, surrounded by famished followers, the once mighty host grew weaker daily; and, to the dispiriting influences of physical evils, the knowledge of the dissensions between the Bhow, Holcar, and minor chiefs, added greatly. The position of Ahmed Shah was one of considerable difficulty; but he rejected the overtures of peace made through the intervention of Shuja-oo-dowla, judging, by the impatience and weariness of his own troops, of the condition of the foe, and feeling convinced that they would soon be driven into quitting their intrenchments, as the only alternative from starvation. Meanwhile he kept a vigilant guard, visiting his posts, reconnoitring the enemy, and riding fifty to sixty miles a-day. Among the last efforts of the besieged, was the dispatch of a party, with innumerable camp-followers, on a midnight foraging expedition. The attempt was discovered by the watchful picket stationed by Ahmed Shah, and the defenceless crowd were surrounded and slaughtered in prodigious numbers. On this, the chiefs and soldiers called upon the Bhow to put an end to their sufferings and suspense, by leading them to the attack. The necessary orders were given; the last grain in store distributed among the famishing troops; and, an hour before day-break, the Mahrattas quitted their intrenchments, marching forth with the ends of their turbans loosened, and their hands and faces dyed with turmeric;

* The Bhow's force consisted of 55,000 cavalry, in regular pay, with at least 15,000 predatory Mahratta horse, and 15,000 infantry; of whom, 9,000 were disciplined sepoys, under Ibrahim Khan Gardi, a Mussulman deserter from the French service. He had 200 guns, with numerous wall-pieces, and a great supply of rockets, which is a favourite weapon with the Mahrattas. These troops, with their immediate followers, made the numbers within his lines amount to 300,000 men. Ahmed Shah had about 4,000 Afghans and Persians, 13,000 Indian horse, and a force of Indian infantry, estimated at 38,000, of which the part consisting of Rohilla Afghans would be very efficient; but the great majority, the usual rabble of Indian foot-soldiers. He had, also, about thirty pieces of cannon of different calibres, chiefly belonging to the Indian allies, and a number of wall-pieces. (Elphinstone, vol. ii., p. 679.)

their gait and expressions bespeaking victims prepared for sacrifice, rather than warriors hoping for conquest. The sight of the foe revived their courage; a fierce onslaught was made on the centre of the Mohammedan army; and a general encounter followed, which lasted in unabated violence until noon —the field of action being one mass of dust and confusion, the combatants fighting hand to hand, and the shrieks and groans of the dying drowned by the incessant "Allah!" and "Deen!" of the Mohammedans, and the "Hur! Hur! Mahdeo!" of the Mahrattas. Up to this period, victory seemed to incline to the latter party; but a reserve, sent forward by Ahmed Shah, who, from his little red tent, had eagerly watched the engagement, decided the fortune of the day. The Bhow and Wiswas were slain.* Holcar and Dummajee Guicowar quitted the field; and "all at once, as if by enchantment, the whole Mahratta army turned their backs, and fled at full speed."† The victors pursued them with the utmost fury, giving no quarter, and slaying without mercy all who fell into their hands. Men, women, and children crowded into the town of Paniput, where they were blockaded for the night, and the next morning divided into allotments by their barbarous captors, the women and children being taken for slaves, the men ranged in lines, and prevented from fainting by a few grains of parched corn, and a little water poured into the palms of their hands preparatory to their decapitation; after which, their heads were piled around the doors of the tents,‡ as fitting trophies of what men call "a glorious victory." These atrocities Ahmed Shah made no effort to restrain; but, on the contrary, sanctioned by example the cold-blooded massacre of the most distinguished prisoners, among whom was Jancojee Sindia, a youth about the age of Wiswas Rao. Ibrahim Khan was cruelly treated; and it was even reported that his death had been caused by the poison put into his wounds.

This great overthrow was a blow from which the aspiring Mahrattas never wholly recovered. In the course of the campaign, 200,000 of them are alleged to have perished, including nearly all their leading chiefs. The disastrous intelligence reached the Deccan through the medium of a letter addressed to the soucars or bankers, who generally contrive to obtain the earliest tidings of all affairs affecting the money-market. The letter-carrier was intercepted by the peishwa while about to cross the Nerbudda, on his way to Hindoostan, and its brief contents—"two pearls have been dissolved; twenty-seven gold mohurs have been lost; and, of the silver and copper, the total cannot be cast up"—revealed to him the fate of his beloved son and cousin, of the officers and army. The shock proved fatal to a mind worn down with intrigue, and a frame enfeebled by indolence and sensuality; and the peishwa, retiring towards Poona, died in a temple which he had erected near that city. Notwithstanding the personal faults of Balajee Bajee Rao, his political sagacity, polished manners, and great address, together with the honoured names he bore, had rendered him popular, and his death increased the gloom which overhung the country.§

With the battle of Paniput‖ the Mohammedan portion of the history of India naturally closes. Ahmed Shah quitted Hindoostan without attempting to profit by the fruits of his victory; and Alum Shah, after enduring many vicissitudes of fortune, ended his days as a pensioner of the powerful company whose proceedings will occupy the chief portion of the following section.

* The body of Wiswas Rao was brought to the tent of the Shah, where the whole camp assembled to look upon it, and admire the extraordinary beauty which, strange to say, a violent death had not marred. Yet the Afghans, untouched by pity, looked upon the pale corpse only as an evidence of victory; and were, with difficulty, induced by Shuja-oo-dowla to renounce the idea of having "it dried and stuffed, to carry to Cabool." Concerning the fate of the Bhow considerable uncertainty prevailed, although a headless trunk was said to be recognised as his by a scar on the back—certain marks in the hands and feet, which seemed to bear evidence of the 1,400 prostrations he made daily before the sun, and what the astrologers term the *Puddum Mutch*, or fortunate lines in his foot.

† *See* narrative of Casi Rai, an officer in the service of Shuja-oo-dowla. (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii.)

‡ The Dooranis said, that "when they left their own country, their mothers, wives, and sisters desired, that whenever they should defeat the unbelievers, they would kill a few of them on their account, that they also might possess a merit in the sight of God."—(*Casi Rai.*)

§ Tara Bye did not long survive her old adversary, the peishwa. She died, aged eighty-six, full of exultation at the misfortunes which had overtaken her foes. The rajah was then taken out of prison, and suffered to reside at large in Sattara; his originally weak intellect, still further broken down by persecution, rendering such a procedure free from any danger to the interests of Madhu Rao, the youthful son and successor of the late minister.

‖ Paniput is in 29° 22′ N., 76° 51′ E.; the town, about four miles in circumference, was formerly surrounded by a brick wall, of which a part still remains.

Mohammedan Conquerors and Rulers of Hindoostan.

House or Dynasty.	Name or Title.	Date.	Capital.	Successor.	Death or Deposition.
House of Ghuznee—Subuktugeen dynasty.	Mahmood	1001	Ghuznee	Son	Natural death, 1030.
	Mohammed	1030	Ditto	Brother	Deposed and blinded.
	Masaud	1030	Ditto	Nephew	Deposed and murdered.
	Ahmed	1040	Ditto	Son	Murdered.
	Modood	1041	Ditto	Brother	Natural death.
	Abul Hussun	1049	Ditto	Uncle	Deposed.
	Abul Raschid	1051	Ditto	No Relation	Murdered.
	Toghral	1052	Ditto	Prince of the Blood	Assassinated.
	Farokshad	1052	Ditto	Brother	Assassinated.
	Ibrahim	1058	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Masaud II.	1089	Do. and Lahore	Son	Natural death.
	Arslan	1114	Ditto	Brother	Murdered.
	Behram	1118	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Khosru	1160	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Khosru Malik	1167	Ditto	Conqueror	Imprisoned and murdered.
Ghor dynasty	Shahab-oo-deen	1186	Ditto	His slave & general	Assassinated.
	Kootb-oo-deen	1206	Ghor, Ghuznee, & Delhi	Son	Natural death.
Slave Kings	Aram	1210		Brother-in-law	Natural death.
	Altamsh	1211	Delhi	Son	Natural death.
	Rukn-oo-deen	1236	Ditto	Sister	Deposed after 7 mths. reign.
	Rezia (Sultana)	1236	Ditto	Brother	Imprisoned and murdered.
	Behram (*Moiz-oo deen*).	1239	Ditto	Son of Rukn	Imprisoned and murdered.
	Masaud (*Ala-oo-deen*)	1241	Ditto	Grandson of Altamsh	Imprisoned and murdered.
	Mahmood (*Nasir-oo-deen*)	1246	Ditto	His Vizier	Natural death.
	Bulbun, or Balin	1266	Ditto	Son of Bakhara	Natural death.
	Kei Kobad	1286	Ditto	A Khilji Chief	Assassinated.
House of Khiljii.	Jelal-oo-deen	1288	Ditto	Nephew	Assassinated.
	Ala-oo-deen	1295	Ditto	Son	Poisoned.
	Mobarik	1317	Ditto	Vizier	Murdered.
House of Toghlak.	Gheias-oo-deen	1321	Ditto	Son	Killed, supposed by his son.
	Mohammed (*Juna*)	1325	Deoghiri, or Doulatabad	Nephew	Natural death.
	Feroze	1351	Delhi	Grandson	Natural death.
	Gheias-oo-deen	1388	Ditto	Ditto of Feroze	Deposed and murdered.
	Abubekir	1389	Ditto	Son of Feroze	Deposed.
	Nasir-oo-deen	1390	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Humayun	1390	Ditto	Brother, a Minor	Natural death.
	Mahmood Toghlak	1394	Ditto	No Relative	Driven from Delhi by Timur
Lodi.	Doulat Khan Lodi	1412	Ditto	No Relative	Expelled.
The Seyeds, or Seids.	Seyed Khizer Khan	1414	Ditto	Eldest Son	Natural death.
	Moiz-oo-deen, or Seyed Mobarik	1421	Ditto	Son	Murdered in a Mosque.
	Seyed Mohammed	1436	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Seyed Al-oo-deen	1444	Ditto	Conqueror	Abdicated.
House of Lodi.	Bheilol Lodi	1450	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Secander Lodi	1488	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Ibrahim Lodi	1517	Ditto	Conqueror	Slain in battle at Paniput.
Mogul dynasty.	Baber	1526	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Humayun	1530	Ditto	Usurper	Driven into Persia.
Afghan dynasty.	Sheer Shah Soor	1542	Agra	Youngest Son	Killed at a siege.
	Selim Shah Soor	1545	Delhi & Gwalior	Son	Natural death.
	Feroze Soor	1552	Gwalior	Uncle	Assassinated in 3 days.
	Mohammed Shah Soor Adili	1552	Chunar	Division of Dominion	Expelled and slain.
	Ibrahim III.	1554	Delhi		Imprisoned and slain.
	Secander Soor	1554	Agra	Humayun	Defeated in battle, and fled
Mogul dynasty.	Humayun	1555	Delhi	Son	Killed by a fall.
	Akber	1556	Delhi & Agra	Son	Natural death.
	Jehangeer	1605		Son	Natural death.
	Shah Jehan	1627	Delhi	Fourth Son	Deposed.
	Aurungzebe (Alumgeer)	1658	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Bahadur Shah	1707	Ditto	Eldest Son	Natural death.
	Jehandar Shah	1712	Ditto	Son of Azim-u-Shan	Murdered
	Ferokshere	1713	Ditto	Nephew	Deposed and slain.
	Mohammed Shah	1719	Ditto	Son	Natural death.
	Ahmed Shah	1748	Ditto	Prince of the Blood	Deposed and eyes put out.
	Alumgeer II.	1754	Ditto	Son	Murdered.
	Alum Shah	1760	Ditto	No successor	Natural death.

Note.—Of the above 65 conquerors and rulers, 24 were assassinated or poisoned; 11 were deposed, driven from the throne, or abdicated; two were slain in battle; one killed by a fall; and 27 were said to have died a natural death. Fifteen princes of the *Ghaznivede* dynasty had an average duration of reign of 11 years; 10 *Slave* kings of eight years; three *Khiljii* of 10 years; eight *Toghlak* of 11 years; four *Seyeds* of nine years; three *Lodi* of 25 years; two *Mogul* of eight years; six *Afghan* of two years; and 12 *Mogul* of 17 years each. If the reign of Akber, which lasted for 49 years, and that of Aurungzebe, for 49 = 98, be deducted, the average duration of the remaining 10 princes' reigns was only 10¼ years. The period of 751 years gives an average reign, to each prince, of exactly 11 years. These statements must, however, be regarded rather as affording a general view of the Indo-Mohammedan Dynasties, than as assertions of opinions on various disputed points respecting the death and exact date of accession of several potentates: for accounts of the minor Mohammedan kingdoms *see* pp. 93 to 107. The Great Moguls alone assumed the title of Padsha, or Emperor.

SECTION II.

EUROPEAN INTERCOURSE—RISE AND GROWTH OF BRITISH POWER.

Some light is thrown on the communication between the eastern and western hemispheres by the scriptural account of the frequent supplies of spices and other oriental products obtained by Solomon from the southern parts of Asia, B.C. 1000. The Phœnicians were even then supposed to have long been the chief carriers in the Indian trade, by way of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf; but an overland intercourse appears to have been simultaneously maintained through Persia and Arabia. Of the Asiatics themselves, and of their territories, little was known in Europe until the invasion of the Indian frontier by Alexander the Great, B.C. 331. For nearly three centuries after his death, the Indian traffic was chiefly conducted by Egyptian and Arabian merchants, by way of the Red Sea, the Nile, and the Mediterranean; the marts being Berenice, Coptos, and Alexandria. There were, besides, two other and far less frequented routes: the first lay through Persia and the upper part of Arabia to the Syrian cities, and stretched over a long and dreary desert tract, in which the only halting-place was the famous Tadmor or Palmyra—the city of palms—whose independence and growing prosperity exciting the jealousy of imperial Rome, proved the occasion of its destruction, notwithstanding the determined efforts of its brave queen, Zenobia. With Palmyra the overland traffic of the desert, which had existed since the time of Abraham, terminated; but the other route, across the rocky passes of the Hindoo Koosh, is still in existence, and by this means an inland trade is maintained between India, Persia, and Russia (*viâ* Bokhara.)

In the middle of the first century of the Christian era a discovery was made by a Greek, named Hippalus, the commander of an Egyptian East-Indiaman, of the steady course of the monsoon, at fixed periods, in a certain direction. The result of his observation and daring adventure was to reduce a tedious voyage, of two months' duration, within the compass of a few days; mariners thenceforth steering from the mouth of the Red Sea directly across the ocean to Nelcunda (the site of which Dr. Vincent traces in the modern Nelisuram), instead of following the circuitous line of the Arabian and Persian coasts. Here pepper in great abundance, cotton cloths, and exquisitely fine muslins, silk, ivory, spikenard, pearls, diamonds, amethysts, with other precious stones, and tortoiseshell, awaited the arrival of the merchants, and were largely exported, as also from Tyndis and Musiris (Barcelore and Mangalore), and other emporia on the Indian coast, in exchange for gold and silver, (in vessels and specie,) cloth, coral, incense, glass, and a little wine.

The weakness and distraction of the Roman empire checked this profitable traffic, and the rise of Mohammedan power subsequently cut off all direct communication between Europe and India. The Arabians then formed settlements on the eastern coasts of the Deccan, and by their vessels, or by inland caravans, the rich productions of India were sold to the Venetians or Genoese on the shores of the Mediterranean or of the Euxine. These merchant-princes, though characterised by maritime enterprise, were naturally little desirous of prosecuting discoveries calculated to break up their monopoly, and transfer to other hands at least a large proportion of the Indian trade. The leading European states, engrossed by national or internal strife, were slow to recognise the superiority of an extended commerce as a means of even political greatness, over the sanguinary warfare into which whole kingdoms were repeatedly plunged to gratify the ambition or malignity of a few persons—often of a single individual. The short-lived triumphs of the sword only paved the way for new contests, envenomed by bitter recollections; and it followed inevitably, that all peaceful interests—arts and sciences, mechanics, and agriculture—were neglected in the paramount necessity of finding means to meet the heavy drain of blood and treasure so wantonly incurred. The true principle of trade—the greatest good of the greatest number—was quite overlooked: the citizens of a leading emporium forgot, in triumphing over a defeated rival, that they were exulting in the destruction of one of their own markets; and were far from understanding the more remote connexion which, in the absence

of a holier principle of union, binds nation to nation, forming of the whole a body-corporate, through which the blood circulates more or less freely according to the healthy or diseased action of each and every member.

PORTUGUESE DISCOVERY AND DOMINION.* —A new epoch commenced for Europe, dating from the time when John I. and Prince Henry—worthy representatives of the royal house of Portugal—struck out for themselves and their country a path to power and renown, by becoming the patrons of maritime discovery. Portugal was then, as now, of limited extent and fertility: her previous history afforded little scope for boastful recollection, either while under the sway of the Romans, as the province of Lusitania, or when, in the middle ages, she lay crushed beneath the iron yoke of the Moors, who, after having overrun nearly the whole Peninsula, erected Portugal into a kingdom, under the name of Algarve. But the fiery furnace of adversity developed marvellously the latent energies of the Portuguese. Religious zeal became the inspiring theme with them, as it had formerly been with their conquerors; and, after a struggle of many hundred years' duration, they, like their Spanish neighbours, succeeded in expelling from their shores the numerous, warlike, and fanatical hordes united under the banner of the crescent.

Acting on the false principle of their late persecutors,—that hostilities against infidels were meritorious in the sight of God,—the Portuguese pursued the Moors into Africa, retaliating by every possible means the long series of outrage and thraldom to which they had been subjected. The peculiar situation of Portugal, and its long range of coast-line, bordered by the yet unmeasured expanse of the Atlantic, favoured maritime enterprise; and the exploration of the shores of western, southern, and eastern Africa was followed by the expedition of Vasco de Gama, who, after crossing the Indian Ocean (by the aid of a Hindoo pilot, obtained at Melinda), succeeded in gaining the Malabar coast, and landed at Calicut in May, 1498.

The general condition of India at this period has been shown in previous pages.† Secander Soor sat on the throne of Delhi: in the Deccan, the Mohammedan rulers were Mohammed II., of the Bahmani dynasty; Yusuf Adil Shah, of Beejapoor; and Ahmed Nizam Shah, of Ahmednuggur. The country visited by the Portuguese had anciently formed the southern division of the kingdom of Kerala;‡ but in the course of the ninth century had revolted from its prince (who had become a Mohammedan), and been formed into many petty Hindoo principalities. Of these, the chief was that now governed by a ruler styled the *zamorin*, or *Tamuri rajah*,§ to whom several lesser rajahs seem to have been feudatory; his capital, called Calicut, had attained wealth and celebrity as a commercial emporium. By this prince the adventurers were well received; and notwithstanding some awkward blunders, occasioned by their ignorance of the language, customs, and religion of the country,‖ all went on favourably until their proceedings excited the jealousy of the Mohammedan traders, whom they

* The authorities for the Portuguese proceedings are Lopez de Castanheda; Stevens' translation of Faria y Sousa; and the accounts given in Harris's *Voyages*, the *World displayed*; Murray's *Discoveries*; and other collections of travels by land and sea, in which Juan de Barros and Osorio are largely quoted.

† Pp. 92 to 106. ‡ Page 41.

§ The origin of the zamorins, or Tamuri rajahs, is discussed by Buchanan (vol. ii., p. 474) and Sousa (vol. ii., p. 225.) In accordance with the custom of the country, the name of the individual then reigning was withheld from the Portuguese; but their interpreter, a Moor of Tunis (long resident at Calicut), described him "as a very good man, and of an honourable disposition." He proved to be a person of majestic presence and advanced age: dressed in fine white calico, adorned with branches and flowers of beaten gold, and rare gems (with which latter his whole person was bedecked), he reclined on cushions of white silk, wrought with gold, under a magnificent canopy. A golden fountain of water stood beside him, and a gold basin filled with betel and areca: the hall of audience was richly carpeted, and hung with tapestry of silk and gold. De Gama found some difficulty from the want of the costly presents with which all diplomatic intercourse in the east begins and ends. The zamorin desired an image of Mary, in gold, of which he had heard: this was refused, on the plea that it was only wood, gilt, but valuable "because it had preserved them at sea"—an answer calculated to confirm the assertion of the Moors, that these Europeans, unlike the native Christians, were idolaters.

‖ The Portuguese, acquainted by the accounts of Marco Polo and other travellers with the existence of a Christian community on this coast, looked for the signs of Christian or rather Romish worship; and, filled with this idea, actually entered a splendid pagoda with lofty pillars of brass, and prostrated themselves before an assemblage of strange and grotesque forms, which they took for the Indian ideal of the Madonna and saints. The strings of beads worn by the priests, the water with which the company were sprinkled, the powdered sandal-wood, and the peal of bells, could not, however, quell the suspicions excited by the numerous arms and singular accompaniments of many of the figures; and one of the Portuguese started to his feet, exclaiming, "If these be devils, it is God I worship."

termed the Moors,* settled in Calicut. These merchants having, through their factors, received intelligence of the contests which had taken place, during the voyage, between Vasco de Gama and the people of Mozambique, Mombas, Melinda, and other places on the coast of Africa, informed the zamorin of the outrages that had been committed on this and previous occasions, urging, with sufficient reason, that people who, on frivolous pretences, fired upon and destroyed towns, carried off the inhabitants as slaves, and scrupled not to extort information by the most barbarous tortures, were more probably pirates than ambassadors,† especially as they came unprovided with any offering from their sovereign. Notwithstanding these representations, the Portuguese were suffered to make an advantageous disposition of their cargo (of scarlet cloth, brass, coral, &c.) at Calicut; but a dispute subsequently arising, the factor and secretary were made prisoners. De Gama dissembled his alarm, and continued to communicate with the Indians as if nothing had occurred, until he had succeeded in entrapping on board his vessel a party, comprising six nairs‡ and fifteen other persons of distinction. He then demanded the release of his officers as their ransom; but when this condition was complied with, forfeited his pledge by retaining possession of several of his captives. Enraged by this dishonourable and insulting conduct, the zamorin dispatched a squadron of boats against the Portuguese, and succeeded in procuring the co-operation of neighbouring powers; so that in a short time every bay, creek, and river was filled with boats, ready, at a given signal, to attack the intruders. Such at least was the intelligence, wrung by tortures of the most cruel and disgusting description, from a spy who came out from Goa. De Gama, by the aid of favourable winds avoided the encounter, steered homewards, and reached the Tagus in August, 1499, after an absence of two years and two months; only fifty-five of the 160|| men who had accompanied him on his perilous enterprise, surviving to share the honours of his triumphant entry into Lisbon; but of these, every individual received rewards, together with the personal commendation of King Emanuel.

An armament, comprising thirteen ships and 1,200 men, was immediately fitted out and dispatched to take advantage of the new discovery. The command was entrusted to Alvarez Cabral, De Gama being excluded on the plea of being spared the hazard, but probably either on account of an opposite interest having begun to prevail at court, or because even his own report of his Indian proceedings may have borne evidence that the beneficial results of the skill and courage which had enabled him to triumph over the perils of unknown seas, were likely to be neutralized by his indiscreet and aggressive conduct on shore. Cabral reached Calicut in September, 1500, having, on his way, discovered the coast of Brazil, and lost four of his ships in the frightful storms encountered in rounding the Cape of Good Hope, Bartholomew Diaz being one of those who perished in the seas he had first laid open to European adventure. The captives carried off by De Gama were restored by Cabral, and their representations of the honourable treatment they had received in Portugal, together with costly presents of vessels of gold and silver of delicate workmanship, and cloths ingeniously wrought, obtained for the admiral a gracious reception, and permission to establish a factory at Calicut. Cabral endeavoured to ingratiate himself still further by intercepting and driving into the harbour or roadstead of Calicut a large vessel, then passing from the neighbouring port of Cochin, laden with a rich cargo, including seven elephants, one of which the zamorin had vainly endeavoured to pur-

* This designation seems frequently applied to Arabian and African Mohammedans, in contradistinction to Moguls and Patans. Sousa speaks of them as "inhabiting from Choul to Cape Comorin."

† Prince Henry's characteristic motto, "Talent de bien faire," was sadly misapplied by the Portuguese commanders, who, almost without exception, treated the natives of newly-discovered territories with such shameless cruelty, that their skill and courage fails to disguise the fact, that they were little else than pirates and robbers on an extensive scale;—worse than all, they were stealers of men; and thereby guilty of a crime which could not and did not fail to bring a curse upon their nation. In vain they strove to strengthen themselves with forts and cannon—spreading the terror of their name over the whole African sea-coast: their power has dwindled away like a snow-ball in the sun; and now only enough remains to bear witness of lost dominion. Five-and-twenty years ago, when serving in the navy, I visited the great fortress of Mozambique, where we landed the marines of our frigate to prevent the governor-general (then newly-arrived from Lisbon) being massacred by a horde of savages. At Delagoa, Inhamban, Sofala, and other places, the Portuguese governor and officers were unwilling to venture beyond the reach of the rusty cannon on the walls of their dilapidated forts.

‡ Military class of Malabar, of the Soodra cast.

|| According to Sousa. Castanheda says, 108.

chase; but this unscrupulous use of power gave alarm rather than satisfaction, and added weight to the arguments of the Moors, regarding the danger of encouraging such officious interlopers. The result was, that the Portuguese, unable to effect any purchases from the native merchants, in their impatience construed a hasty expression, dropped by the zamorin when wearied by their solicitations and complaints, into permission to seize a Moorish cargo of rich spices, on condition of the payment of an equitable price. This outrage provoked the resentment of both the Moors and the Hindoo inhabitants of Calicut. The newly-erected factory was broken open, and out of its seventy occupants, fifty-one were killed, the remainder escaping only by leaping into the sea, and swimming to their boats. Cabral retaliated by the capture and destruction of ten Moorish ships, seizing the cargoes, and detaining the crews as prisoners. Then, bringing his squadron as close as possible to the shore, he opened a furious discharge of artillery upon the city, and having set it on fire in several places, sailed southward to Cochin, whose ruler, having rebelled against the zamorin, gladly embraced the offer of foreign commerce and alliance. Here an abundant supply of pepper, the commodity chiefly desired by the Europeans, was obtained, and Cabral returned to Lisbon, taking the opportunity of a favourable wind to avoid a fleet of sixty sail, sent against him from Calicut. It was now manifest that the aggressive policy of the Portuguese could succeed only if powerfully supported; and Emanuel being desirous, in the words of Faria y Sousa, "to carry out what the apostle St. Thomas had begun," during his alleged visit to India, resolved, at all hazards, to avail himself of the papal grant to Portugal of all the eastern regions discovered by her fleets, and tenanted by infidels. He assembled a larger armament than had yet been sent into the eastern seas, and assuming the title of "Lord of the navigation, conquest, and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India," dispatched Vasco de Gama to enforce his authority. The conduct of the envoy was marked by the most savage cruelty. On the coast of Arabia he met and captured a large Moorish ship, seized its stores, shut up the crew in the hold, and set it on fire. Appearing before Calicut, he collected fifty Indians from several captured vessels, and in consequence of some delay which occurred during a negotiation, opened by his demand of compensation for the destruction of the factory and its occupants, he took up an hour-glass, and declared, that unless the matter were settled before the sand had passed through, the prisoners should all be massacred. This savage threat he fulfilled to the letter, flinging on shore the heads, hands, and feet of the wretched victims. After pouring a destructive fire on the city, he proceeded to Cochin and Cananore, cemented the Portuguese alliance with the rulers of these territories, and then returned to Lisbon, leaving a squadron of five vessels under his uncle, Vincente Sodre, to blockade the Red Sea, exclude the hostile Moors from any communication with the coast of Malabar, and do what he could to protect the allies of Portugal against the anger of their liege lord, the zamorin. Instead of following these injunctions, Sodre engaged in piratical pursuits, and at length perished in a violent storm. Triumpara, rajah of Cochin, was left to make his own defence, and being driven from his capital, took refuge in the isle of Vaipeen, whose natural strength and sacred character would probably not have sufficed to ensure him a safe asylum but for the succour that arrived from Portugal, one detachment being sent under the afterwards famous Alphonso Albuquerque, another under his brother Francisco, and a third under Antonio Saldanha. With their assistance, Triumpara was replaced on his throne, and peace concluded with Calicut, but soon broken by the outrageous conduct of the Portuguese. The Albuquerques, after endeavouring to intimidate the zamorin into a renewal of the violated treaty, set sail for Europe,* leaving Duarte Pacheco with four vessels and a few hundred men to assist in guarding their ally, the rajah of Cochin.

The struggle that ensued afforded the first notable instance of the superiority of a small force, strengthened by European strategy and discipline, over an unwieldly Indian host, and may be said to have laid the foundation of Portuguese power in India. Pacheco was skilful and resolute: Triumpara confided to him the sole direction of the defence to be made against the advancing naval and military armament of the zamorin; and the well-directed fire of his little squadron enabled him to obtain a complete triumph, which was greatly facilitated

* Alphonso reached Europe safely. Francisco, with the ships under his command, is supposed to have perished in a storm near Melinda, in Africa.

by a destructive sickness that broke out among the enemy, and compelled their retreat to Calicut.* Pacheco was, perhaps, the ablest as well as the most humane and disinterested of the commanders of his nation in India; for no other, not even Albuquerque, obtained such uniform success with such inadequate means. It would have been good policy to have left him in the position he had so well filled; instead of which, he was superseded by Lope Soarez. On returning to Portugal, he was treated by Emanuel with well-merited distinction; and his disregard of his own interests, and zeal for the public service, were rewarded by the appointment of governor of El Mina, the chief settlement on the African coast; but a violent faction being there raised against him, he was sent home in chains, imprisoned for years, and although at length honourably acquitted, suffered to die in poverty and neglect.

In 1505, Francisco de Almeida arrived off Malabar, attended by a powerful fleet, and dignified with the new and pompous title of viceroy of India. A more formidable opposition than any heretofore encountered now awaited the Portuguese, in the combination formed against them by Mahmood Begarra, of Guzerat, with the Mameluk sultan of Cairo, and the angry and disappointed Venetians. The sultan, incensed by the diminution of his revenues, by the shameful piracies committed on his vessels, and by the barbarous massacre of pilgrims on their way to Mecca (whose cause every zealous Mohammedan identifies with his own), equipped twelve large ships in the Red Sea,† and placed them under an officer named Meer Hocem, with orders for the extirpation of the infidel invaders from the whole face of the eastern seas. Malek Eiaz, the viceroy of Diu, was sent by Mahmood to join the Mameluks, with an assemblage of vessels, inferior in size, but greater in number; and the combined force fell upon the Portuguese squadron anchored off Choul with such effect, that the young commander, Lorenzo, the only son of Almeida, seeing no prospect of successful resistance, and his chief officers, like himself, being wounded, resolved to take advantage of a favourable tide and proceed out to sea. The movement was commenced at midnight, and went on favourably until the ship in which Lorenzo sailed ran foul of some fishing stakes. The enemy having discovered the manœuvre, pressed on in pursuit, while ineffectual attempts were made to free the intercepted vessel. Lorenzo was entreated to enter a boat and escape to the fleet; but he refused to forsake his companions, and drawing them up in fighting order, resolved to hold out, if possible, until the advancing tide should float them out to sea. Hostile ships, bristling with cannon, bore down on the devoted band, and destroyed their last hope by opening upon them a tremendous fire. A ball in the thigh incapacitated Lorenzo for movement; but he caused himself to be lashed to the mast, whence he continued to direct and cheer his men till another shot struck him on the breast, and terminated at once his struggles and his life.‡ The crew, though reduced from one hundred to twenty men, and all wounded, were still disposed to resist the boarding of their vessel; but Malek Eiaz, by gentleness and promises of good treatment, prevailed on them to surrender; and by his after-conduct, amply redeemed his pledge. In truth, Eiaz appears to be almost the only Mohammedan commander of his age and country, who in any degree inherited the chivalry which romance and even history have associated with Saracen leaders in the time of the Crusades. He addressed Almeida in terms of the most delicate condolence, expressing earnest admiration of the valour of his lost son; but the veteran sternly replied, that he considered excellence more to be desired than long life, and saw no cause for lamentation in the glorious death of one who was doubtless now enjoying the reward of his good conduct. This semblance of resignation imposed no restraint upon the burning impatience with which he prepared for vengeance. When about to depart at the head of a fleet of nineteen ships, an unexpected event deranged his plans, and inflicted a blow which he bore with far less dignity than he had done his late bereavement. This was nothing less than his recall and supercession

* Both Moors and Hindoos were provided with cannon before the arrival of the Portuguese, though they do not appear to have been skilful in its use.

† The Venetians sent the timber from the forests of Dalmatia, by way of Alexandria and the Nile. Venetian carpenters built the fleet, which was strongly manned with choice Turkish soldiers.

‡ Sousa says, his countrymen lost 140 men in this engagement, and the enemy 600. Unfortunately, we cannot check the Portuguese accounts by those of their foes, because the Mohammedan historians of the Deccan have rarely thought fit to narrate their contests with these "foreign idolaters," whom they affected to treat with contemptuous indifference.

by Alphonso Albuquerque, who arrived in 1506, bearing a commission as governor-general of India.* Almeida positively refused to resign his command until he should have avenged his son's death by the destruction of the hostile fleet. Being supported in his disobedience to the royal mandate by several leading officers, he refused to allow Albuquerque even to take part in the intended expedition, and sailed off to attack Dabul, a leading emporium, which had zealously embraced the Egyptian cause. The troops disembarked at Diu, notwithstanding the discharge of powerful batteries; for these, having rather a high range, passed over the soldiers heads as they landed in boats, without inflicting any injury. Once on shore, a deadly conflict commenced with the bodies of armed citizens who blocked up the narrow passages to the town: these were at length overpowered; and by the orders of the merciless victor, an indiscriminate slaughter ensued. The streets streamed with blood, and the distracted multitudes fled to the caves of the neighbouring mountains, finding that even buildings consecrated to the service of the One Universal Lord afforded no refuge from the lust and fury of the savage men who dared to cast dishonour on the great name of the Redeemer, by styling themselves disciples and propagators of a faith whose very essence is peace and love. This disgraceful scene had a suitable conclusion; for Almeida, unable to withdraw his troops from their horrible employment, resorted to a violent method of restoring some degree of discipline, by causing the town to be set on fire. The flames extended rapidly over the light timber roofs, and after reducing the stately city to a pile of smoking wood and ashes, reached the harbour. The native shipping was destroyed; the Portuguese vessels with difficulty escaped, and proceeded to the Gulf of Cambay. Here Almeida attacked the combined fleet, and gained a great but costly victory. The Mameluk portion was completely destroyed, and Malek Eiaz compelled to sue for peace. Almeida stipulated for the surrender of Meer Hocem; but Eiaz indignantly refused to betray his ally, and would offer no further concession as the price of peace than the freedom of all European captives. Having no power of enforcing other terms, Almeida was compelled to accept these; but unsoftened by the kindness which the surviving companions of his son had received from their brave captor, the Portuguese admiral filled the measure of his barbarities by causing his prisoners to be shut up in the prize vessels and burnt with them. "Many," says Faria y Sousa, "judged the unhappy end of the viceroy and other gentlemen to be a just punishment of that crime." If so, it was not long delayed. On the return of Almeida to Cochin, a contest seemed about to commence with Albuquerque for the possession of the supreme authority. At this crisis, Ferdinand Coutinho, a nobleman of high character, arrived in command of fifteen ships and a large body of troops, having been opportunely dispatched by Emanuel, with powers to act in the very probable conjuncture which had actually arisen. By his mediation, Almeida was induced to resign the viceroyalty, and set sail for his native country, which he never lived to reach,—he, who had brought so many to an untimely end, himself suffering a violent death at the hands of some Hottentots at the Cape of Good Hope, of whose cattle the Portuguese had attempted to take forcible possession.†

Albuquerque was now left to carry out unchecked his ambitious schemes. He commenced by the assault of Calicut (January, 1510), in conjunction with Coutinho, who, being about to return to Portugal, vehemently urged his claim to be allowed to take the lead on this occasion. As the city could only be approached through narrow avenues, amidst thick woods, in which the whole army had not room to act, it was arranged that the two commanders should advance, at day-break on the following morning, in separate divisions. That of Albuquerque took the lead, and obtained possession of a fortified palace (previously fixed upon as the first object of assault) before the rival party reached the spot. Coutinho, greatly annoyed at being thus anticipated, reproached Albuquerque with a breach of faith, and declaring that he would not be again forestalled, made his way through the streets of Calicut to the chief palace, which lay on the other side of the city, and formed a little town, enclosed by a wall. Being the only regular fortification in the place, it was defended by the main strength of the army; but Coutinho succeeded in forcing open the gates, and acquired possession of the whole enclosure. Flushed with victory, he gave his men full

* The office of viceroy and governor-general was the same, though the title differed.

† Vide *British Possessions in Africa*, vol. iii., p. 4.

license to plunder, and withdrew, to seek rest and refreshment in the state apartments. This over-confidence afforded the Hindoos time to recover from their consternation; and a cry, uttered by one of the chief nairs, passed from mouth to mouth, to the distance of several miles, until 30,000 armed men had assembled, and in turn, surprised the invaders. Albuquerque, who occupied the city, vainly strove to maintain the communication with the fleet: he was hemmed in with his troops in the narrow lanes and avenues, and exposed to a continued shower of arrows and stones, one of which felled him to the ground. The soldiers set fire to the adjacent buildings, and escaped to the ships, bearing away their commander in a state of unconsciousness. Coutinho was less fortunate. When, after neglecting repeated warnings, at last roused by the clash of arms to the actual state of the case, he sprang to the head of his troops, and fought with the fury of desperation, striving not to retain possession of the place—for that was manifestly impossible—but only to cut a path to the shore. In this the majority of the common soldiers succeeded; but Coutinho, with Vasco Sylviera, and other nobles of distinction, were left dead on the field. Out of 1,600 Portuguese (according to De Barros), eighty were killed, and 300 wounded. This disastrous commencement, so far from checking, only served to increase the desire of Albuquerque for territorial dominion, in opposition to the policy previously pursued by Almeida, who had considered that factories, guarded by a powerful fleet, would better suit the purposes of commerce, and be less likely to excite enmity.

Disappointed in the hope of gaining possession of the capital of the zamorin, he looked round for some other city which might form the nucleus of a new empire; for as yet, notwithstanding their high-sounding titles, the Portuguese had but a precarious tenure, even of the land on which their few forts and factories were erected. A useful, though not creditable ally, Timojee, a Hindoo pirate, directed his attention to Goa, then comprehended in the kingdom of Beejapoor. The city was taken by surprise in the early part of 1510; re-captured a few months later by Yusuf Adil Shah, in person; and finally conquered by Albuquerque, at the close of the same year. The contest was prolonged and sanguinary; and the after-slaughter must have been terrific,—since, according to Sousa, "not one Moor was left alive in the island."* The Hindoos were treated very differently; for Albuquerque, with a politic view to the consolidation of his newly-acquired power, confirmed them in their possessions, and promoted the intermarriage of their women with the Portuguese by handsome dowries, at the same time proving his confidence in his new subjects, by employing them in both civil and military capacities. A large quantity of cannon and military stores were captured in Goa, and probably assisted in furnishing the fortifications raised by him in that city; and also in fitting out an armament, comprising 800 Portuguese and 600 Indians, with which Albuquerque proceeded to attack Malacca. This kingdom was then of great importance, being what Singapore is now—namely, the chief mart of the commerce carried on between Hindoostan, China, and the eastern islands. The inhabitants made a vigorous resistance with cannon and floats of wild-fire, and defended their streets by mining with gunpowder; but they were overpowered by the Portuguese, who gained complete possession of the city, and immediately began to erect a strong fort from the ruins of the shattered palaces, and take other measures for the permanent establishment of their supremacy. Negotiations were opened with Siam, Java, and Sumatra; and friendly embassies are even asserted to have been dispatched from these countries in return. The restless sword of Albuquerque next found employment in the defence of Goa, where tranquillity was no sooner restored, than he resumed his plans of distant conquest; and after two unsuccessful attempts upon Aden, assembled 1,500 European and 600 Asiatic troops, in pursuit of the darling object of his ambition—the conquest of Ormuz, the famous emporium of the Persian Gulf. This he appears to have accomplished with little difficulty, by working upon the fears and weakness of the sovereign, who felt quite incapable of combating a formidable force, led by a commander whose ability was more than equalled by his ruthless severity;† and Ormuz, notwithstanding the counter-

* *Portuguese Asia*, vol. i., p. 172.

† After making large allowance for the barbarities common to his age and nation, Albuquerque seems to have been more than usually cruel in his punishments. Among many instances, may be cited that of his sending Portuguese renegades back to their country with their ears, noses, right-hands, and thumbs of the left hand cut off. His passions were

intrigues of the Persian ambassador, fell an easy prize into the hands of the Portuguese. Albuquerque, delighted with his success, prepared to return to Goa, there to superintend the consolidation of the dominion he had gained, and at the same time recruit his own strength, after toils calculated to increase the burden of advancing years. These anticipations were suddenly dashed to the ground by tidings which reached him while sailing along the coast of Cambay. He who had superseded Almeida, was now himself to be ignominiously displaced by a new governor—Lope Soarez, who, to make the blow more galling, was his personal and bitter foe. There was no letter, nor any mark of respect or sympathy from the king, and no reason assigned for his removal; probably none existed beyond the malice of his foes, in suggesting that the powerful viceroy might not long continue a subject. New officers were nominated to the chief vessels and forts, selected from the party known to be hostile to his interests; and even men whom he had sent home prisoners for heinous crimes, returned with high appointments. The adherents of Albuquerque rallied round him, and strove to induce him to follow the example of many Asiatic governors, by asserting his independence; but he rejected the temptation, declaring that the only course now left him consistent with his honour, which through life had been his first care, was to die. Then giving way to profound melancholy, and refusing food or medicine, he soon found the death he ardently desired, expiring upon the bar of Goa (which he had called his land of promise) in December, 1515, in the sixty-third year of his age. While writhing under the torment of a wounded spirit, he was prevailed upon to address a few proud and pathetic lines of farewell to his sovereign, commending to his favour the son whom he had left in Portugal. "As for the affairs of India," he added, "they will speak for themselves and me." This was no empty boast; for in five years, Albuquerque had raised the maritime power of his nation in the East, to a point which, in spite of many changes and conflicts, it never far surpassed. The prize thus acquired was little less than the monopoly of commerce between Europe and India, which was maintained for upwards of a century. Faria y Sousa, indeed, boasts that the empire of his countrymen stretched from the Cape of Good Hope to the frontier of China, and comprehended a coast 12,000 miles in extent; but this simply signifies, that upon this immense sea-line, they alone, of the nations of Europe, had established factories. Of these there were, in all, about thirty—in some cases 1,000 miles apart; and of the surrounding country they rarely possessed anything beyond that which their walls encircled. In India, Goa was the great seat of their influence: they there obtained possession of an area, extending, at a subsequent period, over above 1,000 square miles. The town of Cochin may be said to have been under their control, and probably also that of Cananore; but both these small states continued to retain their native rajahs. Peace had been concluded with Calicut in 1513, and a fortified factory erected there: they possibly, also, established a few insignificant trading depôts on other parts of the coast. Had the management of affairs continued to be entrusted to such men as Albuquerque, it is probable that the struggle, already commenced with the Mohammedans by the seizure of Goa, would have continued until the Portuguese had really acquired extensive territorial sovereignty; but as it was, the high-sounding title of the viceroy or governor-general of India, was quite inconsistent with his actual position as ruler of a few scattered settlements, held at all times on a very precarious tenure.

Lope Soarez, the new governor, presented a strong contrast to his predecessor. Albuquerque was a man of middle stature, with a long white beard, which, for a characteristic reason, had been suffered to grow until it reached his girdle, where he wore it knotted.* When not clouded by fierce and too frequent paroxysms of passion, his countenance was pleasing, and his manner

unrestrained, after his nephew, Antonio de Noronha, was slain in action; this youth having, according to Faria y Sousa, exercised a very salutary influence over his temper through his affections.

* When on his way to supersede Almeida, he attacked Ormuz, and there committed great cruelties, such as cutting off the hands, ears, and noses of persons carrying provisions into the city. Being compelled to raise the siege by the valour of Khojeh Atar, the governor or regent for the young king, the enraged Albuquerque swore, that his beard should never be cut, until he should sit, for that purpose, on the back of his adversary. The opportunity never appears to have arrived (for the name of Khojeh Atar is not even mentioned in the account of the eventual seizure of Goa); and Albuquerque carried to his grave a mortifying memorial of the folly of rash vows.—(*Faria y Sousa*, vol. i., p. 178.)

frank and courteous: to the native princes especially he maintained a respectful demeanour, which rendered him popular even with those who had little real cause for regarding him with a friendly eye. Soarez, according to Faria y Sousa, "was a comely man, with very red hair," and a haughty and repulsive bearing. His covetous and grasping conduct set an example which was speedily followed; and the whole body of the military began to trade, or rather plunder, each one on his own account, with an utter disregard for the public service. The main-spring of the mischief was in Portugal, where, instead of selecting men of tried ability and rectitude, birth or patronage became the first requisite for an office, in which the formula of installation required from the successful candidate a solemn asseveration, that he had made no interest to procure that employment. "How needless the question!" exclaims Faria y Sousa, "how false the oath!" Even if a good governor were appointed by a happy accident, or in a moment of urgent necessity, he could hope to effect little permanent reform; for in the event of his sending home officers charged with the most outrageous offences, they, if men of wealth, however acquired, were sure of a favourable hearing at court, and their representations would probably succeed even in procuring the downfall of their more righteous accuser.

It is quite unnecessary to follow in detail the hostilities in which the Portuguese became involved with the natives of every place where they had established themselves, being, in some cases, completely expelled; in others, barely tolerated: thus fulfilling the prophecy of one of the despised Hindoos,—that "whatever they gained as courageous soldiers, they would lose as covetous merchants;"* and it might with truth have been added, as persecuting bigots: for the injunctions given to the eight Franciscan friars attached to Cabral's expedition, to "carry fire and the sword into every country which should refuse to listen to their preaching,"† were not neglected by their successors.

The administration of Soarez, though generally disastrous,‡ was distinguished by the erection of a fort and factory in the territory of the king of Columbo, in Ceylon (A.D. 1517), from whom, though he had from the first traded amicably with them, the Portuguese now exacted a yearly tribute of 1,200 quintals of cinnamon, twelve rings of rubies and sapphires, and six elephants. It is probable this payment could not be enforced, as the fort itself was abandoned, in 1524, as not worth the keeping, by Vasco de Gama, who was sent out as viceroy in that year. His tenure of office lasted but three months, being terminated by death on Christmas Eve. Sousa describes De Gama as a man of "middle size, somewhat gross, and of a ruddy complexion;" of a dauntless disposition; capable of enduring extraordinary fatigue; prompt and resolute in the execution of justice. Even during his mortal sickness the veteran discoverer zealously exerted himself to put down piracy by sea and peculation by land, preparatory to the execution of greater designs; but the temporary check given to long-permitted malpractices was soon over-stepped; and the dissensions arising from the unbridled lust and avarice of the Portuguese reached such a height, that had the natives combined together against them, their total expulsion would seem to have been very practicable. The zamorin succeeded in driving them from Calicut, which they quitted after performing the humiliating task of destroying their own fortifications.

Nuno da Cunha was sent out in 1529. He was then forty-two years of age, tall, and well-proportioned, with a fair complexion and black beard, but disfigured by the loss of an eye. His reputation for justice and moderation, though probably deserved, so far as his countrymen were concerned, ill accords with the character of his foreign policy; for during his administration a series of unprovoked outrages of the most disgraceful character were committed on the territories of neighbouring rulers. The coast of Guzerat was ravaged in 1530; towns and villages, including Surat,§ Damaun, and others of note, were plundered and burned; the adjacent land bereft of every semblance of cultivation; and the wretched inhabitants carried off as slaves.||

* Sousa adds, "Who was most barbarous—he that said this, or they who did what he said?"

† *De Barros* and *Faria y Sousa*, vol. i. p. 53.

‡ The wrath excited by the piratical seizure of two ships, caused the expulsion of the Portuguese from Bengal, where they wished to establish factories.

§ Surat (according to Sousa), when attacked in 1530, contained "ten thousand families, mostly handicrafts, and all of no courage:" it was taken almost without resistance, "and nothing left in it that had life, or was of value. Then the city, and some ships that lay in the arsenal, were burnt."

|| The result of a single incursion on the coast of Diu was "the obtainment of 4,000 slaves and an

In the two following years an expedition was carried out, which, though unsuccessful in its main object—the taking of Diu—resulted in the capture of the strong island of Beth, seven leagues distant: the whole of the towns on the Maharashtra coast, from Chicklee Tarapoor to Bassein, were burned, and contributions levied from Tanna and Bombay. The contest between Bahadur Shah and the Moguls, drove the former into a compromise with his European foes, whose assistance against the emperor, Humayun, he purchased by granting the long-desired permission to build a fort at Diu,* and by the cession of Bassein in perpetuity, with authority to levy duties on the trade with the Red Sea. The circumstances connected with the assassination of Bahadur by the Portuguese have been already repeatedly mentioned.† The immediate consequence was their occupation of Diu, where they obtained some treasure and an extraordinary amount of cannon and military stores.

In September, 1538, a determined attempt to recover Diu was made by a force levied in Guzerat, through the exertions of a Moorish chief, named Khojeh Zofar, and supported by a squadron dispatched by the Grand Seignior, under the command of Solyman Pasha, the governor of Cairo. The small and sickly garrison of the fort defended themselves with desperate valour; and the women, incited by the enthusiasm of Donna Isabella de Vega (the wife of the governor), and others, bore their part in the danger and fatigue, by taking upon themselves the task of repairing the works shattered by the incessant fire of the batteries. Attempts to carry the fortress by storm were continued during two months, and the besieged were well nigh exhausted, only forty men remaining fit for duty, when, to their joyful surprise, want of union in the camp of the enemy, added probably to ignorance of the straits to which they were reduced, led Solyman to abandon the enterprise on the very eve of success. During his way to Egypt he committed great cruelties on the Portuguese whom he found at different Arabian ports, putting 140 of them to death, and causing their heads, ears, and noses to be salted, and so preserved for the gratification of the Grand Turk. This at least is the story told by Sousa, who departs from his usual moderation in describing this formidable foe to his nation, representing him as ill-favoured, short and corpulent —"more like a beast than a man." Although eighty years of age, and unable to rise without the assistance of four servants, he obtained the command of the recent expedition, by reason of the enormous wealth gathered by oppression, which enabled him to furnish the shipping at his own cost. At length a career of crime was terminated by suicide, committed in a paroxysm of envy and wounded pride.

The reason of succour not having been dispatched from Goa to Diu, was the unsettled state of affairs occasioned by the recall of Nuno da Cunha, whose ten years' administration was brought to a close as abrupt and humiliating as that of Albuquerque. His aggressive policy is quite unjustifiable; but as King John III. was little disposed to be critical on that account, the perfect disinterestedness and energy of the governor had merited honour rather than disgrace.

Like many other of the world's great men, who have thought to serve their country at the expense of duty to God and the common rights of mankind, Nuno discovered his error too late: he fell sick, and died on the voyage to Portugal, the body being committed to the deep, in compliance with the command of the disappointed statesman, that his ungrateful country should not have his bones.

The next memorable epoch in Indo-Portuguese annals, is formed by the administration of Martin Alonzo de Sousa, which commenced in 1542, and lasted about three years, during which brief period, his fierce, bigotted, and grasping conduct completely neutralised the beneficial effect of the efforts of his immediate predecessor, Stephen de Gama.‡ War again commenced with the neighbouring rulers: cities were destroyed,

infinite booty." The fleet, as reviewed in 1531, consisted of "above four hundred sail, many large, more indifferent, and the greatest number small; several of them were only sutlers, fitted out by the natives for private gain," and manned by 3,600 soldiers, 1,450 Portuguese seamen, 2,000 Malabars and Canarese, 8,000 slaves, and 5,000 seamen.—(*Sousa*, vol. i. p. 347.) Nuno is also described as employing as sailors "1,000 Lascarines of the country."

* Sousa relates a feat, performed on this occasion by a Portuguese, named Botello, who, hoping to regain the favour of King John by being the first to communicate the welcome news, set out from India with five Europeans and some slaves, in a barque, 16 feet long, 9 broad, and 4½ deep. The slaves mutinied, and were all slain; the Europeans held on their course without sailors or pilot, and after enduring great hardships, arrived at Lisbon.

† *Vide* preceding section, pp. 85—103.

‡ The son of Vasco held sway during two years. In evidence of his disinterestedness, it is said that he left India 40,000 crowns poorer than he entered it.

together with every living thing they contained;* temples were despoiled, and cruelty and corruption reigned undisguised. François Xavier, one of the earliest Jesuits, had come to India with De Sousa. He exerted himself strenuously in representing the impolicy of the course pursued, which, if not checked, threatened to cause the downfall of Portuguese power throughout Asia; but his arguments appear to have been unheeded. The king of Guzerat, forced into a renewal of hostilities, co-operated with his old ally Khojeh Zofar, who again besieged the fort of Diu, A.D. 1545. The blockade lasted eight months, and was carried on after the death of Khojeh Zofar (whose head and hand were carried away by a cannon-ball) by his son, entitled Rumi Khan. Provisions became so scarce, that nauseous vermin were used for food; while "a crow taken upon the dead bodies was a dainty for the sick, and sold for five crowns." The ammunition was almost spent, and the soldiers exhausted with fatigue. The women displayed the same determination as on a previous occasion, and the fort was maintained until the new governor, Don Juan de Castro, arrived to its relief. On his way he captured several ships in the vicinity of Damaun, and "cutting the Moors that were in them in pieces, threw them into the mouths of the rivers, that the tide carrying them up, they might strike a terror in all that coast." Ansote and other towns were destroyed, and "the finest women of the Brahmins and Banians slaughtered." In fact, these butchers spared neither youth nor beauty, age nor infirmity; the sanctity of cast, nor the innocence of childhood. After raising the siege of the fort, the city of Diu became the scene of a fierce conflict, in which, when the Portuguese wavered, the favourite expedient was resorted to of holding up a crucifix as an incitement to renewed exertion. The sword was a favourite means of conversion with Romish missionaries; priestly robes and warlike weapons were quite compatible; and, on the present occasion, one Fra Antonio played a leading part. The result is best told in the words of the historian above quoted, and may serve to illustrate the manner in which hostilities were conducted by his countrymen, under the personal leadership of a governor whose administration is generally considered one of peculiar prosperity and honour. An arm of the desecrated symbol was shattered in the contest, upon which "the priest, calling upon the men to revenge that sacrilege, they fell on with such fury, that having done incredible execution, they drove the enemy to the city, who still gave way, facing us. The first that entered the city with them was Don Juan, then Don Alvaro and Don Emanuel de Lima, and the governor, all several ways, making the streets and houses run with blood. The women escaped not the fate of the men, and children were slain at their mothers' breasts, one stroke taking away two lives. The first part of the booty was precious stones, pearls, gold and silver; other things, though of value, were slighted as cumbersome. * * * Of the Portuguese, 100 were killed; others say only thirty-four: of the enemy, 5,000 [including Rumi Khan and others of note.] Free plunder was allowed. * * * There were taken many colours, forty pieces of cannon of an extraordinary bigness, which, with the lesser, made up 200, and a vast quantity of ammunition."†

After this "glorious victory," thirty ships were sent to devastate the Cambay coast: the people fled in alarm from the burning towns and villages, and took refuge in the mountain caves. The inhabitants of a city, called Goga, while sleeping in imagined security, a league distant from their ruined homes, were surprised at night, and all put to the sword. The cattle in the fields were either killed or ham-strung. In the various vessels captured along the coast of Baroach, the same system of general massacre was carried out; and the groves of palm-trees, which afford, in many places, the sole article of subsistence, were systematically destroyed.

The governor returned in triumph to Goa, crowned with laurel, preceded by Fra Antonio and his crucifix, and followed by 600 prisoners in chains, the royal standard of Cambay sweeping the ground. The streets were hung and carpeted with silk, scattered over with gold and silver leaves. The ladies threw flowers at the feet of the conqueror, and sprinkled sweet-scented waters as he passed their windows. This ovation, whether designed to gratify individual vanity,

* The rani, or queen of a small raj or kingdom, situated on the Canarese coast, having refused to pay tribute to the Portuguese, was punished by the destruction of her capital, Batecala. "The city," says Faria y Sousa, "ran with the blood of all living creatures before it was burnt; then the country was laid waste, and all the woods cut down."—(Vol ii., p. 74.) Other small Hindoo states are mentioned by Sousa as personally defended by female sovereigns.

† *Faria y Sousa*, vol. ii., pp. 110 to 113.

or with the idea of making an impression on the natives, was rendered the more unseemly by the fact, that Don Fernando, the son of the governor, had perished during the siege of Diu. The sway of De Castro lasted only from 1545 to 1548. Notwithstanding his sanguinary proceedings, he appears to have been solicitous for the interests of commerce, and perfectly disinterested; for, instead of having amassed wealth, like many other governors of equally short standing, he was so poor, that in his last illness provision was made for him out of the public revenue.* The cause of his death, at forty-seven years of age, is said by Faria y Sousa to have been "grief for the miserable estate to which India was reduced"—a statement reconcilable with other accounts of this period, only by supposing that amid seeming prosperity, De Castro foresaw the end of an oppressive and corrupt system.

The invasion of Sinde, in 1556, under the administration of Francisco Barreto, is alleged to have been provoked by the fickleness of its ruler, who first solicited and then refused Portuguese co-operation, thus affording a pretext for his intended auxiliaries to pillage his capital (Tatta), kill 8,000 persons, and destroy by fire "to the value of above two millions of gold," after loading their vessels with one of the richest booties they had ever taken in India. Eight days were spent in ravaging the country on both sides of the Indus, after which the fleet returned, having, it would appear, scarcely lost a man. The next exploit was the burning of Dabul and the neighbouring villages, in revenge for the hostility of the king of Beejapoor.

Religious persecution, which seems to have slumbered for a time, awoke with renewed ferocity, and was directed rather against what the Romish priests chose to call heresy, than absolute paganism. An account of the alleged mission of St. Thomas the apostle, and of the Christian church spoken of by Cosmas,† in the sixth century, properly belongs to the section on the religious condition of India. In this place it is sufficient to say, that both on the Malabar coast and in the kingdom of Ethiopia—including the state whose ruler attained such extraordinary celebrity under the name of Prester John—the Portuguese found Christian communities who steadily refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the pope; rejected the use of images, together with all dogmas regarding transubstantiation, extreme unction, celibacy of priests, &c., and asked for blessings, whether temporal or eternal, only in the name of the one mediator, Jesus Christ. These "ancient Christians," says Sousa, "disturbed such as were converted from paganism" by Zavier and his fellow-labourers: the Jews also proved a stumbling-block. In 1544, Jerome Diaz, a Portuguese physician of Jewish extraction, was burnt for heresy; and probably many others of less note shared his fate. In 1560, the first archbishop of Goa was sent from Lisbon, accompanied by the first inquisitors, for the suppression of Jews and heretics. Throughout the existence of this horrible tribunal, crimes of the most fearful character were perpetrated; and in the minds alike of the denounced schismatics and of pagans, a deep loathing was excited against their persecutors. The overthrow of the Hindoo kingdom of Beejanuggur, in 1564, by the combined efforts of the four Mohammedan Deccani states, left these latter at liberty to turn their attention more fully towards their European foes; and in 1571, a league was formed against the Portuguese by the kings of Beejapoor and Ahmednuggur. The zamorin of Calicut likewise joined them; but from some distrust in his own mind, long withheld his personal co-operation. Ali Adil Shah besieged Goa, sustained great loss, and after ten months was compelled to withdraw without having accomplished anything. Mortezza Nizam Shah sustained a mortifying defeat at Choul, and was glad to make peace with the triumphant Portuguese. The zamorin, though last in the field, had the best success, obtaining the surrender of the fort Chale (a few miles from Calicut) from Don George de Castro, who, although eighty years of age, was beheaded at Goa by orders from Portugal, on the ground of having surrendered his charge without sufficient reason.

A change was made in 1571 in the duties of the governor, by the division of authority over Portuguese affairs in Asia into three parts: the first, that of *India*, being made to comprise their possessions situated between Cape Guardafui and Ceylon;‡ the

* He died in the arms of François Xavier. "In his private cabinet was found a bloody discipline (? a scourge) and three royals, which was all his treasure."—(*Faria y Sousa*, vol. ii., p. 129.)

† Surnamed *Indicopleustes*, or the Indian voyager.

‡ The proceedings of the Portuguese in Ceylon are purposely omitted here: they will be narrated in the history of that island.

second, styled *Monomotapa*, extending from Cape Corrientes to Guardafui; the third, or *Malacca*, from Pegu to China. The sway of Portugal was now, however, nearly ended; she had misused the trust committed to her care, and was punished by the suspension of her independence, after maintaining it 500 years. King Sebastian fell in Africa, in 1578, and about two years later, Philip II. of Spain procured the reannexation of Portugal, to which he laid claim in right of his mother, Isabella. In India, the change was only from bad to worse: the furnace of persecution was heated seven times hotter than before. The Syrian Christians of Malabar were cruelly persecuted, their bishop seized and sent to Lisbon, and their churches pillaged; their books, including ancient copies of the Scriptures, burned, while Archbishop Menezes marched, singing a hymn, round the flames (1599.) The Inquisition increased in power; and, perhaps, among all the impious and hateful sacrifices offered up by men given over to dark delusions, never yet did idolatrous pagan, or professed devil-worshipper, pollute this fair earth by any crime of so deep a dye as the hideous *Auto da Fé*, usually celebrated on the first Sundays in Advent.* Dellon, a French physician, who languished two years in the dungeons of Goa, has given a life-like picture of the horrible ceremonials of which he was an eye-witness; and describes his "extreme joy" at learning that his sentence was not to be burnt, but to be a galley-slave for five years.† He speaks of himself as having heard every morning, for many weeks, the shrieks of unfortunate victims undergoing the *question;* and he judged that the number of prisoners must be very large, because the profound silence which reigned within the walls of the building, enabled him to count the number of doors opened at the hours of meals. At the appointed time, the captives were assembled by their black-robed jailors, and clothed in the *san benito*, a garb of yellow cloth, with the cross of St. Andrew before and behind. The relapsed heretics were dressed in the *samarra*, a grey robe, with the portrait of the doomed wearer painted upon it, surrounded by burning torches, flames, and demons; and on their heads were placed sugar-loaf-shaped caps, called *carrochas*, on which devils and flames were also depicted. The bell of the cathedral began to ring a little before sunrise, and the gloomy procession commenced—men and women indiscriminately mixed, walking with bleeding feet over the sharp stones, and eagerly gazed on by innumerable crowds assembled from all parts of India to behold this "act of faith" of a European nation. Sentence was pronounced before the altar in the church of St. Francis, the grand inquisitor and his counsellors sitting on one side, the viceroy and his court on the other; and each victim received the final intimation of his doom by a slight blow upon the breast from the alcaide. Then followed their immolation, the viceroy and court still looking on while the prisoners were bound to the stake in the midst of the faggots, and hearing, as a periodical occurrence, the shrieks and groans of these unhappy creatures. The vengeance of the Inquisition ceased not even here: the day after the execution, the portraits of the murdered men were carried to the church of the Dominicans, and there kept in memory of their fate; and the bones of such as had died in prison, were likewise preserved in small chests painted over with flames and demons.‡

These are dark deeds which none aspiring to the pure and holy name of Christian can record without a feeling of deep humiliation; but they may not be shrouded in oblivion, since they furnish abundant reason why the mutilated gospel preached by Romish priests made so little permanent impression in India; and, moreover, afford enduring evidence that England, and every other protesting nation, had solid grounds for severance from the polluted and rotten branch which produced such fruit as "the holy Inquisition." In Europe, as in Asia, a light had been thrown on the true nature of the iron yoke, with which an ambitious priesthood had dared to fetter nations in the name of the Divine Master, whose precepts their deeds of pride and cruelty so flagrantly belied. The Reformation, faulty as were some of the instruments concerned in its establishment, had yet taught men to look to the written gospel for those laws of liberty and love which nations and individuals are

* The portion of the gospel read on that day mentions the last judgment; and the Inquisition pretended, by the ceremony, to exhibit an emblem of that awful event.—Wallace's *Memoirs of India*, p. 394.

† Dellon was accused of heresy for having spoken disparagingly of the adoration of images. He had also grievously offended by calling the inquisitors fallible men, and the "holy office" a fearful tribunal which France had acted wisely in rejecting.

‡ Hough's *Christianity in India*, vol. i., chap. iv

alike bound to observe. Unhappily, this great lesson was but imperfectly learned; for although withheld rights have ever formed a popular theme, the responsibilities those rights involve cannot be expected to commend themselves, save to conscientious and enlightened minds. Thus it proved easier to renounce the dogmas of popery, than to root out the vices it had fostered or permitted; and the very people who had most cause for gratitude in being delivered from the oppressive and arrogant dominion of Spain, became themselves examples of an equally selfish and short-sighted policy.

At this period there were many signs in the commercial horizon, that neither papal bulls, nor the more reasonable respect paid to the claims of discovery and preoccupation, could any longer preserve the monopoly of the Indian trade to Spain and Portugal. Several causes combined for its destruction. The conquest and settlement of America afforded full employment for the ambition and ferocity of Philip II.; and his Asiatic territories were left in the hands of rulers, who, for the most part, thought of nothing but the gratification of their own passions, and the accumulation of wealth;—which latter, by pillage of every description, and by the shameless sale of all offices and positions, they usually contrived to do in the period of two to three years,* which formed the average duration of their tenure of office. It may be readily imagined that the measures of his predecessor were rarely carried out by any governor; but all seem to have agreed in conniving at the most notorious infraction of the general rule which forbade any Portuguese to traffic on his own account, as an unpardonable infringement on the exclusive rights of his sovereign. Corruption, mismanagement, and the growing aversion of the natives, gradually diminished the trade, until the average annual arrival in Lisbon of ships from India was reduced from five to about three; and the annual value of the cargoes decreased in proportion to about a million crowns. Thus, notwithstanding the royal monopoly of spices, Philip soon found that the expense of maintaining the various Indian governments† exceeded the commercial profits: he therefore made over the exclusive privilege of trading to India, in the year 1587, to a company of Portuguese merchants, on consideration of a certain annual payment; reserving, however, the appointment of governors, the command of the army, and every description of territorial revenue and power. This change in the state of affairs created great excitement and dissatisfaction at Goa. It was evident that the company, if able and willing to enforce the rights bestowed upon them, would reduce the profits of the various officials to their legitimate bounds; and the very thought was intolerable to a community who, "from the viceroy to the private soldier, were all illicit traders, and occasionally pirates."‡ The general disorganisation was increased, in 1594, by the arrival of a papal bull and royal command for the forcible conversion of infidels; which was in effect, free leave and license to every member of the Romish communion to torture and destroy all who differed from them on doctrinal points, and to pillage pagodas or churches, public or private dwellings, at pleasure. Such a course of proceeding could scarcely fail to bring about its own termination; and the strong grasp of tyranny and persecution, though more fierce, was yet rapidly growing weaker, and would probably have been shaken off by the natives themselves, even in the absence of the European rivals who now appeared on the scene. England, under the fostering care of Elizabeth, had already manifested something of the energy which, under the Divine blessing, was to secure to her the supremacy of the ocean; to extend her sway over ancient and populous nations; and to lay the foundation of the greatest colonial empire the world ever saw. This puissance was still in the embryo, and England a little kingdom with a limited trade, when her soldiers and merchants began the

* From the arrival of Almeida in 1505, to 1640 (the period at which Sousa terminates his history), there were some fifty viceroys or governors, of whom a very large proportion (about one-third) died in India or on their voyage home.

† The possessions of Spain and Portugal, at this time, were the forts of Diul (on the Indus) and of Diu; a fortified factory at Damaun; the town and castle of Choul; a factory at Dabul; the city of Bassein; the island of North Salsette, and the town of Tanna; the island of Bombay; the city and fort of Goa; and factories at Onore, Barcelore, Mangalore, Cananore, Calicut, Cranganore, and Quiloa; stations at Negapatam and St. Thomas, or Meliapoor, (on the Coromandel coast); and several commercial posts in Bengal. They had also the port of Cochin; factories, or liberty to trade at Pegu, Martaban, and Junkseylon; held the strongly-fortified town of Malacca, and had, moreover, established themselves at several commanding points in the island of Ceylon. (Bruce's *Annals of East India Company*, vol. i. p. 24.)

‡ Macpherson's *Commerce with India*, p. 32.

struggle with the combined forces of Spain and Portugal, in alliance with a people whose newly-acquired independence had originated in the reaction caused by the corruption and cruelty of the Spanish government, represented by such men as the Duke of Alva, and the bigotry of Rome, represented by such institutions as the Inquisition.*

Rise of Dutch Power.—It was only in the year 1579 that the Netherlanders ventured to defy the power of Philip, and formed themselves into a separate government, which they did not establish without a desperate and prolonged conflict, aided zealously by Elizabeth. Their after-progress was marvellous; and before neighbouring countries had well learned to recognise their new position, the "poor distressed people of Holland" had changed that designation for the "High and Mighty States, the United Provinces." The course that materially aided their rapid advancement was forced upon them by the arbitrary policy of Philip. Having very little land, they had ever mainly depended for subsistence on fisheries, trade, and navigation. While Portugal was a separate kingdom they resorted thither for East India produce, of which they became the carriers to all the northern nations of Europe; and after the annexation of that kingdom to Spain, their ships continued to sail to Lisbon under neutral colours, at which the Portuguese gladly connived. But Philip, hoping to lay the axe to the root of the mercantile prosperity which enabled his former subjects to sustain a costly and sanguinary contest with his mighty armies, compelled the Portuguese to renounce this profitable intercourse,—laid an embargo on all Dutch ships, seized the cargoes, imprisoned the merchants and ship-masters, or delivered them over as heretics to the tender mercies of the Inquisition, and even forced the mariners and others into his hated service. The Dutch, driven to desperation by an enemy from whom they had all to fear and nothing to hope, incited by the able counsel of Prince Maurice, resolved to attempt procuring the necessary supplies of spices direct from Asia.

With the double inducement of avoiding the fleets which guarded the approach to the Indian seas, and of finding a much shorter route, the Dutch (following the example of various English navigators) strove to discover a north-eastern passage to India,† and in the years 1594,-'5, and '6, sent three expeditions for this purpose. All failed, and the last adventurers were compelled to winter on the dreary shores of Nova Zembla. In the meantime some Dutch merchants, not caring to wait the doubtful issue of these attempts, formed themselves into a company, and resolved to brave the opposition of Philip, by commencing a private trade with India *viâ* the Cape of Good Hope. Four ships were dispatched for this purpose, under the direction of Cornelius Houtman,‡ a Dutch merchant or navigator, well acquainted with the nature and conduct of the existing Indian traffic; and the coast of Bantam (Java) was reached without hindrance, save from the elements.§ Having obtained cargoes, partly by purchase from the natives, but chiefly by plunder from the Portuguese, Houtman returned to the Texel, where, notwithstanding the loss of one of the vessels—a very frequent occurrence in those days,‖—the safe arrival of

* Before the people rose against their oppressors, 100,000 of them were judicially slaughtered—the men by fire and sword, and the women by being buried alive.—(*Grotii Annal. Belg.* pp. 15—17.)

† Along the shores of Norway, Russia, and Tartary, to China, and thence into the Indian Ocean.

‡ The manner in which he acquired this knowledge is variously related:—by Savary, as obtained in the Portuguese service; by other authorities, during a long imprisonment at Lisbon; Raynal says for debt; Sallengre, in consequence of the suspicions excited by his inquiries on commercial subjects. His freedom was procured by payment of a heavy fine, subscribed on his behalf by Dutch merchants. (*See* different accounts, commented on in Macpherson's *European Commerce with India*, note to p. 45.)

§ Two of the vessels were 400 tons burthen, carrying each eighty-four men, six large brass cannon, fourteen lesser guns, four great "patereroes" and eight little ones, with "muskers" and small guns in proportion; the third, of 200 tons, had fifty-nine men, six large cannon, with lesser ones in proportion; the fourth, of thirty tons, with twenty-four men and cannon: the whole carrying 249 mariners. The fleet sailed from the Texel the 2nd of April, 1595; reached Teneriffe on the 19th; St. Jago on the 26th; crossed the equator on the 14th of June; on the 2nd of August doubled the Cape of Good Hope (seamen in great distress with scurvy), and remained some days on the coast: in September, October, and November, the ships were at different parts of Madagascar, and sailed thence on the 1st of December towards Java, which was reached in the middle of January, 1596; thus terminating the first Dutch voyage to the Indian seas.—(See *Collection of Voyages undertaken by Dutch East India Company.* London translation, 1808.)

‖ Linschoten says, that almost every year one or two Portuguese East-Indiamen were lost. Faria y Sousa gives an account of 956 vessels, which sailed from Portugal for India, from 1412 (when Prince Henry first attempted the discovery of a passage by

the remainder was welcomed as an auspicious commencement of the undertaking. Several new companies were formed;—the number of ships annually increased,* and succeeded in obtaining cargoes, notwithstanding the opposition of the Portuguese, who strove, but for the most part ineffectually, to prejudice the natives against their rivals; their own proceedings having been so outrageous, that any prospect of a check or counteraction seemed rather to be courted than avoided. In 1600, not five years after the first expedition under Houtman, forty vessels, of from 400 to 600 tons, were fitted out by the Dutch. Hitherto the Spanish monarch had made no effort to intercept their fleet; but in the following year he dispatched an armament of thirty ships of war, by which eight outward-bound vessels, under the command of Spilbergen, were attacked near the Cape Verd Islands. The skill and bravery of the defendants enabled them to offer effectual resistance, and they succeeded in making their way to India without any serious loss. Philip did not again attempt a naval contest, but made military force the basis of his subsequent efforts for their subjugation; prohibiting them, under pain of corporal punishment, from trading with the Spanish possessions, either in the East or West Indies. These threats proved only an incitement to more determined efforts; and it being evident that the combination of the several Dutch companies would tend to strengthen them against the common foe, they were united, in 1602, by the States-General, and received a charter bestowing on them, for a term of twenty-one years, the exclusive right of trade with India, together with authority to commission all functionaries, civil and military, to form what establishments they pleased, and make war or peace in all countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope. From regard to the claims of the proprietors of the minor associations, the new company was divided into six chambers or boards of management, of which Amsterdam and Middleburg were the chief, their share in the funds subscribed being proportionably represented by twenty-five and twelve directors; the remaining chambers of Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn, and Enkhuysen having each seven directors: making a total of sixty-five persons, with a capital of 6,440,200 guilders, or (taking the guilder at 1*s.* 8*d.*) about £536,600. The project was popular, and brought both money and a valuable class of emigrants into Holland, many opulent merchants of the Spanish provinces in the Netherlands, and of other places, removing with their effects into the Dutch territory. No time was lost in fitting out a fleet of fourteen large ships, well manned, and furnished with soldiers and the necessary military and other stores requisite for the carrying out of the aggressive policy henceforth to be adopted against the national enemies, whom the Dutch had previously shunned rather than courted encountering in their foreign possessions.† The same power, whose co-operation had so materially contributed to the success of their European struggles, now came equally opportunely to their assistance in Asia; for in this same year (1602) the first ships of the first English East India Company appeared in the Indian seas. It may be useful to pause here, and briefly review the circumstances that led to the formation of a body, which, after long years of trial and vicissitude, attained such unexampled and strangely-constituted greatness.

Rise of English Power.—Before the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, England, like other northern European nations, had been supplied from the Adriatic with Eastern products. A ship of great bulk usually arrived every year from Venice, laden with spice (chiefly pepper) and some other Asiatic commodities, which the traders necessarily sold at high prices, owing to the circuitous route they were compelled to traverse. This state of things terminated with the close of the fifteenth century, by reason of the successful voyage of Vasco de Gama, which gave to Portugal the monopoly of the Asiatic trade. At that very time, the English, stimulated by a strong desire for the extension of com-

sea) to 1640: of these, 150 were lost, and with them he estimates not less than 100,000 persons—a not improbable number, considering the great size of many of the vessels, which carried 800 or 900 men.

* In 1598, two fleets, consisting of eight vessels, were sent by the Amsterdam merchants from the Texel, and five from Rotterdam, which were followed up by successive fleets in subsequent years, as the trade gave twenty to seventy-five per cent. of profit on the adventures.—(*Voyages of Dutch Company.*)

† The Dutch at first resorted to Sumatra and Java, where the Portuguese do not appear to have had any considerable establishments. Houtman formed a factory at Bantam in 1595.

The spice trade was opened with Amboyna, Ternate, and the Bandas, in 1598; with Sumatra and China, in 1599; with Ceylon, in 1600.

merce, and likewise by curiosity regarding the far-famed country, then called Cathay (China), were themselves attempting the discovery of a sea-passage to India; and in May, 1497, two months before the departure of Vasco, from Lisbon, an expedition comprising two ships fitted out by Henry VII. and some vessels freighted by the merchants of Bristol, left England, under the guidance of an enterprising Venetian navigator, named Giovanni Gavotta, *anglicé*, John Cabot. On reaching 67° 30′ N. lat., Cabot was compelled, by the mutinous conduct of his crew, to stand to the southward; and in the course of the homeward voyage he fell in with Newfoundland and the continent of North America. Notwithstanding the dissensions which characterised the concluding portion of the reign of Henry VII., and that of his son and successor Henry VIII., several commissions of discovery were issued by them,* but were attended with no important results. The commerce with the Levant appears to have commenced about the year 1511;† in 1513, a consul was stationed at Scio for its protection; and in process of time, the Levant or Turkey merchants came to be looked upon as the true East India traders. Factories were established by them at Alexandria, Aleppo, Damascus, and the different ports of Egypt and the Turkish dominions. Their growing importance did not however extinguish, but rather increased the general desire for more direct communication with India and China; and in 1549, Sebastian Cabot, the son of John Cabot, who had accompanied his father in the expedition of 1497, and had since attempted the discovery of the much-desired line of route, persuaded a number of London merchants to raise a capital of £6,000 in shares of £25 each, for the prosecution of a new voyage of discovery and trading adventure. The young king Edward VI., to whose notice Sebastian had been previously introduced by the protector Somerset, had bestowed on him an annual pension of £166, and made him grand pilot of England. He now gave every encouragement to the infant association. No time was lost in fitting out three vessels, which were dispatched under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby, in May, 1553, and furnished with "Letters Missive" from King Edward to the sovereigns of northern Europe, bespeaking their protection for his subjects in their peaceful but perilous enterprise.‡ The court, then at Greenwich, assembled to witness the departure of the little squadron: vast crowds of people lined the shore; and the roar of cannon, and the

* Robert Thorne, an English merchant, having during a long residence at Seville acquired considerable knowledge of the benefits derived by Portugal from the Indian trade, memorialised Henry VIII. on the subject, urging the advantages which England might attain from the same source, and suggesting three courses to be pursued;--either by the north-east, which he imagined would lead them to "the regions of all the Tartarians that extend toward the mid-day," and thence "to the land of the Chinas and the land of Cathaio Orientall;" from which, if they continued their navigation, they might "fall in with Malacca" and return to England by the Cape of Good Hope. The second course, to the north-west, would lead them, he said, "by the back of the New-found-land, which of late was discovered by your grace's subjects," and pursuing which they might return through the Straits of Magellan (discovered six years before.) The third course lay over the North Pole, after passing which he suggested that they should "goe right toward the Pole Antarctike, and then decline towards the lands and islands situated between the tropikes and under the equinoctiall;" and "without doubt they shall find there the richest lands and islands of the world of gold, precious stones, balmes, spices, and other things that we here esteem most."--(Hakluyt, vol. i., p. 235.) The consequence of this memorial was the sending of two vessels by private merchants in 1527, which returned very shortly without success (Hakluyt, iii., 167), and two by the king in the same year, of which one was lost off the north coast of Newfoundland, and the other effected nothing.—(Purchas' *Pilgrims*, iii., 809.)

† Hakluyt states, that between 1511 and 1534, "divers tall ships of London, Southampton, and Bristol had an ordinary and usual trade" to Sicily, Candia, Chios, and somewhiles to Cyprus; as also to Tripoli and Beyrout, in Syria. The exports, as proved by the ledgers of Locke, Bowyer, Gresham and other merchants, were "fine kersies of divers colours, coarse kersies, &c.;" the imports, silks, camlets, rhubarb, malmsey, muscatel, &c. Foreign as well as English vessels wer employed, "namely, Candiots, Raguseans, Genouezes, Venetian galliases, Spanish and Portugall ships." (ii., 207.)

‡ The religious spirit in which the project was conceived is forcibly evidenced by the instructions drawn up by Cabot, for what Fuller truly remarks "may be termed the first reformed fleet which had English prayers and preaching therein." (*Worthies of England, Derbyshire*, of which county Willoughby was a native.) Swearing and gambling were made punishable offences, and "morning and evening prayer, with other common services appointed by the king's majesty and laws of this realm to be read and said in every ship daily by the minister in the *Admiral* [flag-ship], and the merchant, or some other person learned in other ships; and the Bible or paraphrases to be read devoutly and Christianly to God's honour, and for his grace to be obtained, and had by humble and hearty prayer of the navigants accordingly."—(Hakluyt, i., 254.) This daily prayer on board ship was long an acknowledged duty; and in 1580, in the directions of the Russian company, the mariners are enjoined, as a matter of course, "to observe good order in your daily service and pray unto God; so shall you prosper the better."

shouts of the mariners, filled the air: yet the ceremony seemed inauspicious; for the youthful monarch, on whom the eyes of Protestant Christendom waited hopefully, and who felt so deep an interest in the whole proceeding, lay prostrate in an advanced stage of that insidious disease, which then as now, yearly robbed England of many of her noblest sons and fairest daughters. Sir Hugh, and the whole ship's company of the *Buona Ventura*, were frozen to death near Lapland;* Captain Chancelor, the second in command, reached a Russian port (where Archangel was afterwards built), and proceeded thence to Moscow. The czar, Ivan Vasilivich, received him with great kindness, and furnished him with letters to Edward VI., bearing proposals for the establishment of commercial relations between the two countries. These were gladly accepted by Mary, who had in the interim ascended the throne; and a ratification of the charter promised by Edward to the company was granted by the queen and her ill-chosen consort, in 1554.† Chancelor was again sent out in the following year with agents and factors, and on his return, an ambassador accompanied him to England, in saving whose life in a storm off the Scottish coast, Chancelor lost his own.‡ This is an exceptional instance of encouragement given by the Crown to commercial enterprise during this short and sanguinary reign; nor, indeed, could Mary, as the wife of the bigotted Philip of Spain, herself a stanch and unscrupulous adherent of the Romish creed, be expected to patronize any adventure likely to trench upon the monopoly which the pope had assumed to himself the power of bestowing on her husband: the only cause for surprise is, that her signature should ever have been obtained to the charter of the Russian company, though probably it was a concession granted to the leading Protestant nobles, whose support she had secured at a critical moment by her promise (soon shamelessly broken) of making no attempt for the re-establishment of a dominant priesthood in England.

It was reserved for her sister and successor Elizabeth, alike free from the trammels of Rome and the alliance of Spain, to encourage and aid her subjects in that course of maritime and commercial enterprise, whose importance she so justly appreciated. The early part of her reign abounded with political and social difficulties;—foes abroad, rebellion in Ireland, discord at home, gave full and arduous employment to the ministers, whose energy and ability best evidenced the wisdom of the mistress who selected and retained such servants. The finances of the nation did not warrant any large expenditure which should necessitate the imposition of increased taxation for an uncertain result: it was therefore from private persons, either individually or in societies, that commercial adventures were to be expected. The Russian company renewed their efforts for the discovery of a north-east passage, and records of several voyages undertaken under their auspices are still extant; but it does not appear that

* When the extreme cold ceased, the peasants of the country found the body of Sir Hugh in his cabin, seated as if in the act of writing his journal, which, with his will, lay before him, and testified his having been alive in January, 1554.

† The Russian company, probably the first chartered joint-stock association on record, exists to the present day—at least in name.

‡ The Russian ambassador, Osep Napea, returned to his own country in the last year of Mary's reign, and was accompanied by Anthony Jenkinson, who represented the company, and was instructed to attempt the extension of their trade through Russia to Persia and Bactria. By permission of the czar, Jenkinson quitted Moscow in April, 1558, and proceeded by Novogorod and the Volga river to Astracan, on the north of the Caspian: he then crossed that sea, and on its southern shores joined a caravan of Tartars, with which he travelled along the banks of the Oxus to Bokhara, and having there obtained much valuable information for his employers, returned to England (by Moscow) in 1560. In the following year, Queen Elizabeth dispatched him with letters to the Suffavi or Sophi, king of Persia (Shah Abbas I.), requesting his sanction for her subjects to open a trade in his dominions for the sale of their goods, and the purchase of raw silk and other commodities. The jealousy and intrigues of some Turkish agents, who were then engaged in concluding a treaty with the Shah at the fortified city of Casvin (where the Persian court then was), frustrated the mission of the English envoy, and even endangered his life; so that he was glad to make his escape through the friendly interposition of the king of Hyrcania, who furnished him with credentials granting various commercial privileges to such English as might desire to traffic in, or traverse his dominions on the southern shore of the Caspian. In 1566, another agent, named Arthur Edwards, was sent to Persia, and succeeded in obtaining from the czar permission for Englishmen to trade in his dominions with immunity from tolls or customs on their merchandise, and protection for their persons and property. In the same year the Russian company obtained from Elizabeth a charter with additional privileges, in reward for their explorations in the Caspian Sea, Armenia, Media, Hyrcania (Astrabad), and Persia, which it was hoped might lead to the ultimate discovery of "the country of Cathaia."—(Hakluyt, i., 414—418.)

either queen or people cared to defy the fleets of Spain by sailing round the Cape of Good Hope, until Sir Francis Drake, in 1577, having fitted out five ships at his own expense, left England and sailed through the straits of Magellan, into the south seas,* where he acquired immense booty from the Spaniards. The news reaching Europe, a strong force was sent to intercept him, but information of the danger enabled him to avoid it by changing his route, and after visiting Ternate (one of the Moluccas), forming a treaty with the king, and taking part in some hostilities between the natives and the Portuguese, Drake shipped a large quantity of cloves, and proceeded round the Cape to England, where he arrived at the close of 1580, with a single shattered vessel, having been the first of his nation to circumnavigate the globe.

The *Turkey Company*, established by charter in 1581, sent four representatives to India, through Syria, Bagdad, and Ormuz, whence they carried some cloths, tin, and other goods to Goa, and proceeded to visit Lahore, Agra, Bengal, Pegu, and Malacca, meeting everywhere with kindness from the natives, and opposition from the Portuguese. Of the envoys, Fitch alone returned to England (in 1591);† Newberry died in the Punjaub; Leades, a jeweller by profession, entered the service of the Emperor Akbar; and Storey became a monk at Goa. In 1586, Captain Cavendish commenced his voyage round the globe, and on the way, scrupled not to seize and plunder whenever he had the opportunity, either by sea or land. He returned home in less than two years flushed with success, and some years after attempted a similar privateering expedition (for it was little better), from which he never returned, but died at sea, worn out by a succession of disasters. The voyages of Drake and Cavendish had brought matters to a crisis: the Spanish government complained of the infringement of their exclusive rights of navigating the Indian seas;‡ to which Elizabeth replied—"It is as lawful for my subjects to do this as the Spaniards, since the sea and air are common to all men." The defeat of the so-called Invincible Armada, in 1588, rendered the English and their brave queen more than ever unwilling to give place to the arrogant pretensions of their foes; and in 1591, some London merchants dispatched three vessels to India by the Cape of Good Hope, under the command of Captains Raymond and Lancaster. A contest with some Portuguese ships, though successful, eventually ruined the expedition by the delay it occasioned; one of the vessels was compelled to put back in consequence of the sickness of the crew and the difficulties encountered in weathering the "Cape of Storms;"—the second, under Raymond, is supposed to have perished;—the third, under Lancaster, reached Sumatra and Ceylon, and obtained a cargo of pepper and other spiceries, but was subsequently lost in a storm at Mona, one of the West India isles. The captain and the survivors of the ship's company were rescued by a French vessel bound to San Domingo, and reached England in May, 1594. In the meanwhile, mercantile enterprise had received a fresh stimulus by the capture of a Portuguese carrack, profanely called *Madre de Dios*, of 1,600 tons burden, with thirty-six brass cannons mounted. This vessel, the largest yet seen in England, was taken by Sir John Burroughs, after an obstinate contest near the Azores, and brought into Dartmouth. The cargo, consisting of spices, calicoes, silks, gold, pearls, drugs, china-ware, &c., was valued by the lowest estimate at £150,000. This display of oriental wealth incited Sir Robert Dudley and some other gentlemen to fit out three ships, which sailed for China in 1596, bearing royal credentials addressed to the sovereign of that country, vouching for the probity of the adventurers, and offering the fullest protection to such Chinese subjects as might be disposed to open a trade in any English port. This expedition proved even more disastrous than the preceding one. After capturing three Portuguese vessels, the English crews became so fearfully reduced by disease, that out of three ships' companies, only four men remained alive.

* He anchored in a bay (supposed to be that now called Port San Francisco) on the coast of California, and landing, took possession of the country in the name of Queen Elizabeth, calling it "Nova Albion."

† Fitch published a narrative of his adventures, which greatly stimulated public curiosity on the subject; and this feeling was increased by the accounts sent from India by an Englishman, named Stevens, who had proceeded thither in a Portuguese vessel from Lisbon. According to Camden, a Portuguese carrack, captured by Drake off the Azores in 1587, and brought to England, contained various documents regarding the nature and value of the India trade, which first inspired English merchants with a desire to prosecute it on their own account.

‡ By the union of Spain and Portugal, the papal grants of eastern and western discoveries centred in one crown.

These unfortunates were cast on shore on a small island near Puerto Rico, where three of them were murdered by a party of Spaniards, for the sake of the treasure they had with them, and only one survived to divulge the crime to the Spanish officers of justice, soon after which he was poisoned by the same robbers who had murdered his shipmates. The public enthusiasm was somewhat damped by the dense cloud which long shrouded the calamitous issue of this expedition; but the successful adventures of the Dutch (*see* p. 196), and their grasping policy in raising the price of pepper from three to six and eight shillings per lb. (the cost in India being two to three pence), induced the merchants of London—headed by the lord mayor and aldermen—to hold a meeting at Founders'-hall, on the 22nd of September, 1599,* which resulted in the formation of a company, for the purpose of setting on foot a voyage to the East Indies.† The stock embarked, then considered a large one, of £30,133 6*s*. 8*d*., was divided into 101 shares or adventures, the subscriptions of individuals varying from £100 to £3,000. The queen was ever zealous in promoting similar projects, but in this instance there was need of deliberation. Elizabeth well knew the value of peace to a trading nation, and delayed granting the charter of incorporation solicited by the company, until it should be proved how far their interests could be prudently consulted in the course of the friendly negotiations newly opened by Spain through the mediation of France. The treaty however soon fell to the ground, in consequence of a disputed question of precedency between the English and Spanish commissioners at Boulogne. The discussion of the East India question was eagerly resumed both in the city and at court; and on the last day of the 16th century, Elizabeth signed a charter on behalf of about 220 gentlemen, merchants, and other individuals of repute, constituting them "one bodie-corporate and politique indeed," by the name of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies."‡

A petition was addressed to the Privy Council for their sanction that "the voyage might be proceeded upon without any hindrance, notwithstanding the treaty:" but they "declined granting such a warrant, as deeming it more beneficial for the general state of merchandise to entertain a peace, than that the same should be hindered by standing with the Spanish commissioners for the maintenance of this trade, and thereby forego the opportunity of concluding the peace."§

It was a fitting conclusion for a century of extraordinary progress, and also for a reign, characterised throughout by measures of unrivalled political sagacity. The ablest sovereign (perhaps excepting Alfred) the realm had ever known, was soon to be taken away under very melancholy circumstances. The death of Lord Burleigh, and the rebellion of Essex, were trials which the failing strength and over-taxed energies of the queen could ill withstand; and she died in November, 1603, a powerful and beloved

* At the commencement of this year a merchant, named John Mildenhall, was dispatched (by way of Constantinople) to the Great Mogul, to solicit, in the name of his sovereign, certain trading privileges for his countrymen. He did not reach Agra till the year 1603, and was there long delayed and put to great expense by the machinations of the Jesuits then residing at the court of the Great Mogul, aided by two Italian (probably Venetian) merchants; but he eventually succeeded in obtaining from Jehangeer the desired grant in 1606.

† At a subsequent meeting, a committee of fifteen persons was appointed to present a petition to the lords of the Privy Council, setting forth that, "stimulated by the success which has attended the voyage to the East Indies by the Dutch, and finding the Dutch are projecting another voyage, for which they have bought ships in England, the merchants having the same regard to the welfare of this kingdom, that the Dutch have to their commonwealth, have resolved upon making a voyage of adventure, and for this purpose entreat her Majesty will grant them letters patent of incorporation, succession, &c., for that the trade being so far remote from hence, cannot be managed but by a joint and united stock."

‡ Thomas Smith, alderman of London, and an active member of the Turkey company, was declared first governor. Among the other names mentioned in the charter are those of George, Earl of Cumberland; Sirs—John Hart, John Spencer, Edward Michelborne, Richard Staper, and ten other citizens and aldermen of London, and two hundred and six individuals of repute, who petitioned for the "royal assent and license to be granted unto them, that they, at their own adventures, costs, and charges, as well as for the honour of this our realm of England, as for the increase of our navigation and advancement of trade of merchandise within our said realms and the dominions of the same, might set forth one or more voyages, with convenient number of ships and pinnaces, by way of traffic and merchandise to the East Indies and countries of Asia and Africa, and to as many of the islands, ports and cities, towns and places thereabouts, as where trade and traffic may by all likelihood be discovered, established or had, divers of which countries and many of the islands, cities, and ports thereof have long since been discovered by others of our subjects, albeit not frequented in trade of merchandise."—(*See* quarto vol. of *Charters granted to the East India Company from* 1601, &c., pp. 4, 5.)

§ Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, vol. i., p. 4.

ruler, but a broken-hearted woman. As yet the commercial and colonial enterprises, commenced under her auspices, had produced no tangible results, so far as territorial aggrandisement was concerned. English merchants had, it is true, even then become "the honourable of the earth;" and English ships had compassed the world, bearing their part manfully in the perilous voyages of the age, in the icy straits of Greenland and Labrador, uplifting the national flag on the shores of Virginia and Newfoundland,* amid the isles of the West Indies,† and the coasts of Brazil, Guiana, and Peru. The straits of Magellan, the broad expanse of the Pacific and Indian Oceans, had mirrored that standard on their waves; and for a brief season it had floated upon the Caspian Sea, and been carried along the banks of the Oxus. In the ports and marts of the Adriatic, the Archipelago, the Levant, and the southern coasts of the Mediterranean, it became a familiar visitant, as it had long been to the traffickers of the Canary Isles, and dwellers on the shores of Guinea and Benin;‡ and lastly, pursuing its way to the isles and continents of the East, it floated hopefully past the Southern Cape of Africa.§ The initiatory measures are ever those which most severely task the weakness and selfishness of human nature: energy, forethought, patience—all these qualities, and many more, are essential ingredients in the characters of those who aspire to lay the foundation of an edifice, which future generations must be left to bring to perfection. In the history of the world, such "master builders" are comparatively few: more commonly, we find men carrying on the structure of national progress with scarcely a thought beyond their individual interests, each one labouring for himself, like the coral insects, who live and die unconscious of the mighty results of their puny labours. Nor is this blindness on the part of the majority to be regretted, while the minority—those on whom the steering of the vessel of the state more or less evidently devolves—afford such constant illustrations of the fallible and unsatisfactory character of human policy. Thus, even in attributing to Elizabeth the pre-eminence in patriotism and statesmanship, in zeal for religious truth and liberty;—the excellence ascribed is at best only comparative, since her administration was deeply stained by the besetting sin of civilised governments—"clever diplomacy," or, in plain words, that constant readiness to take advantage of the weakness or ignorance of other nations, which, among individuals, would be stigmatised as grasping, overreaching, and unjust, even by those who do not profess to judge actions by any loftier standard than the ordinary customs and opinions of society. This admixture of unworthy motives is probably often the cause of the failure of many well-devised schemes: it may account, to some minds, for the career of Elizabeth terminating when the projects she had cherished were on the eve of development; when England was about to enter on a course of annually increasing territorial, commercial, and maritime prosperity, often, however, checked rather than encouraged, by the weakness, selfishness, or prejudice of her rulers.

The original charter bestowed on the East India Company manifested a prudent regard for the prevention of disputes with other European powers, or with previously incorporated English companies, and reserved to the Crown the power of accommodating the Indian trade to the contingencies of foreign politics, or of the trade carried on by its subjects with neighbouring countries. The charter was granted for fifteen years; but if the exclusive privileges thereby conferred should be found disadvantageous to the general interests of the country, it might be revoked upon two years' notice: if, on the

* *North American Possessions*, vol. i., pp. 292–3.

† *West Indian Possessions*, vol. iv. (div. viii.), p. 15. The Rev. James Anderson, in enumerating the exploratory proceedings of England, truly remarks, that "the foundations of her future greatness were laid in the very efforts which had appeared so fruitless."—(*History of the Colonial Church*, vol. i., p. 123.)

‡ Repeated efforts were made for the extension of commerce with Africa. In 1572, a treaty between England and Portugal provided for the better adjustment of the intercourse of their respective subjects with the western shores of Africa; in 1585, the queen granted a patent to Robert, Earl of Leicester, for the management of the trade with Barbary and Morocco: and in 1588, and 1592, some merchants of Exeter and Taunton were empowered to traffic with Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast. In 1597, we find the indefatigable Elizabeth seeking commercial privileges from "the most invincible and puissant king of the Abassens (Abyssinians), the mightie emperor of Ethiopia, the higher and the lower."

§ The Russian company desired, by an overland trade, to connect the imports from Persia with those from the Baltic; the Levant company, which traded with the Mediterranean ports, brought thence, among its assortments, a proportion of Indian produce, the value of which might be affected by the imports brought into England or for the European market, by the direct intercourse, though circuitous routes, of the company.—(Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*)

contrary, the result should prove of public benefit, new letters patent were to be granted at the expiration of the first period, for other fifteen years.* With these needful limitations, great encouragement was given to the association; notwithstanding which, the delay occasioned by the Spanish negotiation had so far damped the enterprise of some of the individual adventurers, that they refused to pay their proffered subscriptions; and the directors, acting under the charter (in which no amount of capital was prescribed, as in the case of modern documents of a similar character), appear to have wanted power to compel them to do so, or else to have deemed its exercise imprudent. The consequence was, the formation of a subordinate association, endued with authority to adventure on their own account, providing the funds, and either bearing the whole loss, or reaping the whole profit of the voyage. A new body of speculators was thus admitted, by whom £68,373 were subscribed, and five vessels† equipped, manned by 500 men, provisioned for twenty months, at a cost of £6,600, and furnished with bullion and various staples and manufactures wherewith to try the Indian market. The command was entrusted to Captain James Lancaster, who received from the queen general letters of introduction addressed to the rulers of the ports to which he might resort. The fleet sailed from Torbay on April 22, 1601, and proceeded direct to Acheen,‡ which they reached on June 5, 1602; a voyage now usually accomplished in ninety days.

Captain Lancaster, on his arrival, delivered the queen's letter to the king or chief of Acheen, who received him with much pomp and courtesy, and accorded permission to establish a factory, with free exports and imports, protection to trade, power of bequeathing property by will, and other privileges of an independent community. But

* Under the charter, the plan which they had already adopted for the management of their affairs, by a committee of twenty-four and a chairman, both to be chosen annually, was confirmed and rendered obligatory. The chief permissive clauses were as follow:—the company were empowered to make bye-laws for the regulation of their business, and of the people in their employment, whose offences they might punish by imprisonment or fine;—to export goods for four voyages duty free, and duties afterwards paid on goods lost at sea to be deducted from dues payable on next shipment;—six months' credit to be allowed on custom dues of half imports, and twelve months for the remainder, with free exportation for thirteen months (by English merchants in English vessels);—liberty to transport Spanish and other foreign silver coin and bullion to the value of £30,000, of which £6,000 was to be coined at the Tower, and the same sum in any subsequent voyage during fifteen years, or the continuance of their privileges, provided that within six months after every voyage except the first, gold and silver equal in value to the exported silver should be duly imported, and entered at the ports of London, Dartmouth and Plymouth, where alone the bullion was to be shipped. The monopoly of the company was confirmed by a clause enacting, that interlopers in the East India trade should be subject to the forfeiture of their ships and cargoes, one-half to go to the Crown, the other to the company, and to suffer imprisonment and such other punishment as might be decreed by the Crown, until they should have signed a bond engaging, under a penalty of £1,000 at the least, "not to sail or traffic into any of the said East Indies" without special license from the company. Another clause affords evidence of the condition of the state by guaranteeing, that "in any time of restraint," six good ships and as many pinnaces, well-armed and manned with 500 English sailors, should be permitted to depart "without any stay or contradiction," unless the urgent necessities of the kingdom, in the event of war, should require their detention, in which case three months' notice would be given to the company.—(*Charters of East India Company*, p. 21.)

† The *Dragon*, *Hector*, *Ascension*, *Susan*, and *Guest*, of 600, 300, 260, 240, and 100 tons respectively, the smallest serving as a victualler; the others are described by Sir William Monson as "four of the best merchant ships in the kingdom." According to the same authority, there were not in England, at this period, more than four vessels of 400 tons each. In 1580, the total number of vessels in the navy was 150, of which only forty belonged to the Crown: a like number was employed in trade with different countries, the average burden being 150 tons. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, it appears that wars with Spain, and losses by capture, had reduced both shipping and seamen one-third. The small English squadron seemed insufficient to enter on a traffic in which the Portuguese had long been in the habit of employing vessels of 1,200 to 1,500 tons burden: in its equipment £39,771 were expended, the cargoes were estimated at £28,742 in bullion, and £6,860 in various goods, including iron and tin wrought and unwrought, lead, eighty pieces of broad-cloth of all colours, eighty pieces of Devonshire kersies, 100 pieces of Norwich stuffs, with various smaller articles, including glass, quicksilver, Muscovy hides, and other things intended as presents for different local functionaries. Factors and supercargoes were nominated, and divided into four classes: all gave security for fidelity and abstinence from private trade in proportionate sums of £500 downwards. Three of the principal factors were allowed £100 each as equipment, and £200 for an "adventure;" and four of each of the other classes smaller sums. The salary of each commander was £100, and £200 on credit for an adventure. If the profits of the voyage yielded two for one, they were to be allowed £500; if three for one, £1,000; if four for one, £1,500; and if five for one, £2,000.—(Bruce's *Annals*, vol. i., p. 129.)

‡ Situate on the N.W. extremity of the large island of Sumatra, in 5° 36′ N. lat., 95° 26′ E. long.

the crop of pepper having failed in the preceding season, a sufficient quantity could not be obtained in that port; and Lancaster, impressed with a conviction of the influence the pecuniary results of the first voyage would have upon the future prosecution of the trade, concerted measures with the commander of a Dutch ship, then at Acheen, for hostilities against their joint foe, the Portuguese.* A carrack of 900 tons was captured, and her cargo, consisting of calicoes and other Indian manufactures, having been divided between the conquering vessels, the Portuguese crew were left in possession of their rifled ship, and the Dutch and English commanders went their way. Lancaster proceeded to Bantam, in Java, where, after delivering his credentials and presents, he completed his lading with spices, and leaving the remaining portion of his merchandise for sale in charge of some agents, sailed homewards, arriving off the Downs in September, 1603.

The company awaited his return with extreme anxiety. They delayed making preparations for a fresh voyage until the result of the first venture should appear, and persisted in this resolve, notwithstanding the representations of the privy council, and even of the queen, who considered their delay an infraction of the terms on which the charter had been granted, and reminded them of the energy and patriotism of the Dutch, who annually formed their equipments and extended their commerce by unceasing exertion. The safe return of the fleet, though at an inopportune moment,† put an end to all incertitude regarding the feasibility of the projected trade; and notwithstanding the difficulties occasioned by the encouragement given by the king to the attempts of private adventurers, in violation of the fifteen years' monopoly promised by the charter,‡ and the enmity of the Portuguese,—to which the tacit and afterwards open opposition of the Dutch was soon added,—the company continued to fit out separate expeditions on the same terms as the first, until the year 1614, when the twelfth was undertaken by a single ship, chiefly for the purpose of carrying out Sir Robert Shirley, who had been sent as ambassador to the English sovereign by Shah Abbas of Persia. The total capital expended in these voyages was £464,284; of which £263,246 had been invested in shipping and stores, £138,127 in bullion, and £62,411 in merchandise. Notwithstanding losses (including a disastrous expedition in 1607, in which both vessels perished), the general result was prosperous, the total profit reaching 138 per cent.; but it must be remembered that a period of six or seven years and upwards elapsed before the proceeds of a voyage could be finally adjusted, and that the receipts included the profits of a shipbuilder and purveyor, or "ship's husband," as well as of a merchant.

In 1613, it was deemed advisable to renounce all separate adventures, and continue the trade on a joint-stock account; this, however, being itself an experiment, was

* What authority Captain Lancaster possessed for this proceeding does not appear, but it is probable that he acted according to permission granted for a similar conjuncture; because the queen, being unable to retaliate the attack of the Armada on her own behalf, by reason of the condition of the treasury, permitted private adventurers to fit out expeditions against the national foe both by sea and land. Such was the squadron of about 100 vessels, 1,500 sailors, and 11,000 soldiers, under Sir F. Drake and Sir John Norris, in 1589, which ravaged and plundered the coasts of Spain and Portugal; and that of several ships under the personal command of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, in the same year, to the Azores or Western Isles, where much booty was obtained. From this period may be dated English "privateering," which soon degenerated into "buccaneering;" and which James I. deserves much praise for his endeavours to check.

† Elizabeth was dead, and London afflicted with the plague; everybody who could leave it, had taken refuge in the country; and in the general disorder it was next to impossible to raise money either by borrowing or by sales of merchandise.

‡ In 1604, King James granted a license to Sir Edward Michelborne and others to trade with China and various East Indian ports. The undertaking was little better than a series of petty piracies, committed upon Chinese junks and small Indian vessels encountered in cruising among the Asiatic islands; but is memorable as marking the appearance of the *interlopers* or *private traders*, whose disputes with the company afterwards ran so high. This very Michelborne had been recommended by the lord-treasurer for employment to the company; but although then petitioning for a charter, the directors rejected the application, and requested that they might "be allowed to sort their business with men of their own qualitye, lest the suspicion of the employment of gentlemen being taken hold of by the generalitie, do dryve a great number of the adventurers to withdraw their contributions."—(Bruce's *Annals of the East India Company*, vol. i., p. 128.) The same determined spirit was evinced on the present occasion; and they succeeded in obtaining another charter in 1609, in which, departing from the cautious policy of his predecessor, the king confirmed the exclusive privileges of the company, not for a limited term of years, but *for ever*, provided however that the trade should prove beneficial to the realm, otherwise the charter was to be annulled, on giving three years' notice.—(*Idem*, p. 157.)

fixed for the term of only four years; during which time, the stipulated capital of £429,000 was to be paid up in equal annual proportions. This union was generally beneficial in its effects, by preventing the international competition resulting from the clashing interests of parties concerned in the different voyages, whether in the Indian market or in England, where the imports were either sold by public auction, or divided among the adventurers in kind, as was best suited to the interests of the leading persons in the separate concerns; and it often happened that private accommodation was studied at the expense of the general good. Besides these inconveniences, it was necessary that some specific line of policy should be adopted, for the general direction of the trade and the control and guidance of individual commanders; since it was evident that the interested and impolitic conduct of one expedition might seriously impede the success of subsequent voyages.

The proceedings of Sir Henry Middleton will illustrate this. Up to 1609, the intercourse of the English had been exclusively with Sumatra, Java, and Amboyna; an attempt was then made to open a trade with woollens, metals, and other British commodities, in barter for spices and drugs, in the ports of the Red Sea, Cambay, and Surat. At Aden and Mocha, they were opposed by the Turks, and Middleton with seventy men made prisoners. They succeeded in effecting their escape, and proceeded to Surat, where a forcible landing was effected, in defiance of the Portuguese, who, however, induced the Moguls to prevent their attempts at commerce. About this time, the envoy (Hawkins) dispatched by the company to seek the imperial confirmation of the trading privileges promised to Mildenhall, threw up his suit in despair, and quitted Agra, after a residence of more than two years. Middleton returned to the Red Sea, and there seized upon several Mogul ships (including one of 1,500 tons, fitted out by the mother of Jehangeer for the use of pilgrims), and obliged them to pay a ransom equivalent to his estimate of the loss occasioned by the frustration of his voyage. After lading two of his vessels with pepper at Bantam, he prepared to return homewards; but his chief ship, the newly-built *Trade's Increase*,* overset in Bantam roads, and was totally destroyed; which so affected her commander, that he soon after died of vexation: the voyage, nevertheless, afforded £121 per cent. profit on the capital employed. The unwarrantable aggression committed in the Red Sea had roused the indignation and alarm of the emperor; but the discretion of Captain Best† was successfully exerted in obtaining permission to trade, through the intervention of the governor of Ahmedabad, whose concessions were ratified by an imperial firman, which arrived in January, 1613, authorising the establishment of English factories at Surat, Ahmedabad, Cambay, and Goga, with protection for life and property, on condition of the payment of a custom duty of three-and-a-half per cent. The Portuguese did not quietly witness the progress of this arrangement, but attacked the two vessels of Cap-

* The company, finding themselves unable to charter vessels of sufficient burden either in England or elsewhere, formed a dockyard at Deptford; and in 1609 launched, in the words of Sir William Monson, "the goodliest and greatest ship [1,100 tons] that was ever framed in this kingdom." King James, with his son (afterwards Charles I.), presided at the launch, named the vessel the *Trade's Increase*, and partook of a sumptuous banquet served on China-ware, then considered a rare mark of eastern magnificence. From this period may be dated the increase of large ships; for the king about this time caused a man-of-war to be constructed of 1,400 tons burden, carrying sixty-four guns, called the *Prince*. From 1609 to 1610 the company continued to exercise the now separate vocations of ship-builders, purveyors, &c. In their yards at Deptford and Blackwall, not only were vessels constructed of 700, 800, 900, and in one instance (the *Royal James*) of 1,200 tons burden, but their masts, yards, anchors, sails, cordage, and entire outfit were prepared; the bread was baked, the meat salted and casked, and the various departments which, by the present improved system, are subdivided into many distinct branches of labour, were then brought to a considerable degree of perfection by the combined efforts of skill and capital possessed by the East India Company. As trade increased, ship-building became a distinct and profitable business; and in 1640 and subsequent years, the company were enabled to hire vessels at £20 to £25 per ton freight, whereas their own cost £31 per ton: thenceforth the commerce was carried on partly by their own and partly by hired ships; and eventually the dockyards were sold for private enterprise.

† Captain Best visited Acheen in 1615, and as the bearer of a royal letter, formed a new treaty with its ruler, and obtained permission to establish a factory at Tikoo or Ticoo (in Sumatra), on condition of paying seven per cent. import and export duty. The monarch, who is represented as very fierce and sanguinary, replied to the communication of the English sovereign with a request, that he would send him one of his countrywomen for a wife, promising to make her eldest son "king of all the pepper countries." No English lady appears to have taken advantage of this offer; and whether from disappointment or avarice, the king of Acheen

tain Best, at Swally, near Surat, with a squadron of four galleons, and a number of smaller vessels without cannon, intended to assist in boarding, for which, however, they found no opportunity, being driven off with considerable loss, after a struggle of more than a month's duration.*

The chief events which marked the four years' existence of the first joint-stock company, was the embassy of Sir Thomas Roe,† who succeeded in obtaining from Jehangeer liberty of trade for his countrymen throughout the empire;‡ the formation of a treaty with the zamorin for the expulsion of the Portuguese from Cochin, which when conquered was to be ceded to the English; and lastly, hostilities with the Dutch, which entailed losses and expense, whereby the total profits of the four voyages were reduced to eighty-seven per cent. This decreased dividend did not, however, prevent a new subscription being favourably received by the public: dukes, earls, and knights, judges and privy counsellors, countesses and ladies, "widows and virgins," doctors of divinity and physic, merchants and tradesmen, are all classified in the list of the 954 individuals, by whom a sum of no less than £1,629,040 (averaging £1,700 for each person) was furnished in 1616 for a new series of ventures, comprising three distinct voyages, to be undertaken in the four following years. Surat and Bantam were to be the chief seats of trade, with factories at Ceylon, Siam, Japan, Maccassar, and Banda. A proposition had previously been made by the Dutch for a union of trade with the English, that common cause might be made against the Spanish-Portuguese, and a monopoly secured to the combined companies. This offer was repeated in 1617, on the plea of the rivalry about to arise from the formation of an East India association in France§, and likewise in Denmark;|| but

impeded the trade of the Europeans by exactions; and at length, in 1621, expelled both the Dutch and English factors; but the intercourse was subsequently resumed and carried on at intervals.

* From 22nd of October to the 27th November, 1812.—(Wilson's note on Mill's *India*, vol. i., p. 29.)

† The mission of Sir Thomas Roe to Jehangeer has been already narrated (p. 123.) The incidents of his journey from Surat to Ajmeer evidence a comparative state of order in the country traversed: whereas, the adventures which befel Withington, one of the company's agents, who set out from Ahmedabad to Laribunda, the port of Sinde, where three English ships had arrived, afford a far less favourable picture of the condition of the portion of India through which his route of about 500 miles lay. The caravan with which he travelled was attacked in the night of the third stage, and "the next day he met the Mogul's officer returning with 250 heads of the Coolies," whom Mr. Orme sweepingly terms, "a nation of robbers;" and who in the opinion of Jehangeer seem to have merited nothing less than extermination. Many days were spent in crossing the desert, but no molestation occurred until the peopled country was reached, and the caravan separated; after which, Withington and his sixteen companions (four servants, two merchants with five servants, and five drivers to their ten camels) hired an escort for the march to Gundaiwa, which saved them from a band of robbers. Twice afterwards they were attacked, and compelled to purchase immunity from plunder by a small present. They next reached the residence of a Rajpoot chief, who had recently escaped from the hands of the Moguls, by whom he had been blinded. His son agreed to escort Withington to Tatta, a distance of only thirty miles, but fraught with danger; and it would appear, from mere covetousness, acted in a manner quite contrary to the usual fidelity of a Hindoo, and especially of a Rajpoot guide, by treacherously delivering over the travellers to a party of marauders, who strangled the two Hindoo merchants and their five servants; and binding Withington and his attendants, marched them forty miles to a mountain stronghold, whence they were sent to Parker, and thence on to Radenpore: their clothes were stolen from them on the way, and they subsisted by begging, until their wants were relieved by the charity of a Banian, whom Withington had known at Ahmedabad, which place he reached, "after a distressful absence of 111 days."—(Orme's *Origin of the English Establishment, and of the Company's trade at Surat and Broach*, p. 334.)

‡ *Vide* pp. 123-4.

§ The French are said to have made an unsuccessful endeavour to double the Cape of Good Hope as early as 1503: in 1601 a small commercial association was formed in Bretagne. Two vessels were fitted out and dispatched to the East Indies: both were wrecked amid the Maldive Archipelago near Ceylon; and the commander, Pyrard de Laval, did not return home for ten years. In 1615, "The Molucca Company" was formed, with exclusive privileges to trade for twelve years. This new source of competition alarmed the Dutch, and their constant hostility, together with the alleged exactions of the king of Acheen, obliged the French company to relinquish their enterprise. In 1619-'20, a French ship was burnt at Bantam with a cargo valued at 500,000 crowns, "apparently by the Dutch."—(Macpherson's *Commerce*, p. 256.) Merchants of St. Malo and Dieppe sent vessels to India at various times in 1622, and the former had an agent settled at Bantam.

|| A Danish company was formed at Copenhagen in 1612, and six vessels (three belonging to the king, Christian IV., and three to the company) were sent out under a commander named Boschower, who had formerly been in the service of the Dutch in Ceylon, and had come to Europe with an appeal from the natives against the cruelties of the Spanish-Portuguese. Boschower first applied to the Dutch, and conceiving himself neglected, proceeded to Denmark, where he obtained the desired assistance, and sailed for Ceylon, but died on the voyage. His second in command became involved in disputes with the rajah he came to befriend, and sailed for Tanjore, where, by means of presents and the promise of a yearly tribute of £700, he obtained from

again rejected.* To guard against the antagonism of the Dutch, and likewise to defeat the attempts of English interlopers, who had taken both to trading and privateering on their own account, it was deemed necessary to send out a fleet of nine ships, of which six were of considerable size, under the command of Sir Thomas Dale, who was commissioned by the king, and empowered to seize the ships of illicit traders, and to declare martial law in case of necessity. Hostilities were seldom long intermitted: even while the nations at home were in alliance, their subjects in the Indies were more or less openly at strife, unless indeed their joint influence was needed against the Portuguese, whose powers of aggression and even defence were now, however, almost neutralised by their disorganised condition.

The Lisbon company to whom the exclusive claims of the Spanish crown had been made over, was unable to furnish the stipulated payments; and the king, finding himself impoverished instead of enriched by his Indian possessions, sent an order to Azevedo, the viceroy, to make the government support itself, by selling every office to the highest bidder. This had already been done to a great extent; but the royal order for so disgraceful a proceeding annihilated the few remaining relics of a better system; and the Moors and Hindoos, instead of humbly suing these former lords of the Indian seas for a passport (which, even when obtained, often failed to secure their vessels against the rapacity of Portuguese cruisers), now in turn became the assailants, thus materially aiding the aggressive policy of the Dutch.

The English did not often come in contact with the Portuguese, their head-quarters being at Surat; but about the time of their establishment in that place, the Dutch attempted to trade with the Malabar coasts, and in 1603, made an ineffectual endeavour to dislodge the Portuguese from Mozambique and Goa; opened a communication with Ceylon; succeeded in expelling them from the islands of Amboyna and Tidore, and by degrees engrossed the whole trade of the Spice Islands; their large equipments and considerable proportion of military force, under able commanders, enabling them to conquer the Moluccas and Bandas.† The reinforcements of the Portuguese grew scanty and insufficient; their Spanish ruler finding full employment for his forces in maintaining the struggle in the Low Countries, and, at the same time, guarding his dominions in the West Indies and South America; the Dutch were therefore enabled by degrees to fix factories at Pulicat, Masulipatam, and Negapatam, on the Coromandel coast; in Ceylon; at Cranganore, Cananore, and Cochin, in Malabar; and thence pushed their commercial agencies to Bussora and the shores of the Persian Gulf. The Amsterdam company also formed establishments in Sumatra and Java.

The twelve years' truce, entered upon between Spain and Holland in 1609, checked open hostility in the Indies; but the Dutch covertly continued their opposition; and in 1611, succeeded in opening a trade with the islands of Japan, despite the exclusive pretensions of the Spanish-Portuguese. The growing naval strength of England justly gave them more uneasiness than the decaying power of a nation whose yoke they had thrown off; and they already found the English, competitors for the spice trade, of

the rajah a cession of territory, on which the settlement of Tranquebar and the fortress of Dansburg were established. By justice and kindness the Danes acquired the goodwill of the natives: their trade extended to the Moluccas and China; they had factories at Bantam and on the Malabar coast; gained possession of the Nicobar islands in the Bay of Bengal (of which they could make nothing); and built a neat town called Serampore, fifteen miles above Calcutta, on the Hooghly river. All these stations were under the direction of Tanjore; and matters went on favourably until the rajah became involved in a long and sanguinary war, which prevented the Danes from procuring cargoes with any certainty, and proved an obstacle to their commerce which all their economy and perseverance never enabled them to surmount.—(Anderson's *Commerce*.)

* An attempt was likewise made for the establishment of a Scottish East India Company, and a royal patent granted in 1618 to Sir James Cunningham, but withdrawn in consequence of the interference of the London company, who made compensation for the expenses incurred. The king, in return for this concession, and with a view of sustaining the Russian company, which had long been in a precarious state, prevailed on the East India Company to unite with them in carrying on a joint trade, each party advancing £30,000 per annum during the continuance of their respective charters; but the experiment failing after a trial of two seasons, the connexion was dissolved at the termination of the year 1619; the loss of the East India Company being estimated at £40,000—(Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, p. 16.)

† Their traffic seems from the first to have been always lucrative, though fluctuating. The dividends to the shareholders *in each year*, from 1604 to 1613 inclusive, were at the rate of 125, 55, 75, 40, 20, 25, 50, and 37 per cent. Numerous strong squadrons were equipped: in 1613–'14, no less than twenty-seven ships were dispatched to India.—(*Voyages undertaken by Dutch East India Company:* published in London, 1703.)

which a complete monopoly was their especial desire. The islands of Polaroon and Rosengin* were fortified by the English, with the permission of the natives, about the year 1617. This the Dutch resented, on the ground that they were already possessed of authority over the whole of the Bandas by reason of their occupation of the more important islands in the group. They attacked Polaroon and were driven off, but seized two English ships, and declared their intention of retaining them until the English should consent to surrender all rights and claims on Polaroon and the Spice Islands. Considering the general, though unjust, ideas then entertained regarding the rights obtained in newly-discovered countries by priority of occupancy, without regard to the will of the natives, the Dutch had some plausible pretext for maintaining their claims to the exclusive advantage of trade with the Moluccas, as obtained by conquest from the Spanish-Portuguese; but with regard to the settlement in Java, they could not urge that plea, since they had at first welcomed the arrival and alliance of the English, and made no opposition to their establishment in that island, now sanctioned by time. Their own notions of the case are set forth in a memorial addressed to King James in 1618, complaining of the encroachments of his subjects, and praying him to restrain their further aggressions: the London company, on their part, vindicated their conduct, and enumerated a long series of losses and injuries entailed upon them by the jealous enmity of the Dutch. The governments of the respective companies resolved to make an arrangement for the regulation of the East India trade; and after repeated conferences, a treaty was signed in London, in 1619, by which amnesty for all past excesses was decreed, and a mutual restitution of ships and property. The pepper trade at Java was to be equally divided. The English were to have a free trade at Pulicat on the Coromandel coast, on paying half the expenses of the garrison, and one-third of the trade of the Moluccas and Bandas, bearing an equal proportion of the garrison expenses; joint exertions to be made for the reduction of the customs and duties claimed by the native governments at different ports; the trade of both the contracting parties to be free to the extent of the specified funds respectively employed; each company to furnish ten ships, not to be used in the European trade, but only for mutual defence, and in carrying goods from one port of India to another. Finally, a Council of Defence, composed of four members on either side, who were to preside each alternate month, was established for the local superintendence of the treaty, which was to remain in force twenty years.

Some months before these arrangements were concluded, the fleet under Sir Thomas Dale combined with the king of Bantam† for the expulsion of the Dutch from Jaccatra; which being accomplished, the place was left in the possession of its native owners; but shortly afterwards again seized from the Javanese by their former conquerors, who thereupon laid the foundation of a regular fortified city, on which was bestowed the ancient name of Holland, "Batavia," and which became, and still remains, the seat of their government and the centre of their trade.

The scheme of making the two companies politically equal, and commercially unequal, was soon found to be impracticable; and before the *Council of Defence* had been well established in Jaccatra, the domineering conduct of the Dutch clearly proved their determination to take an unjust advantage of their superior capital and fleet. Considerable exertions were, however, made by the English company, and ten large ships sent out, with £62,490 in money, and £28,508 in goods. Nine of these vessels were detained in the East Indies; but one returned home freighted with a cargo which realised £108,887; and had the Dutch acted up to the spirit or letter of their agreement, the returns would have been immense. Instead of this, they gradually laid aside the flimsy veil which they had at first cast over their intentions, and at length ceased to attempt disguising their continued determination to monopolise the spice-trade. In framing the treaty, no distinction had been made between past and future expenses: the English intended only to bind themselves for the future; the Dutch demanded from them a

* Two small islands in the Banda archipelago, chiefly producing nutmegs and other spices.

† *Bantam*, which attracted so much attention in the early periods of European intercourse with the East, is situated near the north-west point of Java (lat. 5° 52′; long. 106° 2′), at the bottom of a large bay, between the branches of a shallow river. A factory, it will be remembered, had been formed there by the English, under Captain Lancaster, in 1602, and this had been burned by the Dutch, who had also attacked the palace of the king of Bantam, with whom they were constantly at variance.

share of the past, and carried themselves in so overbearing a manner, that the English commissioners soon reported the worse than uselessness of maintaining a connexion which involved the company in a heavy outlay, without adequate remuneration. In the circle of which the ancient city of Surat* was the centre, affairs were proceeding more prosperously. A treaty of trade and friendship had been concluded with Persia, in 1620, on very advantageous terms for the English, to whom permission had been accorded to build a fort at Jask; but an expedition sent there in the following year found the port blockaded by a Portuguese fleet, consisting of five large and fifteen small vessels. The English having but two ships, did not attempt to cope with so disproportionate a force, but sailed back to Surat, where, being joined by two other vessels, they returned to Jask, and succeeded in forcing an entrance into the harbour. The Portuguese retired to Ormuz,† and after refitting, made a desperate attack upon the English, who gained a decisive victory over a much superior force. This event produced a deep impression on the minds of the Persians, who urged the victors to unite with them for the expulsion of the Portuguese from the island of Ormuz; and, although it was against the royal instructions to attack the subjects of the king of Spain, the previous provocation and the urgent solicitation of the Shah was supposed to justify a further breach of the peace. A joint assault was made, and the town and castle captured in 1622, the English having the chief conduct of affairs, and receiving in return a proportion of the plunder, and a grant of the moiety of the customs at the port of Gombroon,‡ which was regularly paid till about 1680, when the company, being unable to keep the gulf free from pirates, the Persian monarch withheld their dues. Notwithstanding the favourable result of this enterprise, the four representatives of the English East India Company at Jaccatra, who bore the title of "President and Council," blamed the co-operation with the Persians as a rash and ill-advised measure, because the pepper§ investment had been lost, from the company's vessels not arriving at Acheen as expected; beside which the general interest had suffered, from the shipping intended for the Java and Sumatra trade being detained by the factors at Sumatra.|| Probably the English members of the Council of Defence felt the necessity for the concentration of their force as a guard against the Dutch; but for this the whole was far too little. The expiration of the truce between Spain and Holland, in 1621, gave the signal for the

* *Surat*, already repeatedly mentioned in connection with the Moguls, Portuguese, and Mahrattas, is the present capital of Guzerat, situated on the bank of the Taptee river, about twenty miles above its junction with the sea, in 21° 11′ N. lat., 73° 7′ E. long. On the establishment of European intercourse with India, different nations resorted thither, as it had long been a commercial emporium, and was deemed "one of the gates of Mecca," from the number of pilgrims who embarked there on their way to visit the tomb of Mohammed. The Dutch did not visit Surat until 1617, and then only by accident, being shipwrecked off the coast, and kindly treated by the English, who aided them in disposing of their cargoes at Surat, by which means they learned the importance of this ancient emporium, of which they were not slow to take advantage.

† *Ormuz*, six miles long by four miles broad, is situated at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, in 27° 12′ N., within seven miles of the main land. When first visited by the Portuguese, under Albuquerque, in 1508, it was a place of considerable trade; there were then 30,000 men on the island, and in the harbour 400 vessels, sixty of them of large size, and having 2,500 men on board. The place was captured by the Portuguese in 1514, and it remained in their possession for 120 years, during which time the fortifications were increased, noble mansions built, and the town advanced in wealth and splendour, until it grew to be regarded as the richest spot in the world. The share of the customs granted to the English at Gombroon, soon resulted in the transfer of the trade to that port; and in the hands of the Persians, Ormuz degenerated into a heap of ruins.

‡ *Gombroon* lies nearly opposite to Ormuz, in 27° 10′ N. lat., 54° 45′ E. long., on the mainland of Persia. The English were permitted to establish a factory here in 1613, and the Dutch in 1620. After the expulsion of the Portuguese from Ormuz, many Persian merchants removed to Gombroon, which was then strongly fortified, and adorned with fine structures. When the interests of the E. I. Cy. became concentrated on the continent of India, their distant factories were neglected. The French seized Gombroon in 1759: it was reoccupied by the English, but eventually abandoned from its unhealthiness.

§ The stress laid on pepper and other spices, as primary articles in the East India trade, can only be explained by remembering, that in those days (while homœopathy was unknown) both cordials and viands were flavoured to a degree which, when the cost of spices diminished, proved itself a fashion rather than a want, by falling into comparative disuse.

|| A share of the prize-money taken at Ormuz and elsewhere was demanded by the king, in right of the Crown, and by the Duke of Buckingham, as Lord High Admiral. The company admitted the former, but denied the latter claim, upon which the duke stopped at Tilbury the seven out-going ships for the season, 1823-'4, and obtained £10,000 as a compromise. The same sum was required by the king, but there is no direct evidence that he ever received it. The total prize-money was stated at 240,000 rials, or £100,000.—(Bruce's *Annals* vol. i., p. 242.)

renewal of undisguised hostility on the part of the Dutch towards the settlements of the Spanish-Portuguese; and the large armaments their lucrative trade enabled them to equip, rendered them strong enough to brave the vengeance both of their ancient foes and of their allies the English. Upon the plea that there had been a prior agreement with the natives of the Bandas, who had placed themselves under the sovereignty of the States-General, the Dutch governor, Van Coens, proceeded to the islands of Polaroon, Rosengin, and Lantore, and took possession of the factories, treating the few Englishmen he found there with the most barbarous cruelty, and executing great numbers of the natives on pretence of a conspiracy. The successor of Van Coens, Peter Carpentier, openly asserted the right of sovereignty over the countries in which the Dutch trade was situated, and declared that the English had only a title by the treaty as subordinate traders. The English factory at Bantam had been removed to Batavia on the faith of the Dutch performance of their treaty; but they soon found their mistake, and desired to return to Bantam, where, by favour of the king, their old ally, they doubted not that ten ships of 800 tons might be annually filled with pepper, provided the Javanese were allowed to bring it in without obstruction;* but to this measure the Dutch would not consent, lest the progress of their newly-erected and neighbouring sovereignty at Batavia should be thereby impeded. The English had no force wherewith to oppose the tyranny of their pretended coadjutors, but real foes; and at length tired of remonstrance, urged the company to use every exertion to procure from the king the annulment of a treaty, whose ambiguity enabled the stronger party at will to oppress the weaker. The commercial efforts of the factors stationed at Amboyna† had proved equally unsatisfactory; they were therefore ordered by the English president and council to leave the station with their property and come to Batavia.‡ It was at this crisis that those barbarous proceedings were instituted which rendered the conduct of the Dutch at Amboyna a synonyme for cruelty.

The local government, on the plea of the formation of a plot for its expulsion, seized ten Javanese about the middle of February, 1623, and by subjecting them to excessive and repeated torture, extorted a declaration that they had been parties in a conspiracy which the English agent (Captain Towerson), with thirteen of his countrymen and one Portuguese sailor, had formed to seize on the castle of Amboyna, and exterminate the Dutch. That such a conspiracy should have been formed against an overpowering force, by a few trading agents who had no ambitious motives to prompt so daring an attempt, is highly improbable;§ but the savage persecution of the Dutch governor can hardly be accounted for, except by supposing that he and his associates were hurried on by a desire to revenge a supposed wrong; or else, that having resolved to be rid of their troublesome competitors, they first brought forward an accusation invented for the purpose, and then wrung from them,

* A frequent complaint urged against the Dutch, in the *Annals of the E. I. Cy.* is, that they sought "to bear down the merchants of every other country by raising the price, so as to render the trade unproductive to all other nations."—(Bruce, vol. i., p. 231.) But if the Dutch company, by good management of their funds, could afford to purchase pepper from the natives at so high a price as to "bear down" all competition, the means employed would seem perfectly legitimate.

† Amboyna, to the south of Ceram, is the largest of the Clove Islands: Fort Victoria, the capital, lies in 3° 42′ S. lat., 128° 11′ E. long. The Portuguese discovered this island in 1511, and occupied it in 1564, in consequence of its valuable spices; but were driven out by the Dutch in 1607, who, as also the English, formed factories here; and by the treaty of 1619, both nations were to occupy Amboyna in common.

‡ The factories at Siam and Potania were withdrawn about the same time, also those in Japan, upon which island the Dutch had been driven during a storm in 1600: and through the influence subsequently acquired by their English pilot, "old William Adams," over the mind of the emperor, had obtained, in 1609, permission to send two ships annually to the port of Firando. Adams, on learning the establishment of his countrymen at Bantam (which the Dutch strove to conceal from him), sent a letter to advise their opening intercourse with Japan. In June, 1613, the *Clove*, Captain Saris, with a letter from King James I., and presents in charge of a superintendent or factor, arrived. The king or governor of Firando sent Captain Saris to Jedo, the capital, where he was well received; a friendly answer returned to the royal letter, and a very liberal charter of privileges granted to the E. I. Cy. The Dutch soon instituted hostilities against the factory; plundered the ships, wounded and killed several of the English, and compelled the rest to flee for their lives, which would probably have been sacrificed as at Amboyna, but for the interference of the Japanese, who, for several years after their departure, guarded the deserted factories from plunder, in constant expectation of their return.

§ There were four strong forts, garrisoned by about 200 Dutchmen, with some 300 or 400 native troops; the English, in all, numbered about twenty men, including a surgeon and tailor, who were among the sufferers.

by intolerable anguish, a confession of guilt, the falsity of which none knew better than those who extorted it. The motives remain a mystery—as those of great public crimes often do; the cause assigned being insufficient to account for the fiend-like cruelty with which Captain Towerson and his miserable companions were by turn subjected (as the natives had previously been) to the agonies which, by the aid of those two powerful agents, fire and water, the wicked invention and pitiless will of man can inflict upon his fellow.* By the Dutch code, as by the codes of all the other continental nations of Europe, evidence obtained by torture afforded sufficient ground for legal condemnation: the English, it was alleged, were living under Dutch sovereignty, established before their arrival in the island; and on these grounds, the whole of the accused were condemned to death, and with four exceptions, beheaded on the 27th of the same month in which they were first seized—all of them protesting, with their latest breath, their entire innocence of the crime with which they were charged.† Besides the above-named persons who were reprieved, four others remained in Amboyna, whose absence at the time of the alleged conspiracy had procured their safety. The survivors were sent for by the English president and council to Batavia, so soon as the terrible end of their companions was known there, and gladly made their escape, leaving their oppressors to seize the factories and stores, and to commit all manner of cruelties on the wretched Javanese, who were shipped off in large numbers, as slaves, to different islands. The English sufferers were dispatched to London, where they arrived in August, 1624. Their representations of the horrible outrage committed in Amboyna, seconded by the protestations of innocence, written in a Bible and other books belonging to their unhappy countrymen, were sedulously circulated, and the effect heightened by the exhibition of a picture, in which the victims were represented upon the rack, writhing in agony. The press teemed with publications, enlarging upon the same subject; and the tide of popular feeling rose so high, that in default of ability to reach the true criminals, it had well nigh found vent on the heads of the unoffending Dutch residents in London, who urgently appealed to the Privy Council for protection, and complained of the conduct of the East India directors, whose proceedings, though probably not uninfluenced by views of miscalled policy, would yet be very excusable, when viewed on the ground of indignation at the unjust and cruel sufferings inflicted on their servants.

A commission of inquiry was instituted by the king; application made to the Dutch government for signal reparation; and an order issued for intercepting and detaining the Dutch East India fleets, till an accommodation should be arranged. The evasive answer of the States was evidently framed with a view of gaining time to let the fierce but short-lived tumult of popular rage pass away, before coming to any definite arrangement. The only concession offered, deemed worth accepting, was permission for the English to retire from the Dutch settlements without paying any duties; and even this was accompanied by an unqualified assumption of the sovereign and exclusive rights of the Dutch over the Moluccas, Bandas, and Amboyna,—the very point so long contested.

King James manifested considerable energy on this occasion; but his foreign and domestic policy had acquired a reputation for weakness and vacillation, which probably militated against the success of the measures instituted in the last few months of his reign, which terminated in March, 1625. His ill-fated son succeeded to a regal inheritance heavily burdened with debt, war, and faction; which required, at least humanly speaking, the governance of one gifted with a powerful and unprejudiced intellect, and judgment wherewith to guide the helm of state—by that best rudder, the power of distinguishing the cry of faction from the desire of a nation. Had Charles I. been thus endowed, even a turbulent parliament could not have driven him to alienate the affections of his subjects by the expedients (irregular loans and ship-money) to which he had recourse. As it was, the failing power of the Crown diminished the hope of redress entertained by the company, and subjected them to danger from the

* These proceedings are narrated at length in Hall's *Cruelties of the Dutch in the East Indies*, 8vo., London, 1712: they were continued during several days, including a Sunday, and are too horrible for quotation: it must, therefore, suffice to say, that each victim was placed on the rack, and compelled to inhale water at every attempt to draw breath, until his body became inflated and he swooned, was recovered, and the same horrible process repeated. The fire was applied by means of lighted candles, held to the elbows and other sensitive parts of the body, and relit when extinguished by the heavy sweat of agony.—(Pp. 18 to 32.)

† This fact rests on Dutch authority.

feeling against monopolies, which was evidently gaining ground in the House of Commons, stimulated by the complaints of the private traders, or interlopers, who pleaded the severities exercised against them in the Indian seas. The charter of the company was the gift of the Crown, from which they had recently received a new and important prerogative; namely—authority to punish their subjects abroad by common and martial law:* nor does the sanction of parliament appear to have been deemed necessary for the delegation of so important a trust. But a change was rapidly taking place; and the company, alarmed for the continuance of their monopoly, paid homage to the rising sun, by presenting a memorial to the Commons, in which they represented the national importance of a traffic employing shipping of 10,000 tons burden, and 2,500 men; and urged that the Dutch should be pressed to make compensation for past injuries, and discontinue their oppressive conduct in monopolising the spice-trade, which was felt the more sensibly by the English from the difficulty they experienced in opening a trade for woven goods on the coast of Coromandel. The precise condition of their finances at this period is not recorded; but it was certainly far from being a prosperous one:† nor could they foresee the issue of the efforts which their expulsion from the Indian islands compelled them to direct to the formation of settlements on the great peninsula itself. In the interim, many difficulties were to be encountered. The company's Persian trade languished under the caprice and extortions of local magistrates. Their agents, soon after the catastrophe at Amboyna, had quitted Java and retired to Lagundy, in the Straits of Sunda. In less than a year, the extreme unhealthiness of the island rendered them anxious to abandon it; but of 250 men, 130 were sick, and they had not a crew sufficient to navigate a ship to any of the English factories. In this emergency the Dutch assisted them, by aiding their return to Batavia; and through the steady friendship of the *Pangran*, or king of Bantam, they obtained the re-establishment of their factory there, in 1629, without opposition on the part of the Dutch, who were then actively employed in defending Batavia against the *Materam*, or emperor of Java, who unsuccessfully besieged it with 80,000 men.

In 1628–'9, the station at Armegaun, on the Coromandel coast (established on a piece of ground purchased from the *Naig*, or local chief, shortly before) was fortified; twelve pieces of cannon being mounted round the factory, with a guard of twenty-three factors and soldiers. The centre of the company's trade was the presidency of Surat, where, however, they had to sustain the commercial rivalry of the Dutch, whose larger capital, and, according to Mill, "more economical management,‡ enabled them to outbid the English, both in purchase and sale. The Spanish-Portuguese made an effort to retain their vanishing power; and in 1630, the viceroy of Goa having received a reinforcement from Europe of nine ships and 2,000 soldiers, projected the recovery of Ormuz, and made unsuccessful overtures to the Mogul governor of Surat to obtain the exclusive trade. He then attacked five English vessels as they entered the port of Swally; but after a short, though indecisive

* Captain Hamilton asserts, that before this time (1624), the servants of the company, having no power to inflict capital punishment by the legal mode of hanging, except for piracy, had recourse to whipping or starvation for the same end. It is very possible, that in the general license and disorder attendant on the formation, whether of factories or colonies, by men suddenly removed beyond the pale of conventional propriety, and unguided by a deeply-rooted principle of duty, that many violent deeds were committed in the profaned name of justice. Nevertheless, so serious and sweeping a charge as the above, requires some stronger confirmation than any adduced by Mr. Hamilton, who did not enter India until sixty years after the period of which he writes so freely, and who, by his own admission, has recorded much hearsay information, through the medium of what he describes as "a weak and treacherous memory." The date of the facts are in some measure a criterion how far they may be relied on. His description of scenes, in which he had been an actor, bear the stamp of truthfulness: though, so far as the company is concerned, they are often tinctured with prejudice; for the writer was himself an "interloper."—(Vide *New Account of the East Indies*, or "Observations and Remarks of Captain Hamilton, made from the year 1688 to 1723.")

† In 1627, Sir Robert Shirley, before mentioned as Persian ambassador, and one of the two brothers who so strangely ingratiated themselves with Shah Abbas, applied to the king and council to order the E. I. Cy. to pay him £2,000 as compensation for his exertions and services in procuring them a trade with Persia. The directors denied the alleged service, and moreover stated, that having "been obliged to contract so large a debt as £200,000, their paramount duty was, in the first instance, to liquidate this debt, that they might raise the price of the stock, which had sunk so low as eighty per cent.—(Bruce, vol. i., p. 272.)

‡ Mill's *History of British India*, edited by Professor Horace Hayman Wilson, vol. i., p. 64.

action, followed by several minor skirmishes, and one great effort to destroy their fleet by fire, the English gained the victory, and succeeded in landing their cargoes.

In 1631-'2, a subscription, amounting to £120,700, was opened for a third joint-stock fund. Its results have not been very accurately chronicled;* neither if they had would they afford matter of sufficient interest to occupy space already so limited, that the author is frequently compelled to crowd into a note that which he would otherwise have gladly woven into the text.

The Dutch were now the paramount maritime power in India: they annually sent from Holland thirty-four to forty-one ships, receiving in return from twenty-five to thirty-four rich cargoes;† and the occasional squadrons still dispatched by the Spanish-Portuguese, opposed their formidable enemy with even less success than did the brave sailors who manned the "ventures" of English, French, and Danish companies.

The revolution in Portugal, in 1640, by which, in less than a week, that kingdom regained its independence, had not its expected effect in restoring the national influence in India. The Dutch continued their conquering course; and having previously expelled the Portuguese from the Spice Islands, and Formosa in the China Seas, drove them from Malacca in 1640, Japan in 1641, and terminated a long and severe struggle by expelling them from Ceylon in 1656. The fortified stations on the Malabar coast—Cochin, Cananore, Cranganore, Coulan, and others of minor importance, likewise changed hands;‡ but the Portuguese, on their side, had wherewith to balance, at least in part, the success of their opponents in the East Indies, by their own acquisitions in South America (the Brazils); and in 1661, a treaty was formed between Portugal and Holland, on the basis of the *Uti possedītis*—each party agreeing to be content with their reciprocal losses and advantages.

The English company, meanwhile, found it difficult to maintain even a feeble and interrupted trade; and the more so from the unfaithful conduct of their own agents at Surat.§ In 1634, permission was granted by the emperor for trade with the province of Bengal, with the restriction that the English ships were to resort only to the port of Piplee, in Orissa; and in the following year, a friendly convention was entered into with the Portuguese. This latter arrangement becoming known in England, excited hopes of extraordinary profit, and induced a number of gentlemen, headed by Sir William Courten, to form a new association for trade with India. By the intervention of Endymion Porter, a gentleman of the bed-chamber, Charles I. was prevailed upon to sanction, and even to

* The effect of the company's proceedings had been for several years a subject of parliamentary discussion; and some valuable statistics regarding their early condition have come down to us in the form of documents laid before the House. It appears that from 1600 to 1621 inclusive, 86 ships were sent to India, of which 36 returned with cargoes, 9 were lost, 3 worn out in trading from port to port, 11 captured by the Dutch, and 25 accounted for as engaged in India or on their voyage home. During this time, the exports had amounted to £613,681 in bullion, and £319,211 in woollens, lead, iron, tin, and other wares, making a total of £932,892, or about £45,000 per annum: the imports realised £2,004,600, the cost of lading having been £375,288. Another paper, drawn up by order of the Commons in 1625, states, that between March, 1620, and March, 1623, 26 ships were equipped, and furnished with bullion to the amount of £205,710, and goods worth £58,806; total, £264,516. The imports during the same time, including raw silk from China and Persia, and a sum of £80,000 paid by the Dutch in accordance with the treaty of 1619, realised £1,255,444, or on an average, £313,861 per annum, and would have been much greater but for the hostilities with the Dutch. The principal objections urged on public grounds against the company were, that the exportation of specie impoverished the realm, and that the navigation of the southern seas was destructive both to the mariners and vessels employed. In reply to these charges it was urged, that the company exported not English, but foreign coin; and that the quantity had always fallen far short of the sum authorised by the charter, and was expected to decrease yearly: with regard to the injurious results alleged to be produced on the English marine by the East India trade, the best answer was its greatly increased inefficiency.—(Monson's *Naval Tracts* in Churchill's *Voyages*—Bruce and Macpherson.) The *pro's* and *con's* of the question as urged by the political economists of that day are very curious. What would have been their surprise, could they have been forewarned of the wealth England was to receive from India; or been told that the country whose currency could, they considered, ill bear a yearly drain of specie to the amount of £30,000, would, in 1853, be found capable of exporting £30,000,000.

† Macpherson's *Commerce with India*, p. 49.

‡ "When will you return to India?" said a Dutch to a Portuguese officer, who was embarking for Europe after the surrender of a fortress to his antagonist.—"*When your crimes are greater than ours,*" was the instructive reply.—(*Memoirs of India*, by R. G. Wallace: London, 1824, p. 198.)

§ Instead of attending to the company's affairs, the president and council carried on a private trade, until, quarrelling among themselves, they betrayed one another, and were obliged to solicit the leniency of their far-distant employers.—(Bruce, i., 325.)

accept a share in the proposed adventure. The preamble to the license, which was granted for a term of five years, alleges that the East India Company had neglected to establish fortified factories or seats of trade, to which the king's subjects could resort with safety; that they had broken the conditions on which their charter had been granted; and had generally accomplished nothing for the good of the nation, in proportion to the great privileges they had enjoyed, or even to the funds of which they had disposed. These allegations, were they true, could not justify the breach of faith now committed: had the monopoly been clearly proved injurious to the nation, nothing beyond the stipulated three years' notice was necessary to its legal abrogation. The company remonstrated and petitioned without success: and one Captain Weddel, who had been previously engaged in their service, proceeded to the East Indies with six ships, and there occasioned the agents of his former employers great inconvenience, both by interfering with their trade, and by drawing upon them the hostility of the natives, who naturally suspected actual collusion, hid beneath the apparent rivalry of men of the same nation. In 1637–'8, several of Courten's ships returned with cargoes, which produced an ample profit to the association; and a new license was conceded, continuing their privileges for five years. The old company, who had never ceased complaining and petitioning against the Dutch, had now a second source of anxiety, to which a third was soon added; for the king, in his distress for funds wherewith to carry on the Scottish war, compelled them to make over to him, on credit, the whole of the pepper they had in store, and then disposed of it at a reduced price for ready money.* Lord Cottington and others became sureties for the king, who, when they were pressed for its repayment, exerted himself for their relief and the liquidation of the debt; but his power soon ceased; and what (if any) portion of their claim the company eventually recovered, is not known. It was while matters were in their worst state of distress and embarrassment at home, that the first English stations destined to prove of permanent importance in India were formed.† The position of Armegaun had been found inconvenient for providing the "piece-goods"‡ which constituted the principal item of exportation from the Coromandel coast; the permission of Sree Ranga Raya, the rajah of Chandragiri,§ granted in 1640, for the establishment of a settlement at Madras (sixty-six miles south of Armegaun) was therefore eagerly embraced, and the erection of *Fort St. George* immediately commenced by the chief local agent, Mr. Day. The court, or executive committee in London, deemed the enterprise hazardous, and inclined to its abandonment; but by the advice of the president and council of Surat, the defences were continued, though on a very limited scale. Madras remained subordinate to the distant station of Bantam until 1653; but was then raised to a presidency. Lest its importance should be over-rated, it may be well to add, that the garrison of the fort at this latter period amounted only to twenty-six English soldiers, and, in 1654–'5, was ordered to be diminished to a guard of ten, and the civil establishment to two factors.

The settlement of a trading post at Hooghly forms another early and important link in the chain of circumstances, that from slender beginnings, under a policy of the most irregular and uncertain character, has terminated in the formation of that extraordinary power, called by some

* The king bought 607,522 bags of pepper, at 2*s.* 1*d.* per lb.=£63,283 11*s.* 6*d.*: and sold it at 1*s.* 8*d.* = £50,626 17*s.* 1*d.*—(Bruce, vol. i., p. 371.)

† The affairs of the third joint-stock were wound up in 1640, and the original capital divided, with a profit, in eleven years, of only thirty-five per cent—little more than three per cent. per annum. In the following year, £67,500 were subscribed for a single voyage; and in 1643, about £105,000 were raised for a fourth joint-stock. The attempts made, with this small sum, were very unfortunate: one ship, valued at £35,000, was wrecked; and another, with a cargo worth £20,000, was carried into Bristol by her commander (Captain Macknel), and delivered over for the king's use, during the civil war in which the nation was then involved. The company borrowed money both at home and abroad; and, in 1646, their debts, in England, amounted to £122,000. Their effects are stated as follows:—"Quick stock at Surat, £83,600; at Bantam, £60,731; in shipping and stores, £31,180; and customs at Gombroon, estimated at £5,000: forming a total of £180,511."—(Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, vol. i., p. 27.)

‡ The general term applied to the muslins and wove goods of India and China.

§ A descendant of Venkatadri, brother of the famous Rama Rajah, the last sovereign of Beejanuggur (*see* p. 97.) In compliment to the naik, or local governor, who first invited the English to change their settlement, the new station was named after his father, Chenna-patam, and is still so called by the natives, though Europeans use an abbreviation of its previous designation—Madras-patam. The territory granted extended five miles along-shore and one mile inland.—(Hamilton's *Gazetteer*, and Orme's *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*, p. 229.)

an empire of chance, but really an empire of Providence. Jehanara, the favourite daughter of Shah Jehan, in retiring one night from the imperial presence to her own apartments, set her dress on fire in passing one of the lamps which lit the corridor, and fearful of calling for assistance while the male guards of the palace were within hearing, rushed into the harem all on fire, and was fearfully burned before the flames could be extinguished. The most famous physicians were summoned from different parts of the empire, and the surgeons of the English East-Indiamen having obtained considerable repute for cures performed on some Mogul nobles, an express was sent to Surat for one of them. Mr. Gabriel Boughton was selected for the important office, and having been instrumental in aiding the recovery of the princess, was desired by Shah Jehan to name his reward. With rare disinterestedness, Boughton asked exclusively for benefits to the company he served; and in return for this and subsequent attendance on the household of the emperor and Prince Shuja, the governor of Bengal, he obtained a licence for unlimited trade throughout the empire, with freedom from custom-dues in all places except Surat, and permission to erect factories, which was availed of by their establishment at several places, especially Hooghly, from whence the Portuguese had been expelled in 1633.* Authorities agree with regard to the leading facts of the above occurrences, with one important exception—the date, which is variously stated as 1636,† 1640,‡ and 1651–'2. Bruce, the careful annalist of the E. I. Cy., fixes the latter period for the formation of the Hooghly factory, but his notice of Boughton is scanty and unsatisfactory, probably from the character of the data on which it was founded; for the "cautious mercantile silence"§ observed by the company extended to their records; and while striving to make the most of their claims upon the country at large, and to represent at its highest value the "dead stock" acquired in India, in the shape of trading licences, forts, factories, &c., they were naturally by no means anxious to set forth the easy terms on which some of their most important privileges had been obtained. During the concluding years of the reign of Charles I., they maintained a struggling and fitful commerce. In 1647–'8, when the king was a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, and the power of the parliament supreme, a new subscription was set on foot, and strenuous endeavours made to induce members of the legislature to subscribe, in the hope that the English, like the Dutch company, might ensure the protection of the state, through the influence of its chief counsellors. This project seems to have failed; and in 1649–'50, attempts to form another joint-stock were renewed, and carried out by means of a junction with Courten's association, now designated the "Assada Merchants," in consequence of their having formed a settlement on an island called by that name, near Madagascar.

The establishment of the Commonwealth changed the direction, but not the character of the solicitations of the company. They now appealed to Cromwell and his Council for redress from the Dutch, and the renewal of their charter. The first claim met with immediate attention, and formed a leading feature in the national grievances urged against Holland. The famous Navigation Act, prohibiting the importation of any foreign commodities, except in English vessels, or those of the countries wherein they were produced, though, under the peculiar circumstances of the time, absolutely requisite for the encouragement of the British navy, was felt by the Dutch as a measure peculiarly levelled against the carrying trade, so important to their national prosperity; and ambassadors were sent to Cromwell to solicit its repeal. The war which followed his refusal, involved the feeble settlements of the English in India in great danger, and almost suspended their coasting-trade; but the success of their countrymen in Europe, soon delivered them from this peril. Cromwell reduced the Dutch to the necessity of accepting peace on terms of his dictation; and a treaty was concluded at Westminster, in 1654, in which a clause was inserted for the appointment of a commission, composed

* They had settled there subsequent to the termination of Faria y Sousa's history, in 1640: for an account of their expulsion by Shah Jehan, see p. 131.

† Malcolm's *Political India*, vol. i., p. 18.

‡ Stewart states that Boughton was sent to the imperial camp, in the Deccan, in 1636; and that factories were established at Balasore and Hooghly, in 1640.—(*History of Bengal*, p. 252.) Dow mentions the accident of the princess as occurring in 1643, but does not name Boughton.—(*Hindoostan*, vol. iii., p. 190.) It appears that no firman was issued, but only a "nishan," or order from Prince Shuja, with warrants from the local governors; but, in 1680, Aurungzebe confirmed the grant of Shah Jehan.

§ Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy., from* 1600 *to Union of London and English Cos., in* 1707-'8, i., 426.

of four Dutch and four English members, to examine into and decide upon the claims of their respective nations, and to award punishment to all survivors concerned in the perpetration of the cruelties at Amboyna, in 1623.* In the event of the commissioners being unable to come to a decision, within a specified time, their differences of opinion were to be submitted to the arbitration of the Protestant Swiss cantons.

The claims of both parties, as might be expected from the circumstances of the case, bear evident marks of exaggeration, though to what degree it would be difficult to judge. The English company estimated their damages, as ascertained by a series of accounts from 1611 to 1652, at £2,695,999 15*s.*; the Dutch, at £2,919,861 13*s.* 6*d.* The award of the commissioners set aside the balance claimed by the latter, and allotted to the English the sum of £85,000, and £3,615 to the heirs or executors of those who had suffered at Amboyna. Polaroon was likewise to be ceded by the Dutch; but they long endeavoured to evade compliance with this stipulation; and when, after the lapse of many years, the island was at length surrendered,† the nutmeg plantations, which had constituted its chief value, were found to have been all purposely destroyed.

The English company were not well pleased with the amount adjudged to them, and their dissatisfaction was greatly increased by Cromwell's proposition to borrow the £85,000 in question, until its distribution should be arranged. The directors asserted that the different stocks were £50,000 in debt, and many of the proprietors in difficult circumstances;‡ but that they would consent to spare £50,000, to be repaid by instalments in eighteen months, provided the remaining £35,000 were immediately assigned them to relieve their more pressing liabilities, and make a dividend to the shareholders.

The application of the company for a confirmation, under the republic, of the exclusive privileges granted under the monarchy, was not equally successful. It is not necessary to enter into the question of whether the well-grounded aversion entertained by the public towards the monopolies of soap, wine, leather, salt, &c., bestowed by the Crown on individuals, extended to the charters granted for special purposes to large associated bodies; the fact remains, that so far from obtaining a confirmation of their privileges, the E. I. Cy., in 1654, beheld with dismay their virtual abrogation in the licences granted by Cromwell to separate undertakings. The rivalry of disconnected traders was unimportant in comparison with that of the so-called Merchant Adventurers, who were proprietors of the united stock formed in 1649, and who now took their chance, in common with other speculators. By their exertions, four ships were equipped for the Indian trade, under the management of a committee. The news of these events created great excitement in Holland; and instead of rejoicing over the downfall of an old rival, the Dutch company appear to have been filled with consternation, either fearing that the example might lead to the destruction of their monopoly, or else that it would open the door to more dangerous competition from the English at large. The experiment of open trade with India was, however, of too brief continuance to afford conclusive evidence regarding the permanent effects it was calculated to produce on British commerce;§ for in 1657, the Protector and Council of State decided upon the management of a corporate body vested with exclusive privileges, as the most efficacious method of carrying on the Indian traffic. A new charter was accorded, and a coalition effected

* It does not appear that this latter part of the agreement was ever fulfilled.

† In 1665: Damm, an island near Banda, was occupied by the English in the same year; but they were driven out by a Dutch force, on the plea of a prior right. The war between England and Holland gave the Dutch an opportunity for regaining Polaroon; and by the pacification of Breda in 1667, the British government tacitly surrendered both Polaroon and Damm, in consideration of more important objects gained by that treaty.

‡ "At the same time," says Mill, "it is matter of curious uncertainty who these directors were, whom they represented, by what set or sets of proprietors they were chosen, or to whom they were responsible."—(Vol. i., p. 861.)

§ Numerous pamphlets, published during the paper war which raged towards the latter part of the seventeenth century, are still extant. On one side, it was argued, that the cheapness and abundance of Indian products (especially indigo and calico), which resulted from the open trade, attested its beneficial influence on the nation; but the advocates of the company, in reply, asserted that this was merely a temporary excitement, sure to produce a reaction. With regard to the adventurers themselves, it has been alleged, that they were eminently successful; but Anderson remarks, "it is generally said that even the interlopers, or separate traders, were losers in the end;" and he adds, "so difficult is it to come at the real truth where interest is nearly concerned on both sides."—(Vol. ii., p. 444.)

between the E. I. Cy. and the Merchant Adventurers. By their united efforts a sub-scription was raised, amounting to £786,000, and arrangements, already too long delayed, entered into with the owners of the preceding funds; all the forts, privileges, and immunities obtained in India and Persia being made over to the new association, in full right, for the sum of £20,000, and the ships or merchandise similarly transferred at a valuation. Thus the directors had henceforth a single fund to manage, and a single interest to pursue; but, unfortunately for them, the joint-stock was not as yet a definite and invariable sum placed beyond the power of resumption, the shares only transferable by purchase and sale in the market. On the contrary, their capital was variable and fluctuating,—formed by the sums which, on the occasion of each voyage, the individuals who were free of the company chose to pay into their hands, receiving credit for the amount in the company's books, and proportional dividends on the profits of the voyage. Of this stock, £500 entitled a proprietor to a vote in the general courts; and the shares were transferable even to such as were not free of the company, on payment of an admission-fee of £5. A defective system, and inadequate resources, together with the hostility of the Dutch, and the disturbed state of the Deccan during the long reign of Aurungzebe, combined to render the operations of the company in India languid and inconsiderable. Yet, during this period of depression, several events occurred which had an important bearing on their after-history: in the words of Robert Grant, "amidst the storms under which it was bending,—if we may not rather say from the very effects of them,—the British authority silently struck some deep roots into the eastern continent."*

The death of Cromwell, and the restoration of monarchy under Charles II., proved fortunate events to the corporation; for the Protector, notwithstanding his decision in their favour, had shown a continued inclination to sanction private adventure, at least in exceptional cases;† while the king evinced no desire to question or infringe their exclusive claims, but confirmed them in the fullest manner in April, 1661, and empowered them to make peace or war with any prince or people not Christians; and to seize unlicensed persons within their limits, and send them to England. These two privileges, added to the administration of justice, consigned almost the whole powers of government over "all plantations, forts, fortifications, factories, or colonies" already or hereafter to be acquired by the company, to the discretion of the directors and their servants—not for a stated term, but in perpetuity, with, however, the usual condition of termination after three years' notice, if found injurious to the sovereign or the public.‡ Two months after the renewal of the charter, Charles married the Infanta Catherine, and received, as a portion of her dowry, a grant of the island of Bombay from the crown of Portugal. The Earl of Marlborough, with 500 troops, commanded by Sir Abraham Shipman, were dispatched to India on the king's behalf, to demand possession of the island and its dependencies (Salsette and Tanna.)§ The Portuguese governor took advantage of the indefinite wording of the treaty, and refused to deliver over any territory beyond Bombay itself; and even that he delayed to surrender till further instructions, on the pretext that the letters or patent produced did not accord with the usages of Portugal. The troops were dying day by day, in consequence of long confinement on board ship, and their commander requested the president of Surat (Sir George Oxenden), to make arrangements for their reception, but was refused, on the ground that such a proceeding might excite the anger of the Mogul government. In this emergency, the Earl of Marlborough returned to England, and Sir Abraham Shipman proceeded to the little island of Anjediva, twelve leagues distant from Goa, where, being cooped up in an

* *Sketch of the History of the E. I. Cy.*, page 20.

† Shortly before his death, Cromwell licensed a Mr. Rolt to export three mortars and 20,000 shells, to be disposed of to Aurungzebe, then engaged in rebellion against his father. The company directed the Surat presidency to seize on these articles as illicit; and the more effectually to frustrate the speculation, sent large quantities of ordnance, mortars, shells, &c., desiring the different presidencies to dispose of them at the best price to either of the four rival princes who should first apply for them; preserving meanwhile a strict neutrality.—(Bruce, i., 39.)

‡ A clause in this charter confirmed to the company the possession of St. Helena, which they had taken possession of in 1651, as a convenient station for the refreshment of homeward-bound vessels, the Dutch having previously abandoned it for the Cape of Good Hope. Here, as in Bombay, they were empowered to frame and execute laws "as near as might be" conformable to the constitution of England; a direction not sufficiently observed.

§ He urged that the cession of these isles could not have been intended, since it would lay the important station of Bassein open to the English.

unhealthy position, and distressed for provisions, he offered to cede the rights of the English Crown to the representatives of the company at Surat. The proposition was rejected, for the two-fold reason that it was unauthorised, and that the presidency had not a sufficient force to occupy and maintain the island. At length, after Sir Abraham and the majority of the soldiers had perished, the survivors, about 100 in number, were suffered to take possession of Bombay, in December, 1664,* on terms prescribed by the Portuguese. The governmental expenses being found to exceed the revenue of the island, it was transferred to the E. I. Cy. in 1668;† "to be held of the king in free and common socage, as of the manor of East Greenwich, on the payment of the annual rent of ten pounds in gold," and with the place itself was conveyed authority to exercise all political powers necessary to its defence and government.‡

Bombay, from its insular position, proved a very important acquisition, especially to the presidency of Surat, from which it was situated within a sail of 200 miles,—a very practicable distance considered with respect to the extensive range of the Indo-British establishments. The fortifications were diligently enlarged and strengthened; and in about six years the ordnance of the garrison, which, at the time of the cession, consisted of twenty-one pieces of cannon, was augmented to 100. Every encouragement was held out, both to European and native settlers. A remission of customs was proclaimed for five years, looms were provided, houses built, and a system of administration framed with especial regard to the opinions and customs of the motley population, comprising English and Germans,§ Hindoos, Mohammedans, and Parsees. In 1675-'6, the revenues were nearly doubled, having increased from £6,490 (75,000 xeraphins) to £12,037 sterling.—(Grant's *Sketch*, p. 87.) Letters-patent were granted by Charles II., in 1676, for the establishment of a mint at Bombay for the coinage of rupees and pice,‖ to pass current in all the dependencies of the company. A system was adopted, about the same time, for the general regulation of the service on the principle of seniority ever after maintained; the gradations of apprentices, writers, factors, merchants, and senior merchants being then established.

The position of the company at this period was a very critical one: in England, notwithstanding the decided patronage of the Crown, their severe treatment of interlopers produced fierce altercations between the two houses of parliament,¶ and their pecuniary involvements induced them to direct their

* This date is memorable for the first importation of tea into England by the E. I. Cy., a small quantity being brought as a present for the king. No public order was given for its purchase until 1667; when the agent at Bantam was desired "to send home by these ships 100 lbs. weight of the best tey that you can gett."—(Bruce, ii., 211.) This article became the chief item in the trade with China, to be described under the head of *Hong-Kong*.

† Probably it was intended thereby to recompense the company for the annulment of their claims to Polaroon and Damm, mentioned in a previous note; and also for the cession of their possessions on the coast of Africa (obtained through their junction with the Assada merchants), to the company formed by the Duke of York, for the hateful slave-trade.

‡ The question of the proprietorship of the land at Bombay is nowhere very definitely stated as regards the native owners. The Jesuits claimed considerable portions, as appertaining to their college at Bundera, and vainly strove to establish their pretensions by force.—(*Annals*, ii., 214.) Authority was subsequently given for the purchase of lands in the vicinity of the fort to the extent of £1,500. A subsequent record [illegible] inhabitants had paid the King of Portugal [illegible] of their lands as a quit-rent, [illegible] Aungier commuted for an annual [illegible] reserving to the company the [illegible] (iii., 165.)

§ The sobri[illegible] German recruits are particularly [illegible] communications of 1676-'7, and a request made, that a proportion should be annually embarked to supply the frequent vacancies caused by the climate. A militia was formed, and in 1672-'3, on an alarm from the Dutch, the assistance of 500 Rajpoots was requested.

‖ The rupee was then valued at about three shillings: a pice, at a halfpenny.—(Bruce's *Annals*.)

¶ A memorable instance of this strife occurred in the case of a merchant, named Skinner, who applied to government for redress against the E. I. Cy., for having seized his ship and merchandise in India, in 1658. His complaint was referred by the king to the Privy Council, and thence to the House of Peers, by whom the directors were ordered to answer at the bar the charge brought against them. They refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Peers, and appealed to the Commons against this infraction of their chartered privileges. The Lords decreed judgment, by awarding £5,000 damages to Skinner, upon which the Commons passed some condemnatory resolutions regarding the Upper House, and seizing the successful petitioner, sent him to the Tower. The Lords, in reprisal for Skinner's incarceration, ordered Sir Samuel Barnadiston and three other leading members of the contumacious company into confinement, and declared their memorial false and scandalous: while the Lower House in turn, resolved, that whoever should execute the sentence of the Lords in favour of Skinner, would prove himself a betrayer of the rights and liberties of the Commons of England. To such a height did these contentions proceed, that the king prorogued parliament seven times on this account; and at length, in 1670, when, after some intermission, the controversy again revived, he sent for the members of both

servants in India to borrow the money necessary for procuring investments or cargoes for Europe, "without being limited either in the amount, or the rate of interest."* In the year 1673–'4, the president of Surat stated that the Indian debts amounted to £100,000, exclusive of the rapid accumulation of them by the payment of high interest;† and for the liquidation of these sums, the only source as yet available was the balance of trade. Nor was it always practicable to raise loans on any terms; for the native bankers and dealers, called Shroffs and Banians, who took off the imports of European traders in large quantities, and advanced money when the supply sent out was insufficient to provide cargoes for the expected shipping, were themselves constantly exposed to the arbitrary exactions of their own government, which they strove to escape by calling in their capital, and burying it till better times enabled them to employ it with impunity. These difficulties induced the president and council to urge that money should be borrowed in England at four per cent., rather than taken up in India at double the cost, or, as frequently happened, no funds being available to provide investments, the ships kept waiting for return cargoes until the arrival of a fresh supply of bullion. Territorial revenue began to be looked to as the remedy for these evils, and political influence courted as a means of commercial prosperity. There was no established power under whose protection foreign traders could place themselves, and to whose legitimate authority they could offer, in return, hearty and undivided allegiance. Their earliest territorial suzerain, the rajah of Chandragiri, had been overpowered by Meer Jumla, the general of the King of Golconda, about the year 1656, and Mohammedan rule extended over the territory in which Madras was situated. The English suffered no inconvenience from the change; but were, on the contrary, especially favoured by the usurping sovereign, who suffered their money to pass current, and conferred upon them several valuable privileges. They continued to pay him an annual quit-rent of 1,200 pagodas, until about 1687–'8, when his power being considerably weakened by the aggressions of Aurungzebe, they appear to have taken advantage of some flimsy pretext to withhold their tribute. By the Great Mogul the English were likewise well treated; and had he possessed unquestioned supremacy over the places in which their trade was situated, their policy would have been comparatively plain and easy, and their difficulties would have consisted almost exclusively in the rivalry of the Portuguese, Dutch, and Danes, to which list the French‡ had been recently added. But the rise of

houses to Whitehall, and by personal persuasion, induced them to erase from their journals all their votes, resolutions, and other acts relating to the subject. The company came off victors; for Skinner, it would appear, never got any portion of the compensation adjudged to him.—(Anderson, ii., 461.)

* Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, ii., 202. † *Idem*, 342.

‡ The ministers of Louis XIV., Cardinal Richelieu and the great Colbert, had directed their attention to the commercial and naval interests of France. Colbert, especially, laboured in this cause with extraordinary zeal and success. In 1642, a settlement was made in Madagascar, preparatory to the extension of French power in the Eastern seas; but the adventurers, through their wanton cruelty, became involved in contests with the brave natives (Malagash), and notwithstanding repeated attempts, were unable to secure a footing in this rich island. In 1664, Colbert formed an E. I. Cy. on the model of that of Holland, with a very privileged charter for fifty years, and a stock of £625,000, partly raised by loan. Four ships were sent to Madagascar; and in 1668 a factory was commenced at Surat, then the general resort of European nations. But the French soon looked to political rather than to commercial prospects; and under the direction of an experienced man, named Caron (who, disgusted with the ill-treatment received from the Dutch after long and valuable service, had quitted their employ), surveyed the coasts of India for an eligible site whereon to lay the foundation of French power. The fine harbour of Trincomalee, in Ceylon, was judiciously selected, and taken possession of by a French squadron, under La Haye: hostilities ensued between the French and Dutch E. I. Companies; but the former losing many men by sickness, were soon expelled, and proceeded to the coast of Coromandel, where they captured St. Thomas, or Meliapoor. The Dutch co-operated with the King of Golconda, and the French garrison being reduced to the extremity of famine, were compelled to surrender. The survivors, under the guidance of a Mr. Martin, who, like Caron, had previously been in the service of the Dutch company, purchased from the King of Beejapoor, a village upon the coast called Pondicherry, with a small adjacent territory, and there formed the settlement eventually of so much importance. By his prudent measures the place became rapidly populous, and being desirous to put it in a state of defence during the disturbed state of the country, he obtained permission for the erection of fortifications, notwithstanding the opposition of the Dutch, who endeavoured to bribe the King of Beejapoor to withdraw his protection, and permit them to expel the new settlers; but the firm reply was, "The French have fairly purchased the place; I shall not be so unjust as to take it from them."—(Macpherson's *Commerce with India*, p. 260.) The Beejapoor monarchy was overthrown by Aurungzebe in 1686. The Dutch overpowered the French garrison, and drove them out in 1693; then, desirous to secure their conquest, immediately improved and strengthened the

the Mahrattas, under Sevajee—a native power under a native leader—greatly changed the state of affairs. At first, the English were disposed to follow the example of their imperial patron, and treat the new leader as a mere marauder—a captain of banditti—whose attempts at friendly communication were to be evaded, without however, unnecessarily provoking a foe whose anger and alliance were both to be avoided.

When Sevajee advanced against Surat in 1664, the terror of his name had already taken such deep root, that the governor shut himself up in the castle, and the inhabitants fled from the city. The Dutch and English remained in their factories; and the latter, calling in the ships' crews to their aid, by courage and determination succeeded in preserving their own property, and that of their immediate neighbours, from pillage. Aurungzebe rewarded this service by a firmaun, conceding one per cent. out of his three per cent. custom duties, and a total exemption from all transit charges. In 1670, the place was again approached by Sevajee. The French, who had established a factory there, preserved it by paying a contribution:* the Dutch station being without the town, was not attacked: the English, having transported the greater part of their goods on board ship to Swally, prepared to guard the remainder at all hazards. The factory was assailed, but successfully defended by the English, though several lives were lost, as well as some property in detached warehouses. The Mahrattas then threatened to set the factory on fire; but Sevajee was unwilling to proceed to extremities, being desirous to induce them to return as traders to Rajapoor, which they had quitted on account of his exactions. A complimentary present offered to Sevajee, was very gratifying to him. He extended his hand to the English deputies, with an assurance that he would do them no wrong; and on several subsequent occasions negotiations were set on foot, which, however, the English endeavoured to evade bringing to any definite conclusion, by demanding compensation for the injuries received from the Mahrattas at Surat and elsewhere. This stipulation was conceded in 1674, and a treaty formed, by which 10,000 pagodas were promised to the aggrieved party, and the long-maintained right deemed inherent in the sovereign over all wrecks on the shores of his territory, relinquished in favour of English vessels. The enthronement of Sevajee took place at this time, and the envoy beheld with amazement a portion of the magnificent ceremonial, with its costly and characteristic feature,—the weighing of the person of the new sovereign against gold coin to be distributed among the Brahmins, as an act of reverence to their order, accompanied by the performance of many munificent acts of charity.† The Mogul government watched with jealous distrust this growing intercourse, and the English found great difficulty in maintaining a neutral position. In 1677–'8, the directors of the E. I. Cy., or, as they were then termed, the Court of Committees, "recommended temporising expedients to their servants as the rule of their proceedings with the Mogul, with Sevajee, and with the petty rajahs," as the means of obtaining compliance with the various firmauns and grants already acquired; and desired them to endeavour, by their conduct, to impress the natives with an opinion of their commercial probity. "At the same time," says Bruce, "they gave to President Aungier and his council [at Surat] discretionary powers to employ armed vessels to enforce the observance of treaties and grants: in this way the court shifted from themselves the responsibility of commencing hostilities, that they might be able, in any questions which might arise between the king and the company, to refer such hostilities to the errors of their servants."‡ This writer is too intimately acquainted with the company's proceedings, and too decidedly their champion, to be accused of putting an unfair construction on any of their directions. It was evidently necessary that considerable latitude should be given by masters so far removed from the scene of action; but subsequent events indicate that plans of terri-

works: but their labour proved ill-bestowed; for the place was restored to its rightful owners by the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697.—(Raynal's *E. and W. Indies.*)

* Wilson's note on Mill, vol. i., p. 99. Grant Duff says, "the French purchased an ignominious neutrality, by permitting the Mahrattas to pass through their factory to attack an unfortunate Tartar prince who was on his return from a pilgrimage to Mecca, and whose property [including a vast treasure in gold, silver, and plate, a gold bed and other rich furniture], became part of Sevajee's boasted spoils on this occasion."—(*History of Mahrattas*, i., 247.)

† Dr. Fryer mentions that he weighed about 16,000 pagodas, equal to about ten stone. The titles assumed by Sevajee were,—*the head ornament of the Cshatriya race, his majesty, the rajah Seva, possessor or lord of the royal umbrella.*

‡ Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, ii., 406-'7.

torial aggrandisement, to be carried out by force of arms, were already entertained.

The governmental expenses of Bombay (civil and military) were found to be very heavy; and as a means of meeting them, taxes were raised and salaries diminished; that of the deputy-governor, the second in rank in the service, being reduced to £120 per annum. Great dissatisfaction was created by these changes, especially by the diminution of the garrison; soon after which the trade of the place was menaced by two sterile isles in the neighbourhood (Henery and Kenery) being taken possession of respectively by Sevajee and his opponent, the Siddee, or Abyssinian leader, who held the position of admiral of the Mogul fleet.* The English were obliged to conclude a humiliating truce with both parties, and thus purchase freedom from interruption to their trade, until the abandonment of these barren rocks relieved them from alarm on that score.

The death of Sevajee, in 1680; the appointment of Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Child as president of Surat, with a council of eight members, in 1681; the erection of an independent agency in Bengal, in 1682; and the expulsion, in the same year, of the English from Bantam,† were rapidly followed by other important events. The system of injudicious retrenchment attempted at Madras and Surat, and persevered in at Bombay,‡ ended in producing a revolt in that island. Captain Keigwin, the commander of the garrison, which comprised 150 English soldiers and 200 topasses (natives), seized the deputy-governor, with such of the council as adhered to him, assembled the militia and inhabitants, and being by them appointed governor of the island, issued a proclamation declaring the authority of the company to be annulled in Bombay, and that of the Crown substituted in its place. President Child had no force wherewith to compel the submission of the insurgents; and his attempts at negotiation were decidedly rejected, on the plea that the measures which had led to the rebellion, had originated solely in the selfish policy of himself and his brother, Sir Josiah Child, the chairman of the Court of Committees.

The king was appealed to by both parties; and in November, 1684, the island was delivered up by Keigwin to Sir Thomas Grantham, as the representative of the Crown, on condition of a free pardon for himself and all concerned. To prevent the recurrence of a similar disturbance, the seat of government was removed from Surat to Bombay; and for the suppression of the interlopers, who were believed to have been intimately concerned in the late revolt, admiralty jurisdiction was established in India, by virtue of letters-patent granted by James II., in 1686. Sir John Child was appointed captain-general and admiral of the forces of the E. I. Cy., both by sea and land, in the northern parts of India, from Cape Comorin to the Gulf of Persia, and he was likewise entrusted with supreme authority over all the settlements. The weapons thus furnished were used with an unhesitating determination, which has rendered the conduct of the plenary representative of the powers delegated to the company a subject of unqualified panegyric, and of equally exaggerated blame. The truth probably lies between these extremes. The brothers Child were men of considerable ability, and deeply interested in the fortunes of the company, whose affairs devolved chiefly on their management. They were led, by a very natural process, to contrast the flourishing state of the Dutch trade with their own depressed condition, and to seek for the cause of the comparative, if not complete exemption of the rival company from the unlicensed competition of their countrymen,

* Siddee, or Seedee, is a corruption of an Arabic term, signifying a lord; but in the common language of the Deccan, it came to be applied indiscriminately to all natives of Africa. The Siddees of Jinjeera took their name from a small fortified island in the Concan, where a colony had been formed on a jaghire, granted, it appears, in the first instance, to an Abyssinian officer, by the king of Ahmednuggur, on condition of the maintenance of a marine for the protection of trade, and the conveyance of pilgrims to the Red Sea. The hostility of Sevajee induced the Siddee, or chief, to seek favour with Aurungzebe, by whom he was made admiral of the Mogul fleet, with an annual salary of four lacs of rupees (£40,000) for convoying pilgrims to Judda and Mocha. The emperor himself sent an annual donation to Mecca of three lacs.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, Bruce, and Orme.)

† In 1677, the principal agents at Bantam were assassinated by some of the natives, on what ground, or by what (if any) instigation, does not appear. The company persevered, nevertheless, in endeavouring to maintain commercial intercourse; and friendly embassies, accompanied by presents of tea on the part of the King of Bantam, and of gunpowder on the part of the English sovereign, were continually dispatched, until a civil war, instigated by the Dutch, terminated in the deposal of the old king by his son, who, in obedience to his domineering allies, expelled the English from their factory in 1682, and never permitted their re-establishment in his territories.

‡ In 1682-'3, the European garrison, reduced to at least 100 men, "were daily murmuring at the price of provisions, which their pay could not afford."—(Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, ii., 489.)

and from the delinquency of their servants. Whether they examined and compared the commercial details of the two associations does not appear, nor whether they made due allowance for the heavy drain occasioned by the large subsidies, or, as the anti-monopolists called them, bribes, furnished to Charles II. and James II., not, however, for the private use of these monarchs, since the monies in question are said to have been paid into the exchequer for the public service.* Be this as it may, the remedy for existing evils constantly put forth by the company during the administration of Sir Josiah Child, was a close imitation of the policy of the successful and unscrupulous Dutch, whose aggressive conduct towards the natives had its counterpart in the sanguinary decree for the infliction of capital punishment on all interlopers and deserters. Sir Josiah Child certainly understood the mind of the English public at the close of the seventeenth century far too well to press the adoption of such a law, whatever his own wishes on the subject might have been. He contented himself with urging the suppression of private trade by more gentle means, at the same time advocating the attainment of independent power in India, by the enlargement and strenuous assertion of the authority of the company over British subjects within the limits of their charter; and, secondly, of retaliative, if not aggressive hostilities against the Indian princes. The administration of Shaista Khan, as "Nabob,"† or governor of Bengal, was alleged to have been vexatious and oppressive in the extreme; and amicable negotiations having failed in procuring redress, it was thought practicable to obtain better terms by force of arms. Accordingly, the largest military armament‡ ever yet assembled by the company, was dispatched to India, with orders to gain possession of the city and territory of Chittagong as a place of future security, and thence retaliate upon the Nabob, and even upon the Mogul himself, the injuries and losses which had already been sustained. Bombay was elevated to the rank of a regency, after the example of the Dutch at Batavia and Columbo; and orders were given to increase the fortifications, and render the island "as strong as art and money could make it."§ Madras was formed into a corporation, to consist of a mayor and ten aldermen (of whom three were to be the company's servants and seven natives), with 120 burgesses.|| An offer was made by the garrison of Fort St. George (Madras), to aid the King of Golconda against the Dutch, with whom he was then at war; and in return, a firmaun was to be solicited to coin rupees, together with the grant of St. Thomas as an English possession. Thus the company were desirous of attaining political influence in all directions; and their views were seconded with much energy by Sir John Child, who, following the spirit of the instructions cited in a previous page, resolved to commence hostilities against Aurungzebe, as if on his own responsibility; so that in the event of an unfavourable issue to the expedition, an opportunity might be provided of negotiating for the restoration of former privileges and trade, upon the same basis as they had stood previously to his apparently unsanctioned proceedings.

By some casualty the whole force did not arrive in the Ganges at the same time; and an insignificant quarrel between three English soldiers and the "peons," or native police of the Nabob, brought on the contest in an unexpected manner, in October, 1686. Hooghly was cannonaded by the fleet under Captain Nicholson, and 500 houses were burnt, upon which the foujdar, or military governor, made overtures for peace; but the demands of the English were so exces-

* Grant's *Sketch of History of E. I. Cy.*, pp. 105-'6.

† An English corruption of the Arabic word *Naib* or the Persian *Nawab* (meaning deputy), applied to the imperial soubahdars or governors.

‡ Ten armed vessels, from twelve to seventy guns, and six companies of infantry, without captains, whose places were to be supplied by the members of council, in Bengal. In addition to this force, application was made to the king for an entire company of regular infantry, with their officers.

§ Bruce, vol. ii., p. 586. It was stated in 1691-'2, that £400,000 had been spent in fortifying and improving Bombay, including the harbour, docks, &c.

|| The aldermen were to be justices of the peace, and to wear thin scarlet gowns, and the burgesses black silk gowns: a town-clerk and recorder were to be appointed; a sword and mace to be carried before the mayor, and a silver oar before the judge-advocates—ceremonies which must have been very puzzling to the native aldermen. Some difficulty occurred in carrying this project into execution; for although the inhabitants soon recognised the beneficial effect of the new measure, the mixed description of persons considered proper for the court of aldermen could not be obtained. No Armenian could be induced to act; the Jews left the place; the Portuguese feared their countrymen and the Inquisition too much to accept office; and the local authorities considered it unsafe to "confide in the Moors or Mussulmen."—(Bruce's *Annals of the E. I. Cy.*, ii., 593; 659: iii., 111; 156.) With regard to the Hindoos, no objection appears to have been raised either by or against them.

sive, amounting to above sixty-six lacs of rupees, or nearly £700,000, that they could scarcely have expected compliance. On the side of Surat considerable advantage was at first gained by the capture of a number of Moorish vessels, richly freighted;* and also in Bengal, through the determined conduct of Job Charnock, the company's agent, by whom the Nabob's forces were repulsed in repeated assaults, the fort of Tanna stormed, the island of Injellee seized and fortified, and the town of Balasore partially burned, with forty sail of the Mogul fleet: the factories, however, at Patna and Cossimbazar were taken and plundered by the enemy, and the agents placed in irons. At this period, Muchtar Khan was appointed governor of Surat, and with him a sort of provisional convention was entered into, which was to be the basis of a treaty with the Mogul. The court in London, overjoyed at the prospect of such favourable terms, voted Sir John Child a present of 1,000 guineas,—a very large sum in proportion to the moderate salaries then apportioned to Anglo-Indian functionaries.†

The negotiation fell to the ground. According to the account given in the official records, Muchtar Khan never intended to carry it out, and only affected to entertain the proposition as a means of gaining time until the results of the contest of Aurungzebe with Beejapoor and Golconda, and also with Sumbajee, should be fully manifest. This seems contradicted by the fact, that after these two kingdoms fell into the power of the Mogul, the English authorities of Madras solicited and received from the conqueror a confirmation of the privileges accorded to them by the deposed monarch. In fact, they followed the example of a neighbouring Hindoo governor, who quietly remarked, that "as the world turned round like a wheel, he had beaten his drums and fired his guns, for the victory of the mighty Aurungzebe over his old master."‡ Sir John Child severely reprimanded the Madras agency for their conduct, as implying a doubt of the ultimate issue of the struggle of their countrymen with the Mogul; but since he had himself evinced pretty clearly a similar feeling, by affecting to act on his private authority, without the knowledge of his employers, it is hard to censure the Madras agents for taking measures against their otherwise certain destruction or captivity. The annals of this period are very confused: even Bruce, more than once, alludes to their defectiveness; but it appears, that in October, 1688, Sir John Child, suspecting duplicity on the part of the Mogul governor, embarked at Bombay, and appeared off Surat with a fleet of seven ships, his intention being to deter Muchtar Khan from any breach of the provisional agreement. In this same month, Captain Heath reached Bengal, in command of a large armed ship, the *Defence*, attended by a frigate, and bearing instructions from the Court of Committees for the active prosecution of hostilities. His proceedings are thus related by Bruce:—"Captain Heath, on the 29th of November (contrary to the opinion of the agent and council, and notwithstanding a perwannah [*order*] for peace with the English had been received by the governor from the Nabob), attacked and took a battery of thirty guns, and plundered the town of Balasore. The English factory, on this occasion, was burned by the governor; and the company's agents, who had been previously taken prisoners, were carried up the country, where all subsequent efforts for their release were unavailing." Under these circumstances, it would seem unjust to accuse the Moguls of breaking the armistice, since it was not till the 26th of December that Muchtar Khan seized and imprisoned Mr. Harris and Mr. Gladman, ordered the company's goods in Surat to be sold, demanded a contribution of five lacks of rupees, and offered a large reward for the person of Sir John Child—alive or dead. The island of Bombay was attacked by the Siddee, the greater part of it occupied by the enemy, and the governor besieged in the town and castle. Aurungzebe issued orders to expel the English from his dominions. The factory at Masulipatam was seized, as also that at Vizagapatam, where the agent and four factors were slain.

The unequal contest could not, it was evident, be prolonged without occasioning the destruction of those by whose ambition and imprudence it had been provoked. Solicitations for peace were presented, in December, 1688, and received with a show of indifference—rather affected than real; for the imperial treasury, drained by constant warfare, could ill bear the sub-

* According to the writers of that day in the interloping interest, the advantage in question was purchased at the expense of a flagrant breach of faith; but this allegation the company denied.

† Harris, the successor of Child as president of Surat and governor of Bombay, had only £300 a-year. The regency scheme was abandoned.

‡ Orme's *Historical Fragments of Mogul Empire.*

traction of any source of income. The application of the English for the restoration of commercial privileges, was doubtless the more welcome, for being presented under circumstances which enabled Aurungzebe to carry out the policy evidenced in his dealings with the Portuguese, of reducing the pretensions of European maritime powers trading to the Indies to a complete dependence on his authority; thus keeping down attempts at political influence while desirous of promoting mercantile intercourse. In February, 1689, a new firmaun was issued, which declared that "the English having made a most humble and submissive petition that the crimes they have done may be pardoned;" and having promised "to restore the merchants' goods they had taken away to the owners thereof, and walk by the ancient customs of the port, and behave themselves for the future no more in such a shameful manner; therefore his majesty, according to his daily favour to all the people of the world, hath pardoned their faults, and mercifully forgiven them." Out of his princely condescension, the Great Mogul further agreed to permit a present of 150,000 rupees to be placed in the treasury of Surat. The firmaun concludes with an express stipulation "that Mr. Child, who did the disgrace, be turned out and expelled." The translation of this document is apparently faulty; but it suffices to convey an idea of its tone and tenor, and fully bears out the declaration of Bruce, that the result of all the projects of the company to become an independent power in India, was to reduce their agents to a more abject position than any in which they had been placed since the first establishment of an English factory in India.*

Sir John Child, who had provided in his own person a scape-goat for the wrath of the emperor, died at Bombay during the progress of the negotiation, and the office of president devolved on Mr. Harris, then a prisoner at Surat. On payment of the fine and restoration of goods decreed in the firmaun, Mr. Harris and other English prisoners were immediately released from their long confinement in irons; but it was not until the 22nd of June, 1690, that the Siddee, by order of Aurungzebe, vacated his different posts at Bombay (Mazagon, Mahim, and Sion), after about a twelvemonth's occupation. On the same day, the accession of William and Mary to the throne of England was proclaimed in this island, as it had been at Madras eight months before. Ignorant of the disasters attending their ambitious projects, the court, in the instructions addressed to their servants in 1689, declare —"The increase of our revenue is the subject of our care, as much as our trade: 'tis that must maintain our force when twenty accidents may interrupt our trade; 'tis that must make us a nation in India; without that we are but as a great number of interlopers, united only by his Majesty's royal charter, fit only to trade where nobody of power thinks it their interest to prevent us; and upon this account it is, that the wise Dutch, in all their general advices which we have seen, write ten paragraphs concerning their government, their civil and military policy, warfare, and the increase of our revenue, for one paragraph they write concerning trade."† Being chiefly concerned in monopolising the spice-islands, the Dutch appear to have followed their policy of territorial aggrandisement far less strenuously on the continent of India than at Ceylon, Java, and throughout the Eastern Archipelago, at Formosa (China), at the Cape of Good Hope, at New York, Guyana, and other widely-spread localities.

The disastrous issue of the recent expedition, compelled the English to adopt a more deferential manner towards the native powers, but made no change in their ultimate intentions. Shortly after the conclusion of peace, the town and harbour of Tegnapatam,‡ on the Coromandel coast, a little to the south of the French settlement of Pondicherry, was obtained by purchase from Rajah Ram,

* Bruce, ii., 639-'40; 646—653. The firmaun contains no reference to the privilege of coining money, which had long been a point in dispute.

† "Dispatch from the Court of Committees in Ann. Comp., 1689-'90: written, there seems good reason for believing, by Child."—(Grant's *Sketch*, p. 101.)

‡ In the instructions for the establishment of this new settlement, special encouragement is directed to be given to Armenians, as also in Vizagapatam and Madras. In the latter place, one quarter of the town was to be allotted to them, with permission "to build a church at their own cost," a duty sadly neglected by the company. These Armenians were a Christian sect formed during the power of the successors of Constantine. When the countries they inhabited were over-run by the Mohammedan arms, they were forcibly transplanted by Shah Abbas, and other belligerent monarchs, into Persia, and dispersed among the surrounding countries, where they earned a livelihood as merchants and brokers. Some of them made their way into India, and obtained a character for successful trading, which rendered the company desirous to employ them in vending English woollens, and procuring fine muslins and other goods. The project seems to have failed, the Armenians being pre-engaged in the service of the Levant company.

the Mahratta sovereign, and the sanction of the Mogul authorities of the Carnatic obtained for its occupation. It was strengthened by a wall and bulwarks, and named Fort St. David.*

About the same time a more important acquisition was made in Bengal. During the late hostilities, the agent and council at Hooghly, fearing to continue in so exposed a position, removed to Chuttanuttee, a village about twenty-four miles lower down the river, where they hoped to remain in security under the protection of their ships. The Nabob ordered them to return to Hooghly, and forbade their building, with either stone or brick, at Chuttanuttee; but, on the pacification with the court of Delhi, permission was obtained for the establishment of a factory there. Repeated attempts were made to obtain leave to fortify the new position, and for a grant of jurisdiction over its inhabitants, as also over those of the adjoining villages of Calcutta and Govindpoor. Similar applications were made by the Dutch at Chinsura (about a mile southward of Hooghly), and by the French at Chandernagore (two miles lower down the river), but without success; for Aurungzebe never permitted any foreigner to erect a single bastion on Mogul territory, though he tolerated the continuance (at Madras for instance) of such European fortresses as his conquests over Mohammedan or Hindoo princes drew within the borders of the empire. At length, one of those intestine divisions which have so often placed India at the feet of strangers, procured for the agencies before-named the privilege long vainly solicited. Soobah Sing, a petty Hindoo chief, being dissatisfied with Rajah Kishen Rama, of Burdwan (who must have been either tributary to, or in the service of, Aurungzebe), united with Rehim Khan, an Afghan, then considered the head of that clan remaining in Orissa, in an attempt to overturn the government, in 1695-'6. The three European settlements hired a number of native soldiery to guard their property: the Dutch and French professed themselves staunch allies of the Mogul: the English endeavoured to preserve a semblance of neutrality, but united in requesting permission to fortify their factories against the attacks of the insurrectionists. The Nabob directed them, in general terms, to defend themselves, and they, taking for granted what was not absolutely forbidden, laboured day and night in raising walls with bastions round their stations. A pitched battle between the insurgents and Kishen Rama, terminated in the defeat and death of the latter, and the capture of his family. His beautiful daughter was among the prisoners: Soobah Sing strove to dishonour her; but the attempt cost him his life; for the hapless girl, aware of his intention, had concealed a sharp knife in the folds of her dress; and when he strove to seize her, she inflicted upon him a mortal wound, and then, with mistaken heroism, stabbed herself to the heart. By this catastrophe, the rebel army fell under the sole control of the Afghan chief, who became master of Hooghly, Moorshedabad, and Rajmahal: the Dutch and English factories, at the latter place, were pillaged of considerable property. Chuttanuttee and the fort of Tanna† were unsuccessfully attacked. But the general progress of the rebels was almost unchecked; and in December, 1696, their force comprised 12,000 cavalry and 30,000 infantry: the revenue of the country in their possession was estimated at sixty lacs of rupees per annum; and Rehim Shah assumed the style and dignity of a prince. The remissness of the Nabob being deemed the chief cause of the rapid spread of the insurrection, Prince Azim (second son of Prince Mauzim)‡ was sent at the head of the Mogul army for its suppression, and was at the same time appointed to the government of the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. The death of Rehim Shah in battle, in 1698, and the submission of the Afghans, was followed by a general amnesty. The Europeans were suffered to continue their fortifications; and in 1698, the English, by the payment of a considerable sum of money, obtained per-

* The precise period of the introduction of the Dutch into Bengal is not recorded; but the French established themselves about 1676, and the Danes in the same year at Serampore.—(Stewart's *Bengal*, p. 346.)

† Tanna, ten miles west of Calcutta, on the opposite side of the river, was defended by an English frigate, sent at the request of the foujdar of Hooghly to support the fort against the rebels. Calcutta, according to Stewart (properly called Calicotta), takes its name from a temple dedicated to Caly, the Hindoo goddess of Time. The territory purchased from the zemindars in 1698, extended about three miles along the *Hooghly* (or *Bhagaruttee*), and one mile inland.

‡ It was a part of the policy of the wily Aurungzebe, to bring forward his grandsons and place them in positions of honour and emolument; so that they might be disposed, in any emergency, to side with him rather than with their own fathers.

mission to purchase Chuttanuttee and the adjoining villages, with authority to exercise justiciary power over the inhabitants. The designation of Calcutta came to be applied to the whole, and the name of Fort William was given to the defences in honour of the English monarch.

Notwithstanding these cheering indications of progress in Bengal, the general condition of the E. I. Cy. at this period was one of extreme political and financial depression; their difficulties from private trade and piracy being aggravated by the national hostility of the French, and the domestic rivalry of a new association. The death of Sir John Child made no change in the policy pursued by his brother in England: at his instigation, the Court of Committees continued to wield, to the fullest extent, the somewhat questionable authority conveyed by their charters, which, although intended to confer the privilege of exclusive trade, left loopholes sufficient to encourage unauthorised ventures on the part of speculators inclined to balance ultimate risk, against the present safety and prospect of gain afforded by the want of any power on the part of the company to seize vessels at the outset or on the voyage, however evident the intention of the equipment. The consequence was, that although the court might occasionally bring offenders before the King's Bench, and did, at one time (1685–'6), threaten to prosecute as many as forty-seven of the principal interlopers, yet the brunt of the battle fell to the share of their servants in India; and they, if the evidence of Captain Hamilton* may be trusted, shrank from the responsibility of carrying out the stringent orders forwarded on this head, declaring that the laws of England were contrary to the measures proposed. Apart from the testimony of any unfavourable witness, there are indications, in the selected Annals of the E. I. Cy., of a tendency to confound private and unlicensed trade with piracy,† which probably conduced to the increase of the latter disgraceful crime, while it aggravated the hostility of the interlopers, who must have possessed considerable influence if they were, as described in an official despatch, "malcontents, quondam committee-men, and adventurers, who have sold their stocks at high rates, and want to buy in again at low."‡ The change in the government of England paved the way for discussions regarding the validity of rights proceeding from a grant of the Crown simply, or rights proceeding from a grant founded on an act of the legislature. The strong desire of the nation for extended commerce with India was manifested in the eagerness with which one large class of persons recommended an open trade; while another united for the formation of a new joint-stock association. Petitions and remonstrances were on all sides presented both to parliament and the king; and while parliament passed repeated resolutions in favour of the new company, the king as often granted charters to the old. The letters-patent of 1693 confirmed the monopoly of the latter, but only for a period of twenty-one years; terminated the "permission trade," by prohibiting the grant of licences to private ships; decreed the annual exportation of British manu-

* According to this writer, Mr. Vaux, the governor of Bombay, who had obtained that position by favour of Sir Josiah Child, in answering a communication on the subject of interlopers, took occasion, while thanking his patron for past benefits, to assert his resolution to abide by the laws of his country. Sir Josiah, in reply, "wrote roundly to Mr. Vaux, that he expected his orders to be his rules, and not the laws of England, which were a heap of nonsense compiled by a few ignorant country gentlemen, who hardly knew how to make laws for the good government of their own families, much less for the regulating of companies and foreign commerce. I am the more particular," adds Hamilton, "on this account, because I saw and copied both those letters in anno, 1696, while Mr. Vaux and I were prisoners at Surat, on account of Captain Evory's [Avery] robbing the Mogul's great ship, the *Gunsway*" [Guj Suwaee]—*East Indies*, i., 233.) Considering the preponderance of country gentlemen in parliament at this period, the satire is not without point; and Hamilton's assertion regarding the letter is so clear and positive, that it can hardly be set aside without unwarrantable disparagement to the character of an intelligent though prejudiced writer. Such vague statements as the following may be reasonably viewed with more suspicion:—"The power of executing pirates is so strangely sketched, that if any private trader is injured by the tricks of a governor, and can find no redress, if the injured person is so bold as to talk of *lex talionis*, he is infallibly declared a pirate."—p. 362.

† An illustration of this tendency may be found in the records of 1691-'2. "The court continued to act towards their opponents (the interlopers) in the same manner as they had done in the latter years of the two preceding reigns, and granted commissions to all their captains proceeding this season to India, to seize the interlopers of every description, and bring them to trial before the admiralty court of Bombay, explaining that as they attributed all the differences between the company and the Indian powers to the interlopers, if they continued their depredations on the subjects of the Mogul or King of Persia, they were to be tried for their lives as pirates, and sentence of death passed, but execution stayed till the king's pleasure should be known."—(*Annals of E. I. Cy.*, vol. iii., p. 103.)

‡ *Idem*, p. 112.

factures, to the value of £100,000; and directed the dividends to be paid, for the future, exclusively in money. In defiance of this charter, a vote of the House of Commons declared it to be "the right of all Englishmen to trade to the East Indies or any part of the world, unless prohibited by act of parliament."* This state of strife and confusion reached its climax in 1695, when it became known that a system of direct bribery had been pursued towards men in power. The Lower House, though some of its leading members were deeply implicated, came forward actively in the matter, and ordered the books of the company to be examined, from whence it appeared, that previous to the Revolution the annual expenditure in "secret services" had scarcely ever exceeded £1,200; but that since that epoch it had gradually increased, and in the year 1693, whilst Sir Thomas Cooke was governor, had amounted to upwards of £80,000. Many persons of eminence were involved in these nefarious transactions with the most unprincipled schemers: the Duke of Leeds, then lord president of the council, vehemently defended the company, and was himself impeached by the Commons, on the charge of having received a bribe of £5,000; but the principal witness against him was sent out of the way; and it was not till nine days' after it had been demanded by the Lords, that a proclamation was issued to stop the fugitive. The inquiry, at first urged on with all the violence of party-spirit, soon languished; the rank and influence of a large number of the persons directly or indirectly concerned, opposed an insurmountable barrier to its prosecution, and by the prorogation of parliament, though nominally only suspended, it was actually abandoned. Sir Thomas Cooke had been committed to the Tower for refusing to disclose the names of the individuals who had received bribes: his temporary confinement was compensated by a present of £12,000, bestowed upon him by the Court of Committees "some years after the bustle was over."†

The result of these proceedings was greatly to degrade the company; nor could it be otherwise, while any sense of honesty existed in the public mind. Yet the weight of blame rests unquestionably less heavily on those who offered the bribes than on the sworn guardians of the national interests, who, by accepting them, showed themselves tainted by that unholy covetousness which, under a despotism, is the chief source of the perversion of justice; and, among a free people, must tend to destroy the very basis of all sound principle and impartial legislation.

In a pecuniary sense, these disbursements were unwarrantable, being made at a time when the funds of the association barely sufficed to meet the necessary and legitimate expenditure called for by the occupation of new settlements, and the heavy losses entailed by the hostility of the French, after the declaration of war against that people by England and Holland, in 1689. For the next eight years sharp conflicts occurred between the fleets of the rival nations, which were happily terminated by the treaty of Ryswick, 1697. In a commercial point of view, the French inflicted more injury upon themselves by their lavish and ill-directed expenditure, than upon their old-established opponents;‡ but the improvement in the condition of their marine, through the exertions of the ministers of Louis XIV., rendered their enmity peculiarly disastrous to the mercantile shipping of their foes. During the war, no less than 4,200 British merchant-vessels were captured, including many East-Indiamen, which were intercepted

* Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, iii., p. 142.

† Anderson's *Origin of Commerce*, ii., 608. Tyssen, the deputy-governor, and other persons shared the imprisonment of the governor, and probably also received proportionate gratuities. Among them was the notorious Sir Basil Firebrass, or Firebrace, who had been recently bought off from the interloping interest, and who played a leading part in 1701 in the arrangements for the union of the two E. I. Companies, and demanded in return a per centage equal in value to £30,000, on a portion of the joint stock.

‡ The French East India trade appears to have been from the first a losing concern. Notwithstanding the pecuniary and political support of the government, Colbert's company (according to the Abbé Raynal), had often to subscribe for the payment of losses, while their European rivals were dividing thirty per cent. on mercantile ventures; and in 1684, their accounts being examined by commissioners appointed by the king, it appeared that their sales, in twenty years, amounted to no more than 9,100,000 livres, and that three-quarters of their capital-stock were totally lost. Assistance from the state again propped up the association, and a slight gleam of prosperity followed; for in the years 1687 and 1691, two dividends, each of fifteen per cent., were for the first time paid from profits. The war with England and Holland was not beneficial in its general results; for although the French Cy. made extensive captures, their very success helped to encourage the swarms of privateers, which covered the seas and carried into the ports of France a great number of English and Dutch prizes with rich cargoes, to be sold at any price they would fetch. This proceeding caused a glut in the market, and obliged the company to sell their goods at unremunerative prices, or not at all.

both on the Indian seas and on the middle passage; and, off the coast of Galway, in 1695, all the four homeward-bound vessels of the company were taken by a French fleet.*

In India, the wrath of the emperor had been excited by the frequent piracies committed on the shipping of Mogul merchants,† and especially by the plunder of his own vessel the *Guj-Suwaee*, while engaged in conveying pilgrims to Mecca, in 1695. Aurungzebe himself could not detest these sacrilegious sea-robbers more heartily than did the whole body of European traders; but they being at war with one another, could make no united effort for the suppression of the common foe. The tide of popular feeling among the Mohammedans rose against the English agencies at Surat and Swally with so much violence, that the Mogul governor placed the factors and others, to the number of sixty-three persons, in irons—not from any voluntary harshness on his part, but as a necessary measure to preserve their lives amid the tumult. Large rewards were held out, both by the government of England and by the E. I. Cy., for the apprehension of the leading offenders. A sum of £1,000 was offered for the person of Captain Avery; but he escaped, having proceeded to the Bahamas, where his ship was sold and the crew dispersed; several of them were, however, seized and executed. The English found means of extricating themselves from their difficulties, and prevailed upon Aurungzebe to confide to them the task of convoying pilgrim vessels to Mocha,‡ at a charge of 40,000 rupees for a large, and 30,000 for a small vessel. The good understanding thus restored was soon destroyed by the daring piracies committed by a Captain Kidd and others off Surat.§ The emperor could no longer be appeased with assurances that such and such culprits had been executed in different British colonies, or hung in chains at Tilbury; and he declared, that since all other means had failed to check these disgraceful proceedings, he would put an end to European commerce with his subjects, unless the English, French, and Dutch would consent to sign a bond, engaging to make good any future depredations committed by pirates on the Indian Seas—an arrangement to which the European agents were most reluctantly compelled to assent.

The list of difficulties which environed the E. I. Cy., at this period, is still incomplete. While weighed down by pecuniary involvements, and unable, for years together, to pay a dividend, the project for a new Scottish company was again brought forward, and a very advantageous charter

* Although the merchantmen of the E. I. Cy., at this period, proved unable to cope with French ships-of-the-line, and were even captured by the desperate hardihood of privateering adventure, they were, nevertheless, by no means ill-provided with the appliances of war. To encourage the building of ships of above 550 tons burden, and capable of defence against the pirates of Algiers, then termed the "Turkish Rovers," it was enacted by parliament, soon after the restoration of Charles II., that for a certain number of years, whoever should build ships with three decks, or with two decks and a-half, and a forecastle, with a space of five feet between each deck, and mounted with at least thirty cannon, should for the first two voyages receive one-tenth part of all the customs that were payable on their export and import lading. —(Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, i., Introduction, xxxv.) A *Vindication of the E. I. Cy.*, generally attributed to Sir Josiah Child, and published in 1677, states that they employed from thirty to thirty-five ships of from 300 to 600 tons burden, carrying from forty to seventy guns, which must of course have been very light.—(Macpherson's *Commerce with India*, 133.) In an official statement of their affairs, published in 1689, the company assert, that in seven years they had built sixteen ships of from 900 to 1,300 tons, and had in India or on the homeward voyage eleven of their own, and four "permision ships" (*i. e.*, licensed by them) with cargoes worth above £360,000, besides a fleet comprising fourteen of their own and six permission ships bound for India, China, &c., with cargoes worth £670,000.

† One of the negotiations between Aurungzebe and the English factors, regarding piratical seizures, is recorded by Khafi Khan, an author frequently quoted in the previous section on the Mohammedan portion of Indian history. He makes no mention of the war which had previously taken place; but says, that in the year 1693, a ship bound to Mecca, carrying eighty guns and furnished with 400 muskets, was attacked by an English vessel of small size. A gun having burst in the Mogul ship, the enemy boarded, and "although the Christians have no courage at the sword, yet by bad management the vessel was taken." Khafi Khan was sent by the viceroy of Guzerat to demand redress at Bombay. He describes his reception as being conducted with great dignity and good order, and with a considerable display of military power. He negotiated with elderly gentlemen in rich clothes; and although they sometimes laughed more heartily than became so grave an occasion, yet he seems to have been favourably impressed with their sense and intelligence. The English alleged that the king's ships had been captured by pirates, for whom they were not answerable, and explained their coining money in the name of their own sovereign (which was another complaint against them), by stating that they had to purchase investments at places where the money of the emperor would not pass. No definite result appears to have attended this interview.—(Elphinstone, ii., 556.)

‡ Mocha and Judda are the seaports of Mecca.

§ Captain Kidd and several of his associates, being eventually captured, were executed at Tilbury Fort.

granted to these adventurers, in 1698, with authority to trade to the East as well as West Indies, Africa, and America. This enterprise—which issued in the formation of the ill-fated Darien settlement—was soon succeeded by another more directly hostile to the E. I. Cy., and which was, in fact, a complete triumph on the part of the interloping interest. On the termination of the French war, the government of England looked around eagerly for means to liquidate the heavy expenses thereby incurred. The E. I. Cy. offered a loan of £700,000, at four per cent. interest, provided their charter should be confirmed, and the monopoly of the Indian trade secured to them by act of parliament. Their opponents tried a similar expedient, with more success, by proposing to raise a sum of £2,000,000 sterling, at eight per cent., on condition of being invested with exclusive privileges, and unfettered by any obligation to trade on a joint-stock, except as they themselves might afterwards desire. After much discussion, a bill was passed by the legislature, by which it was enacted that a loan of £2,000,000 should be raised, by subscription, for the service of government. Natives and foreigners, bodies politic and corporate, were alike at liberty to contribute their quota towards the total sum, which was to bear an interest of eight per cent. per annum. In return for this accommodation, letters-patent were issued, incorporating an association, called the *General Society trading to the East Indies.** The members were authorised to adventure severally, to the amount of their subscriptions: or, if they so desired, might be formed into a joint-stock company. This new monopoly was to last until 1711; after that time, it was to terminate whenever the government chose, upon three years' notice, the original capital of two million having been first refunded to the subscribers. The old company were treated very summarily; the proviso of three years' notice† was, in their case, just so far regarded as to ensure them leave to trade with India till 1701. With regard to both associations, it was decreed that the private fortunes of the adventurers should be responsible for the liquidation of liabilities incurred in their public capacity; and if further dividends were made by the old company before the payment of their debts, the members who accepted them were to be held responsible for the sums thus unduly received.

This measure, like all others based on injustice, produced much evil and little good to any party. The conduct of the government, in expecting a trading body to traffic largely and profitably, after the abstraction of its entire capital, under the name of a loan, was in itself as glaring an absurdity as to have opened the veins of a man in full health, and then, after leaving him just blood enough to prolong a feeble existence, to expect from his emaciated frame vigorous and healthy action. As for the old company, they determined to persevere under all circumstances. The trade was too long-established, and too valuable, to be relinquished easily; and they wrote out to their servants in India, that they had resolved to bear up against ill-fortune with "a true Roman courage." Taking advantage of the clause which permitted corporations to hold stock in the new company, they resolved to trade separately and in their own name, after their three years of chartered privileges should have expired, and devoted the sum of £315,000 to this purpose; at the same time avowing their belief "that a civil battle was to be fought" between them and their adversaries; for that "two E. I. Companies in England could no more subsist without destroying each other, than two kings at the same time regnant in the same kingdom;" adding, that "being veterans, if their servants abroad would do their duty, they did not doubt of the victory: that if the world laughed at the pains the two companies took to ruin each other, they could not help it, as they were on good ground, and had a charter."

The world—at least the Indian portion of it

* Mill, i., 141. Bruce says, the old association were obliged to assume the name of the *London company*, in contradistinction to the new corporation, which bore the more popular because national name of the *English company* (iii. 250); but these terms, used only for a few years, would but confuse the reader if interwoven in the text.

† Bruce, iii. 257. The old company declared their rivals "invaders of their rights, and authorised interlopers only." The new association were yet more violent in their invectives; and "the charge of piracy," says Mill, "became a general calumny with which all the different parties in India endeavoured to blacken their competitors" (i. 136.) Sir Nicholas Waite openly denounced the London company to the Mogul as "thieves and confederates with pirates" (Bruce, iii. 337); and even applied to the governor of Surat to have their servants put in irons for an insult which, he asserted, had been offered to the ambassador of the King of England. Unfortunately, a great deal of personal ill-feeling existed between the representatives of the two societies, to which much of the impolitic harshness of their measures must be attributed.

did not laugh, but was simply amazed by the hostilities of two powerful trading bodies, each professing to act under the direct patronage of their mutual sovereign. Aurungzebe listened incredulously to the representations of Sir William Norris, who was dispatched to the Mogul court at the cost of the new company, but in the character of royal ambassador. Norris is accused of having conducted himself with unjustifiable violence towards the rival officials; and the same complaint is urged still more strongly against Sir Nicholas Waite, who had formerly acted as agent to the old company, but had been dismissed their employ. The new corporation in this, as in several other cases, were glad to avail themselves of the local knowledge possessed by the discarded servants of their opponents; and Waite was appointed their representative at Surat, with the title of president; to which that of consul was superadded by the king, as also to the chief of the three projected presidencies at Hooghly in Bengal, Masulipatam on the Coromandel coast, and in the island of Borneo. Each party maligned the other to the Mogul government, and lavished large sums of money for the purpose of gaining exclusive privileges. Prince Azim, the governor of Bengal, received presents from both sides—16,000 rupees from the old company, and 14,000 from the new;* but without understanding their ground of difference. The emperor, equally puzzled by these proceedings, wrote privately to Seyed Sedula, "an holy priest at Surat,"† desiring him to search out which of the two parties was really authorised by the English nation. The reply of the Seyed is not recorded; probably it was indefinite and unimportant: but had the same question been addressed to a European versed in the politics of the day, the answer might have involved a revelation of quite a new order of things to the mind of the despotic but philosophical monarch.‡ What a text full of strange doctrines would have been contained in the fact plainly stated, that both companies represented the will of different sections of a free though monarchical nation;—that, indeed, "the whole of this contest was only one division of the great battle that agitated the state between the tories and the whigs, of whom the former favoured the old company, and the latter the new."§

The fierce contention and excessive competition of the rival associations, proved almost equally injurious to both. The new company, upon the first depression of their stock in the market, had manifested an inclination to unite with the old body; but the latter held off, hoping to drive the enemy out of the field; and they succeeded in obtaining an act of parliament continuing them as a distinct corporation. The struggle, however, cost them dearly; and their stock, in these times of fluctuation and anxiety, varied in value between 300 and 37 per cent.‖ The market was overladen, there being at one time as many as sixty ships abroad in India and returning. Great quantities of Indian-wrought silks, stuffs, and calicoes were imported, and from their low price, worn by all classes. The silk-weavers of London became extremely tumultuous; and in 1697, attempted to seize the treasure at the East India-house.¶ Order was restored

* Stewart's *History of Bengal*, 342.

† Bruce's *Annals of the E. I. Cy.*, iii., 466.

‡ Bernier, while serving Danechmund Khan in the capacity of physician, heard from the lips of this nobleman the particulars of a singular interview which he had just returned from witnessing between Aurungzebe and his former tutor. The latter had enjoyed for many years a jaghire, bestowed upon him by Shah Jehan. Upon the triumph of the schemes of his ambitious pupil, the old man presented himself as a candidate for office. Aurungzebe, wearied by his importunity, dismissed him, declaring that he owed him no gratitude for his ill-directed labours and erroneous instruction. "You taught me," he exclaimed, "that the whole of Frangistan (Europe) was no more than some inconsiderable island, of which the most powerful monarch was formerly the King of Portugal, then the King of Holland, and afterwards the King of England. In regard to the other sovereigns of Frangistan (such as the King of France, and the King of Andalusia), you told me they resembled our petty rajahs; and that the potentates of Hindoostan eclipsed the glory of all other kings." A profound and comprehensive knowledge of the history of mankind; familiarity with the origin of states, their progress and decline; the events, accidents, or errors, owing to which such great changes and mighty revolutions have been effected;—these were subjects which Aurungzebe pronounced to be of more importance to a prince than the possession "of great skill in grammar, and such knowledge as belongs to a doctor of the law," or even proficiency in the difficult Arabic language, which no one could hope to attain without "ten or twelve years of close application." This mighty prince is certainly not the first who has lamented the waste of the precious hours of youth "in the dry, unprofitable, and never-ending task of learning words:" yet, considering the importance attached by Mussulmans to the power of reading the Koran in the original tongue, it seems strange that so zealous a believer should have expressed himself thus forcibly on that point.—(Brock's *Bernier*, ii., 165-'6-'7.)

§ Grant's *Sketch of History of E. I. Cy.*, 119.

‖ Anderson's *Origin of Commerce*, ii., p. 43.

¶ *Idem*, 633.

for the time; but the discontents were renewed by the augmented imports of the years 1688–'9; and the loud complaints from Spitalfields, Norwich, Canterbury, Coventry, &c., of the detrimental effect on the nation, occasioned by the numerous manufacturers thrown out of employ, and likewise of the largely increased exportation of silver,* succeeded in procuring the enactment of a law prohibiting the use in England or sale, except for re-exportation, of silks wrought, or calicoes printed in Persia, China, or the East Indies, either for apparel or furniture, under a penalty of £200, after Michaelmas, 1701; and a duty of fifteen per cent. was soon afterwards imposed upon muslins. These regulations materially reduced the value of the Eastern trade; and probably helped to accelerate the union of the two associations,—a measure strenuously urged by King William, but not carried out till after the accession of Anne. An indenture tripartite was entered into by the queen and the rival companies in 1702, by which it was agreed that a full and complete union should take place at the termination of the ensuing seven years, the intermediate time to be occupied in winding up the separate concerns of each party. The coalition took place before the lapse of the stated interval, being hastened by the alarm occasioned by the demand of government for the subscription of a new loan of £1,200,000, without interest. The companies, knowing from the experience of the past, the danger of the present crisis, dreaded the formation of a fresh body of adventurers, or renewed discussions on the subject of open trade with India. They forthwith laid aside all separate views, and agreed to furnish jointly the amount required. Their differences were submitted to the arbitration of Sidney, Earl of Godolphin, then lord high treasurer of England; and an act was passed, in 1708, constituting them one corporate body, under the name of *the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies*, with continuance only until the year 1726, and then "to cease and determine, on three years' notice and repayment by government of their capital stock of £3,200,000."†

While this matter was in progress of arrangement, the long-expected death of the aged emperor took place, and was immediately followed by the fierce war of succession, with equal anxiety anticipated by the native and European inhabitants of Hindoostan. When the news reached Surat, the English president (Sir John Gayer), anxious to transmit the intelligence to the company, yet fearful of plainly stating circumstances which, in a political crisis, might either by their truth or falsehood expose the promulgator to danger, took a middle course, by stating in an allegory easy to be understood, "that the sun of this hemisphere had set, and that the star of the second magnitude being under his meridian, had taken his place; but that it was feared the star of the first magnitude, though under a remoter meridian, would struggle to exalt itself."‡

The victory of Prince Mauzim (the star of the first magnitude) over his brothers, Azim and Kaumbuksh, and his elevation to the throne, have been already related (*see* p. 154); as also the rapid decay of the once

* From 1698 to 1703 inclusive, the silver exported from England to the East Indies amounted to £3,171,405; the gold to £128,229: total, £3,299,634, or, on an average, £549,939 per ann. The East India goods re-exported from England from 1698 to 1702 inclusive, were estimated at the value of £2.538,934, or, on an average, £507,787 per ann.—(Macpherson's *Commerce*, i., Introduction, p. xii.)

† To equalise the shares of the two companies, it was agreed that the old, or London company, should purchase at par as much of the capital of the new or English company lent to government, as, added to the £315,000 which they had already subscribed, should equalise their respective portions. The dead stock of the London company was estimated at £330,000; that of the English company at £70,000: therefore, the latter paid the former £130,000 to place the shares of this part of the common estate on the same basis. The assets or effects of the London company, in India, fell short of their debts; and Lord Godolphin decreed that they should pay by instalments to the United company the sum of £96,615: the English company, having their balance on the right side of the account, were to receive from the same fund the sum of £66,005. The debts of both companies in Britain were ordained to be discharged before March, 1709; and as those of the London body amounted to nearly £400,000, the directors were empowered to call upon their proprietors, by three several instalments, for the means of liquidation. The £1,200,000 now advanced to government, without interest, being added to the previous sum of £2,000,000, constituted a loan of £3,200,000, yielding interest at the rate of five per cent. on the whole.—(Bruce, iii., 635—639; 667—679.) To assist them in raising the required loan, the company were empowered to borrow, on bonds, to the extent of £1,500,000 on their common seal, over and above what they were legally authorised to do before, and also to make calls of money from their proprietors.—(*Charters of E. I. Cy.*, pp. 243—367; Anderson, iii., 29.)—The company continued to bear the title now assumed until the year 1833.

‡ Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, iii., 616.

mighty fabric of Mogul power, which had made perceptible progress even before the death of Aurungzebe.

Before proceeding to describe the growth of English ascendancy, it may be needful, for the sake of readers not conversant with the sources from which the narrative of European intercourse with India has been derived, to notice the grievous dearth of native history, which has largely contributed to render many ponderous tomes published on Anglo-Indian affairs, almost as unreadable as a Blue-Book, or the ledger of a commercial firm. The valuable work of Bruce is professedly compiled from the records of the E. I. Cy.; but as he has very judiciously thought fit to give an able, though brief sketch of the general state of European politics in successive reigns, it would have been no less pertinent to the subject to have selected from the voluminous despatches of the Indian presidencies, various interesting illustrations of the condition and character both of the Hindoo and Mohammedan population. Such knowledge is useful even in a purely commercial point of view; and there is the greater cause for surprise that it should have been neglected by this writer, because in almost the only instance in which he deviates from his general rule by relating an affray with the Hindoos, occasioned by an act of wanton aggression on the part of the crews of two of the company's vessels, he introduces it as "one of those untoward events which strongly mark the necessity of attention to the rights, as well as to the prejudices of the natives."* Nearly at the close of his third and last quarto volume, he quotes the humiliating observation of President Pitt (the grandfather of Lord Chatham), that "when the Europeans first settled in India, they were mightily admired by the natives, believing they were as innocent as themselves; but since, by their example, they are grown very crafty and cautious; and no people better understand their own interest: so that it was easier to effect that in one year which you sha'nt do now in a century; and the more obliging your management, the more jealous they are of you."†

This evidence of the effect of communication between nominally Christian nations and a people still unenlightened by the teaching of the Gospel, is unhappily confirmed by the common testimony borne by impartial witnesses regarding the state of various native populations after their intercourse with Europeans. The bigotry of Romish communities, and the indifference (masked under the name of toleration) of Protestants, had rendered the profession of Christianity in the mouth of the former a pretext for cruel persecution, and in that of the latter little better than an unmeaning sound; the shameless immorality of Europeans in general, giving cause for the Indians to doubt whether they had really any religion at all.‡

* These vessels had gone from Surat to Carwar to bring off the pepper, &c. The crew of one of them stole a cow and killed it, thus offending both the rights and prejudices of the Hindoos; being resisted, they fired at and killed two native children of rank. The factory was in danger of destruction, and the agents of imprisonment; but proceedings were suspended by reason of the impending battle between the Mahratta rajah Sumbajee, and Aurungzebe. Bruce adds, that the Malabar trade received a severe check; which would be the natural result of such an aggression, as the produce was chiefly procured through native merchants.—(ii., 545.)

† *Annals*, iii., 658-'9. Hamilton asserts, that a terrible catastrophe occurred at Batecala about the year 1670, in consequence of a bull-dog belonging to the English factory having killed a cow consecrated to a pagoda or temple. The enraged priests, believing the injury to have been intentional, raised a mob and killed the whole of the English (eighteen in number) while engaged in a hunting party.—(i. 280.) The same writer describes the neighbouring kingdom of Canara as being generally governed by a female sovereign; and he adds, "the subjects of this country observe the laws so well, that robbery or murder are hardly heard of among them; and a stranger may pass through the country without being asked where he is going, or what business he has."—(*New Account of East Indies*, i. 279.)

‡ The Dutch, from the first commencement of their intercourse with the East Indies, made strenuous efforts for the conversion of the natives of Java, Formosa, Ceylon, and the Spice Islands generally, by the establishment of missions and schools, and the translation of the Scriptures; but on the continent of India their stations were small and temporary, and their spiritual labours partook of the same character. The good and zealous minister, Baldæus, visited the Dutch possessions of Tuticorin and Negapatam on the Coromandel coast, in 1660, and extended his visitation along the southern coast of the continent as far as Coulan (Quilon.) He describes the state of the Parawar, or cast of fishermen converted by Francis Xavier and other Romish missionaries, as little else than a peculiar phase of idolatry, their religion consisting in the mere outward acts of worshipping images, counting beads, and crossing themselves. The Danes, afterwards so justly celebrated for their earnest and well-directed labours in the missionary field, made no efforts of this description until they had been eighty years in India—that is, until 1706-'7. Before that time the impression they had endeavoured to make upon the natives by the scrupulous integrity of their commercial dealings, was greatly impaired by their irreligion and immorality.—(Hough, iii., 181.) With regard to the English, the description given by Ferishta, at the commencement of the 17th century, was pro-

The E. I. Cy. followed the example too generally shown by the government of England throughout the seventeenth century, excepting, perhaps, during the Protectorate. They contented themselves with sending out a few chaplains, not always well selected; and made no provision for the establishment of places of worship, consecrated to the decent celebration of the observances of their common faith. The first English church in India was erected in 1680, in Fort St. George, Madras, for the use of the factory, by the governor, Streynsham Masters. This good and earnest man completed the building "without any aid or countenance of the company in order thereto."* In fact, the missionary spirit intimately connected with the earliest colonial and commercial enterprises of the nation had been swallowed up (at least for a time) in the thirst for gain; and this circumstance is in itself a sufficient reason for the disastrous condition to which the E. I. Cy. found themselves reduced. No body of men, either in a private or public capacity, ever yet (in popular phraseology) "made their ledger their Bible" with impunity; and the punishment of an erring community is usually more perceptible than that of an individual, for the evident reason that the one has only a present existence, while for the other there is a judgment to come. We are all inclined to pass too lightly over such facts as these: we do not care to trace the workings of a superintending Providence, checking by adversity, or encouraging by prosperity, the every-day concerns of a mercantile company; nevertheless, the pith of the matter—the true philosophy of history—is in all cases the same. The flagrant blunders made by men noted for shrewdness and intrigue—the total failure of their most cunningly-devised schemes, bear daily witness amongst us of the fallibility of human judgment:—would that they taught us also the wisdom of implicit reliance on revealed truth, and of constant obedience to its pure and consistent dictates!

The century did not, however, close without some promise of better things, at least on the part of the English government; for the letters-patent of 1698 contain a special proviso, binding the general company to provide a chaplain on board every ship, and for every garrison and superior factory, in each of which a decent and convenient place was to be set apart for divine service only. These ministers were to learn Portuguese, and likewise the native language of the country where they should reside, "the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that shall be servants or slaves of the said company, or of their agents in the Protestant religion."† These provisions were, it is evident, intended for the exclusive benefit of British subjects. The duty of spreading the Gospel among Indian populations was one which England was slow to recognise. Portugal, Spain, and France, Holland and Denmark, all took precedence of her in this great field; and it was not until after a long and arduous struggle, that the advocates of missionary exertion in our land succeeded in obtaining the sanction of government for their attempts to place before the people of India those divinely-revealed truths, which must be either entirely disbelieved, or else accepted as the only solid basis whereon to establish that "public virtue" which is as necessary to the true greatness of a nation, as integrity to the character of an individual. The progress of Christianity in India belongs, however, to a distinct section of this work; and its history, so far as England is concerned, is far subsequent to the present period, of which the chief interest lies in the succession of events immediately preceding the struggle between the French and English for political ascendancy in Hindoostan.

bably regarded by his countrymen as a correct account of the protestant creed at its close; so little effort had been made to set forth, in its truth and purity, the doctrines of the reformed faith. The Portuguese Jesuits, who were long in attendance on the court of Akber, were very likely to have accused their rivals of participation in the Nestorian heresy (which they had made the pretext for persecuting the Syrian Christians on the Malabar coast); otherwise it would be difficult to account for some of the assertions of Ferishta. "The persuasion of this nation," he writes, "is different from that of other Europeans, particularly the Portuguese, with whom they are in a state of constant warfare. They assert that Jesus was a mortal, and the prophet of God; that there is only one God, and that he is without equal, and has no wife nor child,—according to the belief of the Portuguese. The English have a separate king, independent of the King of Portugal, to whom they owe no allegiance; but, on the contrary, these two people put each other to death wheresoever they meet. At present, in consequence of the interference of Jehangeer Padshah, they are at peace with one another, though God only knows how long they will consent to have factories in the same town, and to live on terms of amity and friendship with one another."—(Brigg's *Ferishta*, iv., 541.)

* Hough's *Christianity in India*, iii., 377.

† *Charters, Treaties, and Grants of E. I. Cy.* (English and Indian), from 1601 to 1772.

INDO-EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.—The death of Aurungzebe and the junction of the two companies, mark the commencement of a new epoch; before entering upon which it may be useful to sketch the position of the various European nations whose settlements and factories dotted the coast-line of the continent of India. On the western side of the great peninsula, the Portuguese still retained possession of the city of Goa; the fortresses of Damaun, Bassein, and Choul; and of Diu in Guzerat;* but the prestige of their power was gone for ever: by land, the Dutch, the Mogul, the Mahrattas, and their old foe the zamorin of Calicut, plundered them without mercy; and from the seaward they were harassed by the restless and vengeful hostility of the Muscat Arabs,† until the once haughty invaders were so completely humbled, that the English president and council at Surat, during their worst season of depression, could find no stronger terms in which to describe their own degradation, than by declaring that they had become "as despicable as the Portuguese in India, or the Jews in Spain."‡

The possessions of THE DUTCH were, for the most part, conquests from the Portuguese. On the *Coromandel coast* their chief settlement was that of Negapatam: in *Bengal*, they had posts or factories at Chinsura, Hooghly, Cossimbazar, Dacca, Patna, and other places: in *Guzerat*, a station at Surat of considerable importance in a commercial point of view; and dependent posts at Ahmedabad,§ Agra,|| and Baroach. Cochin, Cranganore, Coulan (Quilon), and Cananore, on the *Malabar coast*, were clogged with heavy military expenses, which greatly outweighed the profits of the trade connected with them. As many as a thousand soldiers were, for some years, maintained here,¶ chiefly with the object of overawing the Hindoo princes, who, though frequently conquered, had never been completely subjugated either by the Portuguese or the Dutch; but on the contrary, were always ready to take advantage of any symptom of weakness on the part of their oppressors, to put forth an unexpected amount of armed hostility. The Malabar pepper is considered the finest in India; and the Dutch, although obliged to pay double the price for which they could obtain abundant supplies in Bantam and Jambee, made strong efforts to monopolise the market, but without effect. They stigmatised the sale of pepper to other nations as a contraband trade, and endeavoured to blockade the ports of Malabar; but with so little effect, that they could not even prevent the natives from maintaining an open

* Gemelli, quoted by Anderson, ii., 644.—He adds, that they had "the islands of Timor, Solor, and Macao subject to China; and in Africa, Angola, Sena, Sofala, Mozambique, and Mombas—many in number, but of no great value."

† The Arabs expelled the Portuguese from Muscat about the middle of the 17th century, and maintained almost incessant warfare against them for the next fifty years, but did not molest other European traders till nearly the expiration of that period. In 1697, the Portuguese joined the King of Persia against the Arabs, whereupon these latter divided their fleet into two squadrons; sent one of them to burn the Portuguese settlement at Mombas, and employed the other in destroying the factory at Mangalore. The Persian monarch offered the English the same privileges conceded to them at Gombroon for co-operation in the capture of Ormuz, if they would now assist him in attacking Muscat. The company's troops and shipping were not in a condition to comply with this request, as they were otherwise inclined to do, and an evasive answer was returned. The suspicions of the Arabs were probably aroused by the negotiation; for they shortly afterwards commenced hostilities against the English, which their improvement in naval tactics rendered increasingly disastrous; until, in the year 1704-'5, we find the court of the London company expressing their determination, so soon as the war in Europe should terminate, "to equip armed vessels to clear the seas and to root out that nest of pirates, the Muscat Arabs."—*Annals*, iii., 557.

‡ Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, iii., 307.

§ Founded in 1620, and abandoned in 1716.

|| Founded in 1618, and abandoned in 1744.

¶ A great trade was at this period carried on at Surat by Moorish, Armenian, and Arabian merchants, with Persia, Mocha, Acheen, and elsewhere. The English, Dutch, and French had establishments here, under the protection of the Mohammedan government. Excellent ships, costly but extremely durable, were built of teak; and one of the resident merchants (a wealthy and enterprising Moor) is said to have possessed as many as fifteen or sixteen sail, of from 100 to 500 tons burthen.—(*Account of Trade of India*; by Charles Lockyer: London, 1711.) The Dutch factory here proved the most advantageous of any formed by them in India, and continued extremely lucrative until Bombay usurped the place of Surat, and the dominancy of the English became established. Admiral Stavorinus writes from official documents, that the Dutch company, in the ten years ending 1698, gained, upon an average, a sum of about £46,315 sterling, or about 850 per cent. upon the finer spices; and on their other goods a profit of £23,266, although only in the proportion of about 59 per cent. on the prime cost. Valentyn, an excellent authority, states the gain of the Dutch at Surat, on various articles, as follows:—Upon cloves, 665; nutmegs, 1,453; mace, 718; copper in bars, 128; ditto in plates, 31; benzoin, 40; gumlac, 34; quicksilver, 27; and vermillion, 19: and he adds, that the clear profit of the head factory amounted yearly to between six and seven tons of gold, or from £55,000 to £64,000 sterling. (Quoted in Stavorinus' *Voyages*, iii., 112—114.)

traffic with the notorious pirate Kidd. The Dutch governor, writing in 1698, remarks "that it is to be regretted the company carried so much sail here in the beginning, that they are now desirous of striking them, in order to avoid being overset."* The Dutch committed the common error of putting forth pretensions unjust in themselves, and maintainable only by force. The attempt failed, and the means employed produced disastrous consequences. The reduction of the land establishments, and the breaking up of the fleet heretofore stationed on the coast, accompanied by the avowed determination of no longer obstructing the navigation, were tokens of weakness which the native princes were not likely to view in the light of voluntary concessions. In 1701, war broke out with the zamorin, or Tamuri rajah, the existing representative of a dynasty which had for two centuries formed a bulwark to India against the inroads of European powers in this direction; and hostilities were carried on at the epoch at which we are now arrived.†

The efforts of THE DANES, based on a very slender commercial capital, had not prospered. In 1689, Tranquebar, their only settlement of importance, was nearly wrested from them by their territorial sovereign, the rajah of Tanjore, in consequence of the intrigues of the Dutch; and was preserved to its rightful owners solely by the armed interference of an English detachment sent to their relief from Madras, after the siege had lasted six months.

THE FRENCH, as traders, were equally unfortunate with the Danes. The home manufacturers had become discontented on perceiving the increasing use of gold and silver brocades, and painted cottons. Like their fellow-traders in England, they succeeded in procuring an edict (in 1687) for the immediate prohibition of this branch of commerce; and it was with considerable difficulty that the company obtained permission to dispose of their imports on hand, or expected by the next ships. The sale of piece-goods even to foreigners was forbidden, on the supposition that those of France would be purchased instead; and a high duty was laid on raw silk, then imported in considerable quantities. Under these discouraging circumstances the trade languished; and in 1693, received a fresh blow from the capture of Pondicherry (the chief French settlement) by the Dutch. New walls were raised, and the fortifications strengthened by the victors; but their labours proved ill-directed; for, upon the conclusion of the peace in 1697, the place was decreed to be restored to its former owners, with all its additional defences, on payment of £5,000 to the Dutch government, for the expenditure thus incurred. The French company received orders from the king to take measures to prevent the recapture of Pondicherry, and frequent reinforcements were sent there. The national treasury must have furnished the funds; for the finances of the association were exhausted, and in 1708 they became absolutely bankrupt; but Louis XIV., fearing that the trade to India might otherwise entirely cease, staid all prosecutions at law against them for debt, and granted them permission to lease out their privileges, upon the best terms they could, to any private person who should be able to adventure the necessary capital. Arrangements were actually formed on this basis with a M. Croizat, and afterwards with some merchants of St. Malo.‡

The possessions of THE ENGLISH are clearly set forth in the enumeration of "dead stock," made by the two companies at the time of their union.§ The central points

* Stavorinus' *Voyages*, iii., 238.

† The Dutch had governments or factories in Ceylon, in Java (where stood the fine city of Batavia, called by its owners the *Queen of the East*), in Malacca, Amboyna, Banda, Ternate, Bantam, Siam, Macassar, Tonquin, Japan, Gombroon (in the Persian Gulf), with chiefships at Ispahan and Bussora. At Arracan, they purchased rice and slaves; and they had also many temporary stations in different parts of Asia, which it would be needless to enumerate.

‡ Milburn's *Commerce*, i., 384.

§ The PRESIDENCY OF BOMBAY held command over the factories of Surat, Swally, and Baroach, of Ahmedabad, Agra, and Lucknow (from which three last places the factors had been temporarily withdrawn): on the *Malabar coast*, they had the forts of Carwar, Tellicherry (established by permission of the Hindoo rajah, about 1695), Anjengo (with the sanction of the ranee or queen of Attinga, accorded at the same time, probably in both cases with a view of procuring the aid of the English against the aggressions of the Dutch), and the factory of Calicut. On the *Coromandel coast*, the company had establishments at Jinjee and Orissa; the factories depending on the MADRAS PRESIDENCY, the city, and Fort St. George, Fort St. David, Cuddalore, Porto Novo, Pettipolee, Masulipatam, Madapollam, and Vizagapatam. The factories dependent on the PRESIDENCY OF CALCUTTA, or FORT WILLIAM, were—Balasore, Cossimbazar, Dacca, Hooghly, Malda, Rajmahal, and Patna. The above forts and factories, with their stores and ammunition, together with the rents and customs arising therefrom, and the firmauns by right of which they were enjoyed, constituted the "dead stock" of the old or London company on the Indian continent. Some

were then, as now, formed by the three presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, the last of which was created in 1707. They had at this time no dependence upon one another; each was absolute within its own limits, and responsible only to the company in England. The presidents were respectively commanders-in-chief of the military force maintained within the limits of their jurisdiction. The numbers comprised in the several garrisons is not stated: but they were composed partly of recruits sent out from England; partly of deserters from other European settlements in India; and also (at least at Bombay and Surat) of Topasses—a name applied to the offspring of Portuguese and Indian parents, and also given, though with little reason, to Hindoo converts to the Romish church. Natives of purely Indian descent — Rajpoots for instance—were already, as has been noticed, employed by the company in military service, under the name of *Sepoys*, a corruption of *Sipahi* (soldier.) As yet little desire had been shown to discipline them after the European custom. They used the musket, but in other respects remained armed and clothed according to the country usage, with sword and target, turban, *cabay* or vest, and long drawers. Officers of their own people held command over them, but were eventually superseded by Englishmen.

Fort St. George (Madras), is described by a contemporary writer as "a port of the greatest consequence to the E. I. Cy., for its strength, wealth, and great returns made yearly in calicoes and muslins."* The citadel or inner fort had four large bastions with curtains, on which were mounted fifty-six guns and a mortar; the western, or main guard, was kept by about thirty soldiers; the east by a corporal's guard of six. The English town, or outer fort, was furnished with "batteries, half-moons, and flankers, at proper distances, whereon are about 150 guns and three mortars, mounted for defence, besides thirty-two guns more on the outworks, with eight field-pieces." The garrison comprised 250 Europeans, each paid at the rate of ninety-one fanams, or £1 2*s*. 9*d*. per month; and 200 topasses, at fifty or fifty-two fanams a-month; with some twenty experienced European gunners, at 100 fanams a-month. The captains received fourteen, ensigns ten, serjeants five pagodas† monthly; and corporals received the same salary as the artillerymen. The chief gunner of the inner fort had fourteen, and of the outer works twelve pagodas. About 200 peons, or native police, were constantly retained; and the Portuguese portion of the population were obliged to furnish a company or two of trained bands at their own charge, on any disturbance. The *Black City* —that is, the native town, situated outside the fort to the northward—was encompassed with a thick, high brick wall, and fortified after the modern fashion. Maqua Town, where the Mussulah‡ boatmen live, lay to the southward. The sway of the company extended beyond these limits; for they owned several villages two or three miles further in the country, such as Egmore, New Town, and Old Garden, which they rented out to merchants or farmers for 1,100 pagodas per annum. The "singular decorum observed by the free merchants, factors, servants, and other inhabitants," is especially noticed by Lockyer, who adds, that the excellent arrangements of Madras, together with "good fortifications, plenty of guns, and much ammunition, render it a bugbear to the Moors, and a sanctuary to the fortunate people living in it."§

By this account, it is evident that a blessing had attended the Christian labours of Streynsham Masters. His church, as yet the only building in India consecrated by Englishmen to divine worship, is described as a large and stately pile, adorned with

of these posts had probably proved sources of expenditure rather than gain; Masulipatam, Pettipolee, and Madapollam, for instance, are stated by Bruce, in 1695-'6, to have involved a dead loss of above £100,000.—(*Annals of E. I. Cy.*, iii., 184.) The London company's further possessions were—the island of St. Helena: in Persia, a factory at Gombroon, with the yearly rent of about £3,333, still paid by the Persian monarch (*see* p. 208); and trading posts at Shiraz and Ispahan. On the island of Sumatra they had the settlements at York Fort, Bencoolen, Indrapore, Priaman, Sillebar, Bencoolen with dependent stations; and also a factory at Tonquin. The dead stock of the new, or English company, for which they were to be allowed £70,000 in the united funds, consisted of factories at Surat, in the Bay of Bengal, at Masulipatam, Madapollam, on the island of Borneo, and on the island of Pulo Condore, (coast of Cochin China), with the stores and ammunition belonging to each.—*Vide* the "*Quinque Partite Indenture*," in charters of *E. I. Cy.*, pp. 316—344.

* *Account of the Trade of India*, by Charles Lockyer, pp. 3-'4; London, 1711.

† A gold coin varying in value at different times from about nine to ten shillings.

‡ The planks of the large and flat-bottomed Massulah boats are sewn together with twine, which prevents their starting even under the most violent shocks. Their hire was then eighteen-pence a trip.

§ *Account of Trade*, p. 15.

curious carved work, with very large windows, and furnished with a fine altar, organ, and other appurtenances usual to the most complete edifices of its kind, with the exception of bells, which had perhaps been purposely omitted, on account of their intimate connexion with the superstitions of the Brahminical creed. Two ministers were attached to the church, in which services were performed twice a-day. On Sunday, the customary rites were "most strictly observed," and "country Protestants were examined in the catechism." A school, "held in a large room under the library," was open to all children free of charge. According to Lockyer, the ecclesiastical establishment was altogether well conducted, and deserved the high character it bore among the people. Pious persons gave or bequeathed considerable sums to "the church," for charitable purposes; and dying parents chose its representatives as trustees for their children,* a course of proceeding calculated, it is true, to place dangerous weapons of oppression in the hands of a dominant priesthood; but which, in the isolated and unpatronised condition of the religious establishments at Madras, can hardly be viewed in any other light than as evidence of the respect inspired by devout and upright conduct. The project for the formation of a municipal body had been carried out, and a mayor and six aldermen held a court twice a-week.

The total amount of revenue derived from Madras does not appear:† the scale of salaries was extremely moderate,‡ and probably affords a fair specimen of that laid down for the presidencies of Bombay and Calcutta, to which Lockyer's interesting sketches unfortunately do not extend.§ Disappointment and reverses had by this time greatly modified the ambitious views entertained by the managers of the East India trade. The belligerent and costly policy introduced by Sir Josiah Child and his brother, was succeeded by a directly opposite system—to conciliate rather than to defy and overawe the native princes, was the order of the day; and to this end the Indian officials were directed to carry on their business "without the affectation of pomp and grandeur, as merchants ought to do."‖ The large sums spent by the rival companies in outvying and thwarting each other, constituted a departure from the general rule—at least in the case of the older body; but upon their union, this unsatisfactory expenditure ceased, and the leading members of the new concern, who now, under the name of the Court of Directors, took the place of the Court of Committees,¶ enjoined upon their agents the most rigid frugality, which they continued to enforce

* The church stock of unemployed money was lent out at seven per cent. per ann.—(Lockyer, p. 18.)

† Lockyer mentions a seagate custom of £5 per cent., yielding 30,000 pagodas per ann.; and a choultry, or land custom of two-and-a-half per cent. on cloth, provisions, and other goods brought in from the country, yielding 4,000 pagodas. Anchorage and permit dues, licences for fishing, arrack and wine, tobacco and beetle-nut farms, mintage, &c., furnished various sums; but the total must have fallen far short of the expectations expressed by the company in 1691-'2 of drawing as much from Madras as the Dutch did from Batavia; namely, a yearly income of £260,000.—(Bruce, iii., 110.)

‡ The governor had £200 a-year, with a gratuity of £100: of the six councillors, the chief had £100 per ann.; the others in proportion,—£70, £50, and £40 per ann.: six senior merchants had annual salaries of £40; two junior merchants, £30: five factors, £15: ten writers, £5: two chaplains, £100: one surgeon, £36: two "essay masters," £120: one judge, £100: and the attorney-general, fifty pagodas. Married men received from five to ten pagodas per month, as diet money, according to their quality; inferior servants, dining at the general table had no other allowance beyond their salaries than a very trifling sum for washing, and oil for lamps.—(Lockyer's *Trade of India*, p. 14.) The highest appointment at Bombay did not exceed £300 per ann.

§ The condition of several of the minor English settlements at this period is well sketched by Lockyer:—*Tegnapatam*, or *Fort St. David*, he describes as "a port of great profit, as well for the rents and income arising immediately thereon, as for the great quantities of calicoes and muslins that are brought thence for Europe. *Metchlepatam* [*Masulipatam*], *Vizigapatam*, and *Madapollam*, are factories continued for the sake of red-wood and the cotton-manufactures, which are here in the greatest perfection."—(p. 13.) The factory at Carwar, on the Malabar coast, was provided with eight or nine guns and twenty-six topasses, "to defend it against the insults of the country people."—(p. 269.) The native chief, or rajah, received custom dues of one and-a-half per cent. on all goods imported by the English. At *Tellicherry*, a small fort with a slight guard was maintained to protect the trade in pepper and cardamums, coir, cowries, and chanks from the Maldives. At *Anjengo*, the company possessed a small fort with guns, and a garrison of forty "mongrel Portuguese," to protect the traffic (chiefly pepper), and the "go-downs," or warehouses. Business was carried on by a chief agent, assisted by three or four counsellors, and a surgeon was included in the establishment. At *Calicut*, where there was considerable trade, the English factory was a large old house without fortifications or guns, which the zamorin, like the Mogul, would probably not have suffered any foreigners to maintain within his dominions.

‖ Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, iii., 452.

¶ *Committees*;—in the sense of persons to whom something is committed.

so strictly, that in 1724, the outlay of about £100 in the purchase of a chaise and pair of horses for the president at Calcutta, was reprehended as an unwarrantable proceeding. The directors ordered the amount to be refunded, remarking, that if their servants desired "such superfluities" they must pay for them.* It is certain that the regular salaries given even to the highest functionaries could have barely covered the necessary expenses of Europeans living in a tropical climate. But they had other sources of emolument more or less legitimate. Each *employé* was suffered to prosecute an independent traffic, which he had the best opportunity of doing, as the coasting-trade and likewise the intercourse with all eastern ports north of the equator, except Tonquin and Formosa, had recently† been relinquished by the company to their servants, or to Englishmen licensed to reside in India as free merchants, by which latter arrangement an independent community was gradually formed.

The plan of allowing officials to prosecute business in two distinct capacities, was fraught with evils for which the attendant saving in the item of salaries could make but poor amends. Convenience of situation for the affairs of each individual was the first object to be desired, and as all power of appointment (saving where the rule of seniority applied) was lodged in the president and council jointly, they naturally distributed among their own body the most advantageous offices. The employment and consequent absence of a member of council as chief of an important factory, did not disqualify him for retaining his position in the government; but it could scarcely fail to detract from his efficiency, since few men have sufficient energy, and fewer still sufficient integrity, to perform at one time the arduous duties of a judge, legislator, and politician, and of the head of an extensive commercial establishment in conjunction with the business of a private merchant. No doubt, in most cases, the last-named interest would absorb the others, and neglect of the affairs of government would necessarily follow: to this single cause many of the defects observable in the management of affairs in India, may probably be attributed.

Upon the union of the two companies, a manifest preference was evinced to the agents of the elder body, and especially to Mr. Thomas Pitt,‡ the president of Madras before mentioned, whose ability and discre-

* Thornton's *British Empire in India*, i., 75.

† The commerce had formerly been circuitous: the E. I. Cy's ships went first to Surat and other northern ports, and disposed of part of their English cargoes in exchange for piece-goods and other commodities, with which they sailed for the southern ports, where these articles were in demand; and procured instead pepper, cloves, nutmegs, and various articles for the European market. This tedious and expensive mode of traffic was abandoned towards the close of the 17th century; direct intercourse was established between London and the Indian ports, and the "country," or coasting-trade, disposed of as above related. The mode of conducting the inland traffic had likewise undergone considerable change. "The sale of the commodities imported from Europe," says Mill, "was transacted in the simplest and easiest of all possible ways; namely, by auction—the mode in which they disposed of Indian goods in England. At the beginning of this traffic, the English, as well as other European adventurers, used to carry their commodities to the inferior towns and markets, transporting them in the hackeries [cars] of the country; and established factories and warehouses where the goods were exposed to sale."—(iii., p. 12.) During the confusion, however, which prevailed while the empire of the Moguls was in progress of dissolution, an order was issued forbidding persons in the E. I. Cy.'s service, or under their jurisdiction, to proceed far into the country without special permission; and the care of distributing the goods inland, and of introducing them to the consumers, was left to native and other independent dealers. The collection and custody of the goods which constituted a European "investment," was a more complicated business, especially the purchase of the produce of the loom. The extreme indigence of the weaving class, and the consequent necessity of at all times furnishing them with the materials of their work, or the means of purchasing them, involved considerable advances of capital and a large amount of superintendence, compelling the employment of several distinct sets of agents (banyans, gomashtahs dallâls, and pycârs), who made their profit at the expense both of the company and the weaver; the latter, as the weaker party, being naturally the most open to oppression. When the piece of calico or muslin was finished, the *gomashtah*, or broker, holds a "kattah,"—examined the work, fixed its price, and paid the workman, who, it is said, was often obliged to accept fifteen or twenty, and often thirty or forty per cent. less than the result of his labour would have fetched in the market.—(Mill, iii., 15.)

‡ Another individual of the same family figures in the history of East Indian affairs: first, as "Pitt the interloper", then as "president and consul Pitt" in the service of the new or English association; and lastly, as one of the highest officials in the employ of the united company, in which position he died in 1703, leaving behind him heavy personal debts and a very questionable reputation as regarded his public dealings. The only doubtful point which I have met with regarding the character of his cousin, Mr. Thomas Pitt, relates to the manner in which the famous diamond, bearing his name, came into his possession. Captain Hamilton avers, that the gem was procured through the intervention of a person named Glover, who, seeing it at Arcot, prevailed upon the proprietor to offer it for sale to the English at Fort St. George, and he placed in his hands

tion had been evinced in the late season of disaster and embarrassment. When the coalition of their employers in England rendered it of the first consequence that their representatives in India should lay aside their contentions, and, if possible, subdue the ill-feeling raised by systematic hostility, Mr. Pitt set a good example, by addressing a communication to the English company, in which he applied to himself "the great saying of King William of blessed memory, to the French king's plenipotentiary at Ryswick, on concluding the peace,—'*twas my fate, and not my choice, that made me your enemy*; and since you and my masters are united, it shall be my utmost endeavour to purchase your good opinion, and deserve your friendship.'"*

The treaty of Utrecht happily terminated the long war with France, and England enjoyed a season of commercial prosperity, of which the rapid growth of Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham afford remarkable evidence.† The company likewise prospered, and their imports rose in value from £493,257 in 1708, to £1,059,759 in 1730. The export branch of their trade was far from exhibiting so favourable a result;‡ but the rate of profit steadily increased up to 1723; the dividends augmenting from five per cent. per annum to the proprietors, upon £3,163,200 of capital, until they reached ten per cent.; they then declined to eight per cent., at which annual rate they continued until 1732, when they were reduced to seven per cent., and remained there until 1744, in which year they returned to eight per cent. The interval between 1708 and 1745 is marked by but few important events. In England the company were employed at various times in procuring decrees against interlopers,§ and obtaining extensions of their exclusive privileges. The opposition of the free trade party was very violent in 1730; and the East India association obtained a renewal of their charter only on condition of the payment of a premium of £200,000, and the reduction of the interest of their capital lent to government from five to four per cent. The term now fixed was to terminate upon three years' notice from March, 1766.

In India the servants of the company watched with alarm the successive contests for the throne, which took place between the death of Aurungzebe and the accession of his great-grandson, Feroksheer, in 1713. Moorshed Kooli Khan (sometimes called Jaffier Khan), who had previously filled the office of dewan, or comptroller of the revenues in Bengal, was appointed subahdar, or viceroy of that province, and subsequently obtained a grant of Bahar and Orissa. The English found his rule arbitrary and extortionate; and, in the hope of obtaining from the emperor a decree for especial protection and concessions, persuaded the directors at home to allow them to send an embassy to the Mogul court. Two factors, selected for their intelligence, were dispatched from Calcutta to Delhi, with an Armenian merchant for their interpreter; and the report of the costly presents of which they were the bearers having preceded them, the governors of the provinces through which their road lay were ordered to show them every respect.‖ They

3,000 pagodas of his own as a guarantee that no compulsion should be used to oblige him to sell unless he were so inclined. The pledge was broken by Mr. Pitt, and the money forfeited by Glover.—(*New Account of East Indies*, i., 366.) The tale is not very clearly told; the seller, if a native, was probably not the legitimate possessor of the diamond, because all stones, above a certain weight, found in the mines, were claimed by the emperor. This, however, is no excuse for the conduct of Mr. Pitt, if Hamilton's accusation be correct. The traffic in jewels was, it should be stated, considered of much importance, and had been alternately monopolised by the company, and conceded to their servants as an especial privilege.

* *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, year 1702–'3.

† Liverpool, which was not formed into a separate parish till 1699, increased so rapidly, that in 1715, a new parish with a church was erected; and its extent was doubled between 1690 and 1726. Manchester grew with equal rapidity, and was computed, in 1727, to contain no less than 50,000 inhabitants; and at the same period, the metal manufactories of Birmingham, which thirty years before was little more than a village, are represented as giving maintenance to upwards of 30,000 individuals.—(Anderson's *Origin of Commerce*, iii., 143–'4.) To London several new parishes had been added in a short period. And from the year 1708 to 1730, the imports of Great Britain, according to the valuation of the custom-house, had risen from £4,698,663 to £7,780,019; and the exports from £6,969,089, to £11,974,135.—(Sir Charles Whitworth's *Tables*, part i., p. 78.—Mill, iii., 25.)

‡ The exportation of 1708 was exceedingly small compared with years immediately following: that of 1709, was £168,357; that of 1730, only £135,484.

§ In 1718, the company were authorised, by act of parliament, to seize all British subjects found trading within their limits, under the commission of a foreign government, and to send them to England, subject to a penalty of £500 for each offence.

‖ They seem to have especially dreaded passing through the country of the Jats, near Agra: in communicating their progress to the authorities at Calcutta, the deputation relate having accomplished this part of their journey,—"not meeting with much trouble, except that once in the night, rogues came

reached the capital after journeying three months: but the influence of Moorshed Kooli Khan, through his party, in the divided counsels of the state, prevailed; and, notwithstanding their offerings of gold coin, a table-clock set with precious stones, a *unicorn's horn*, a gold escrutoire, a map of the world, japan, lacquered, earthen and cutlery ware, with looking-glasses and red and yellow broad cloth in abundance, the negotiation languished;* and Feroksheer, engaged in preparing for his nuptials with the daughter of the Marwar rajah, Ajeet Sing, would probably have paid no attention to their solicitations, had not the medical skill of one of the party (a surgeon in the company's service) been offered at an opportune moment for the cure of a malady from which he had been long suffering.

Under the treatment of Mr. Hamilton the emperor recovered; and the marriage, which had been delayed on account of his illness, was forthwith consummated. Feroksheer, of whom it has been said that "his only quality was an ill-placed liberality,"† presented his physician with a magnificent *khillut* (*see* p. 168), 5,000 rupees in coin, and models of all his surgical instruments in pure gold; at the same time assuring him that any favour he might solicit should be granted. Again, the disinterestedness of a medical officer of the company proved equal to his skill,‡ and Hamilton requested the emperor to concede to the embassy the important privileges they had come to ask; namely:—1st. "That a 'dustuck,' or passport, signed by the president of Calcutta, should exempt the goods it specified from being stopped or examined by the Mogul government, under any pretence: 2ndly. That the officers of the mint at Moorshedabad should at all times, when required, allow three days in the week for the coinage of the East India Company's money: 3rdly. That all persons, *whether Europeans or natives*,§ who might be indebted or accountable to the company, should be delivered up to the presidency at Calcutta on the first demand: 4thly. That the English might purchase the lordship of thirty-eight towns, with the same immunities as Prince Azim Ooshan had permitted them to buy with Calcutta, Chuttanuttee, and Govindpoor."

The petition was granted, notwithstanding the representations of the friends of Moorshed Kooli Khan, the viceroy of Bengal,|| who

on our camp, but being repulsed three times, they left us."—(Auber's *Rise and Progress of British Power in India*, i., 16.)

* The value of the presents was about £30,000, but Khojeh Serhaud, the Armenian employed, had given out their value at more than three times that amount—a deception which could not fail to produce disappointment.

† Scott's *History of the Deccan*, ii., 135.

‡ The case of Broughton has been related. According to Orme, the medical skill engaged in the service of the company was likewise instrumental in gaining favour with Aurungzebe, about the time of the first occupation of Calcutta—an English physician being serviceable in administering relief to the emperor, when "sorely tormented with carbuncles," which his own medical attendants could not cure.—(*Historical Fragments of Mogul Empire*, p. 284.)

§ The company lost no opportunity of strengthening and enforcing their authority over their countrymen in India. Independent traders, licensed or unlicensed, were alike on sufferance; and in addressing their presidencies, the directors expressly desire that care should be taken to let even the uncovenanted merchants know "that by the laws, no subject of his majesty can stay in India without our leave; and therefore, as they are there only during good behaviour, so you will let them continue no longer than they deserve it."—*Letter to Bengal*, 1722.

|| According to European and Hindoo writers, the sway of Moorshed Kooli Khan was marked by a degree of barbarous and fiend-like cruelty, which certainly formed no part of the character of Aurungzebe, who, though he never scrupled to make away with the life of a human being if it suited his policy, was nevertheless, as a ruler, decidedly opposed to capital punishment or the infliction of tortures. The viceroy of Bengal, on the contrary, seems to have used by preference such means of enforcing his authority as were best calculated to strike terror into the minds of all beneath his sway. He never placed confidence in any man, but examined the state of his exchequer daily. Any zemindar found remiss in payment, was put under arrest, guards were placed to prevent his eating and drinking till the deficiency was supplied, and spies watched over the guards to inform if they were bribed, or negligent in their duty. When a district was in arrear, the delinquent zemindar was tormented by every species of cruelty, such as hanging up by the feet, bastinadoing, exposure to the sun in summer, and in winter frequent sprinklings of the bare flesh with cold water. The deputy dewan of the province, Seyed Rezah Khan, who had married the grand-daughter of the Nabob, "in order to enforce payment of the revenues, ordered a pond to be dug, which was filled with everything disgusting, and the stench of which was so offensive, as nearly to suffocate whoever approached it"—to this place the dewan, in derision of the Hindoos, gave the designation of *Bickoont* (a term which signifies their Paradise)—"and after the zemindars had undergone the usual punishments, if their rent was not forthcoming, he caused them to be drawn by a rope tied under the arms through this infernal pond. By such cruel and horrid methods, he extorted from the unhappy zemindars everything they possessed, and made them weary of their lives." Wherever a robbery was committed, the foujedar was compelled to find out the thief, or to recover the property; and the robber, when caught, was impaled alive, or the body split in two, and hung upon trees on the high road. The Mussulman writers speak of

seems to have been constantly on the watch to repress every indication of increasing power on the part of either Europeans or Hindoos. This lesson he had doubtless learned from his early patron, Aurungzebe; and in practising it, together with other maxims derived from the same school, he earned the cordial detestation of the classes whose views he steadily opposed, and the unbounded admiration of Moguls and Mussulmans as the champion of their political supremacy and religious creed. The firmaun (comprising thirty-four patents),* issued at the intercession of Hamilton,† was imperative, but the viceroy contrived to impede the operation of its most important clauses. The thirty-eight villages which the company had obtained leave to purchase, would have given them a district extending ten miles from Calcutta on each side of the river Hooghly, where a number of weavers, subject to their own jurisdiction, might have been established. This arrangement Moorshed Kooli Khan circumvented by using his influence to deter the holders of the land from consenting to its sale. The privilege of granting dustucks or passports, was at first exercised by the president of Calcutta unchallenged, but the extension of immunity from duties from the goods of the company to those of their servants, soon had the effect of exempting not only articles of foreign commerce, but also the produce of the province itself, in its passage by land from one district to another. This the viceroy declared it his determination to prevent, as a practice equally destructive to his revenue and ruinous to the native traders, on whom heavy duties were imposed; and he commanded that the English dustucks should be respected solely in the case of goods imported by sea, or purchased for exportation. The company remonstrated, but in vain; and their servants, checked in their endeavours to grasp the inland trade, directed their ardour to the maritime branch; and their superior skill soon induced the merchants of the province, Moors, Armenians, and Hindoos, to freight most of their exports in English vessels. Within ten years from the period of the embassy, the shipping of the port of Calcutta increased to 10,000 tons.

The non-acquirement of the thirty-eight villages apparently occasioned no great disappointment to the company, who had already adopted the wary and reluctant tone they ever afterwards maintained regarding the increase of their territory. When aware of the sanction obtained by their representatives, they bade them purchase only so much of the lands in question as were immediately contiguous to Calcutta, remarking, that "when Jaffier Khan [Moorshed Kooli Khan] or any other governor, finds you desire only half of what you might insist on, he or they may be the easier to give their consent, and not pick future quarrels; for as our business is trade, it is not political for us to be encumbered with much territory." In a subsequent paragraph, the directors speak of the benefit derivable from the possession of a good dock; and add, "if ever we should be forced to the necessity of it, our settlement there would enable us to command the river; but this is not to be so much as publicly hinted at, lest it alarm the government." Again, in the same month (Feb., 1721), they write to Bengal, "remember we are not fond of much territory, especially

Moorshed Kooli Khan as severe in the extreme, but equally impartial, showing favour to no one, and always rewarding merit wherever he found it. His jurisdiction certainly afforded room for praise as well as censure, were it only for his earnest efforts to ward off the terrible calamity of famine, and prevent the monopoly of grain. In private life, he was learned, temperate, and self-denying; refrained wholly from spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs; despised all the refinements of luxury, whether in dress or food; always kept constant to one lawful wife, and would not suffer any strange women or eunuchs to enter the apartments of his seraglio. Every year he sent Korans of his own writing to Mecca, Medina, and other holy places; and during the period of twelve days, which include the anniversaries of the birth and death of Mohammed, he feasted people of all conditions, and caused a road three miles in length to be illuminated with lamps, representing verses of the Koran, mosques, trees, and other figures. He also kept, with great state, another favourite Moslem festival, in which the chief feature is the setting afloat of boats made of bamboo and paper, ornamented with flags, lamps, &c., as a religious offering.—(Stewart's *Bengal*, pp. 378—411; and *Sketches of Bengal*—anonymous.) As a climax to his oppressions in the eyes of the Hindoos, and laudable zeal in those of his fellow-believers, the viceroy, in his old age, caused all the Brahminical temples in Moorshedabad to be pulled down to furnish materials for his tomb.

* Other privileges of less importance than those cited in the previous page, were comprised in these patents, which long constituted the great charter of the English in India. Among them was a decree that the annual payment of a fixed sum to the government of Surat should free the English trade at that port from all duties and exactions; that three villages contiguous to Madras, formerly granted and afterwards resumed by the government of Arcot, should be restored to the company; and the island of Diu, or Divi, near Masulipatam, conceded to them on payment of a fixed rent.—(Grant's *Sketch*, p. 128.)

† Mr. Hamilton died in Calcutta, in 1717. His tombstone was discovered about sixty years after, in digging for the foundations of a new church.

if it lies at a distance from you, or is not near the water-side; nor, indeed, of any, unless you have a moral assurance it will contribute directly or in consequence to our benefit."*

In Indian affairs, as in the ordinary course of all collective or individual enterprise, successes and reverses† came at the same period from different but equally unexpected quarters. About the date of the successful embassy, a new and powerful rival appeared on the stage. In the year 1716, the governor of the French settlement at Pondicherry, announced to the British at Fort St. David, that there were off the Malabar coast two 40-gun vessels under the imperial colours. These ships belonged to the Ostend East India Company, who were just commencing their operations, but did not gain a regular charter from their sovereign, the Emperor of Austria, till four years afterwards. Dutch, French, and English, immediately made common cause against the intruders, who had now to combat the opposition every nation had encountered from its predecessors in the field of Indian commerce since the Portuguese first interrupted the navigation of the Arabs and Moors. In the present case it was argued, that the concession of a charter by the emperor to the Ostend company, was a breach of faith towards the English and Dutch, inasmuch as it was by their united prowess that the ten provinces of the Netherlands, which remained in allegiance to Spain during the war of independence, were transferred from that kingdom to the crown of Austria. The Dutch insisted upon the continuance of the restriction forcibly imposed by them on the trade of these provinces while they constituted a portion of the Spanish dominions; and asserted that this prohibition was implied in the very terms of the barrier-treaty from which the emperor derived his authority. They seconded their arguments by active hostile measures: seized the vessels of the Ostend company, with their cargoes; and forbade the subjects of the states from all concern in the undertaking on the severest penalties,—even, it is said, on pain of death. France and England adopted the same selfish policy, though they did not carry it out with equal asperity. Louis XV. published a declaration denouncing various forfeitures, and in some cases, imprisonment and exile on any of his people who should enter into the service of the Ostend association, or hold shares in their stock. Similar punishments were held forth by George I. and his parliament, to deter British subjects from taking part in the new adventure; and one instance, at least, occurred of an Ostend ship, homeward-bound and richly freighted, being captured by a British privateer. All this persecution did not deter the Netherlanders from their object: it was to them as a breathing time from oppression; and they struggled with determination, and in a commercial point of view, with success, against their foes. Their charter was granted in 1723; in less than twenty-four hours their subscription-books were filled up; and within a month the shares were sold at a premium of fifteen per cent. At a meeting of proprietors in 1726, the remaining instalment on the subscriptions, equal to a dividend of thirty-three and one-third per cent., was paid up from the gains of the trade. Thus far, the emperor had persevered in upholding the company, and in granting them commissions of reprisal, in which course he had been confirmed by an article in the treaty of Vienna in 1725, by which Spain guaranteed the continuance of the association. But this alliance was of brief duration, and only served to rouse the jealousy of, other European powers. It was followed by a combination which resulted in the treaty of Hanover, between France, England, Holland, and Denmark, by which among other provisions, the contracting parties mutually guaranteed their respective commercial claims to the exclusion of the Ostend company.‡ The emperor, deserted by his only ally the King of Spain, could not oppose this formidable confederacy with-

* Auber's *Rise and Progress*, vol. i., 25.

† During the first half of the 18th century the English East India trade experienced some severe checks in China and the eastern islands. It seemed as if, *nolens-volens*, they were to be driven to expend all their energies on the Indian peninsula. Their factors were compelled, with great loss of goods and stores, to quit Chusan, where they had commenced a settlement, and a worse result attended their endeavours to establish themselves on Pulo Condore, an island subject to the Cochin Chinese, and at Banjar Massin, in Borneo. The British at Pulo Condore were barbarously massacred by the soldiery, in 1705, and nearly two years afterwards the same fate overtook those at Banjar Massin, only a few escaping with life. In Sumatra (at Bencoolen), a severe and prolonged struggle took place: the natives compelled the British to evacuate Fort Marlborough, in 1718; but fearing to fall into the hands of the Dutch, suffered the English to return and resettle their factories, in 1721.—(Grant's *Sketch*.)

‡ The Ostend company, though not expressly named, are plainly alluded to in this treaty, to which Prussia and Sweden were likewise parties.

his country by an army of fully 4,000 men (Europeans and natives); and, in 1717, a new treaty was concluded on terms, according to Stavorinus, by no means advantageous to the Dutch, "in comparison with what might and ought to have been insisted on."* The same authority states, that during the continuance of hostilities "the English, or rather their commandant at Tellicherry, had assisted the zamorin with money, ammunition, and gunners." The evidence on which this assertion is made does not appear. Without any such auxiliary, the neighbouring rajahs were probably quite strong enough to compete with the Dutch, whose military proceedings increased in cost as they decreased in efficiency. The "supreme government," as it was termed, at Batavia, addressing the local authorities at Malabar, in 1721, express astonishment at the renewed spirit of hostility towards the native powers manifested by them, and also at their extravagant expenditure. They added, that "in case the zamorin thought fit to attack the rajah of Cochin, who had so long enjoyed the protection of the company, they should not take an active part in the quarrel." This direction was nothing less than the ungrateful abandonment of a dynasty which, from the time of the hostilities provoked by the aggressions of the Portuguese under Alvarez Cabral, in 1501, had sided with the Europeans. The Cochin rajahs had, it would seem, been little more than tools in the hands of the Dutch, who now so ungenerously abandoned them to their incensed countrymen. The impolicy of this proceeding, in a worldly sense, equalled its injustice as a question of principle. The zamorin and the rajah of Travancore extended their dominions by the diminution of those of the chiefs dependent on the Dutch; until the Travancore prince, in 1739, by his repeated successes acquired a reputation which rendered him respected and feared throughout the Malabar coast. His attachment to the English was another argument against him with the Dutch officials; and one of them, Van Imhoff, who came over from Ceylon, in 1739, to examine into the state of affairs, represented that a total reformation was absolutely necessary, and could be effected only in two ways. The first was, to follow the market price for pepper; the second, to enforce the contracts into which the natives were said to have entered, of traffic with the Dutch only, by forcibly exacting penalties in case of their non-performance, "or by surprising and carrying off to Batavia one or other of those princes, who showed themselves the most refractory, which would create so much terror among them, that it would not be necessary to resort to the same expedient a second time." This latter method M. Van Imhoff concluded would be the best; nor does it appear that any exception was taken at the cruelty and injustice of the plan thus suggested.† Happily for the Malabar rajahs, and possibly still more happily for the Dutch, no opportunity occurred for carrying it into execution, and the Malabar officials were compelled to adopt a more open mode of warfare, which they did without even asking orders from Batavia on the subject, though they were soon obliged to send there for assistance, against the consequences of an unprovoked attack made by them on the

* Stavorinus' *Voyages*, vol. iii., p. 239.

† Other officials in the service of the Dutch E. I. Cy. appear to have possessed and acted upon principles of the same character displayed by M. Van Imhoff. A terrible catastrophe occurred in Batavia, in 1740. The identical accusation brought forward against the English at Amboyna, was here urged against the Chinese inhabitants, who, it was alleged, had conspired to extirpate the Dutch, and were able to muster 90,000 men. On this pretext a pitiless massacre of the Chinese commenced, and the quarter of the town occupied by them was burnt to ashes, being set on fire, as was said, by themselves in despair. The number of the Chinese slaughtered on this occasion is estimated at from 12,000 to 30,000; and the amount of plunder taken from them was enormous. No clear account of the origin of the business ever appeared, to refute the statement of the suffering party,—that the conspiracy had been on the side of the Dutch, who were heavily indebted to the persons they accused. The governor himself shipped property for Holland to an amount stated at half a million sterling. No public trial took place; but the reason is evident from the fact, that two members of the council, and the fiscal, were deprived of their offices and put in prison, together with the governor, who remained there till the day of his death. Although most anxious to hush up the matter, it was deemed necessary to send an embassy to the Emperor of China, and explain away, as far as possible, or at least palliate the fearful crimes committed, by representing it as an act of justice, much fear being excited that, on the persons of the Dutch at Canton, the emperor might find vent for the wrathful feelings likely to be roused by the slaughter of his people. The answer proved the needlessness of such anxiety; the ambassador being informed that this paternal sovereign "took no concern in the fate of unworthy subjects, who had abandoned their native country, and the tombs of their ancestors, to live under the dominion of foreigners for the greed of gain;" a very impolitic as well as unfeeling sentiment to proceed from the mouth of the ruler of so densely populous an empire.—(Macpherson's *Commerce*.)

rajah of Travancore. The Dutch company could ill bear this addition to the burthen already imposed by the war in Macassar,—a locality which, as it had been the arena of some of their most cruel aggressions, in devastating the land, and carrying off the inhabitants in large numbers as slaves, so it became the scene of many of their greatest calamities and embarrassments.*

The DANISH East India Company had endeavoured to take advantage of the suppression of the Ostend society; and their king, Frederick IV., lent a willing ear to arguments similar to those which had been successfully urged by Koning upon the Swedish monarch, regarding the advantage of enlisting in the service of Denmark the capital and ability of the Netherland merchants, prohibited from trading under their own flag. A charter was granted, in 1728, authorising the opening of an additional subscription-list for new members, and an India House was established at Altona, a Danish town adjacent to Hamburgh. The English and Dutch companies remonstrated warmly against this measure, as little less than the reproduction of the Ostend association under a fresh name. Their jealous opposition succeeded in procuring the abandonment of the Hamburgh establishment; but it raised, in the minds of the Danes, a strong feeling of the importance of the commerce so sharply watched by rival societies, and induced a large number of persons to take part in it. A new and very favourable charter, granted to the company in 1732, for a term of forty years, contains among its clauses two which are interesting, even after the lapse of more than a century. One was a proviso, "that the strictest attention should be paid to the morals of the people sent out to India in the company's service"—a point which had been heretofore sadly disregarded; the other threw a shield round the individual interests of the proprietors, by enacting that "no money should be lent or borrowed without the consent of a general meeting of the proprietors."† The trade carried on after this period, though never very extensive, became decidedly prosperous, and continued so during the remainder of the eighteenth century.

FRANCE had advanced far more perceptibly towards the close of the epoch now under consideration. In 1714, the E. I. Cy. again applied for and obtained a renewal of their charter. Exhausted funds, and a debt amounting to 10,000,000 livres, seemed to afford little prospect of remunerative trade during the ten years for which their exclusive privileges were continued; but before the expiration of that period, their separate existence was merged in the extraordinary association formed by the famous schemer, John Law.‡ In the year 1720, England and France exhibited to the world at large the disgraceful spectacle of the governments of two great nations struggling to shake off

* Their general trade continued, notwithstanding these drawbacks, steadily lucrative. During the first twenty-one years of their existence—that is, from 1602 to 1622—the company divided thirty million florins; being more than quadruple the original stock. From the year 1605 to 1728 the dividends amounted to about twenty-two per cent. per annum, sometimes paid in bank money, sometimes in cloves. Thus, on the original capital of £650,000, eighteen million sterling were paid as dividends, besides the necessary accumulation of property in territory, forts, and ships. The price of the stock, between 1723 and 1760, bore a premium varying from 320 to 650 per cent. The annual fleet dispatched from Holland was very large. From the year 1720 to 1729, inclusive, the number amounted to 372 vessels (giving an annual average of thirty-seven), with crews comprising nearly 70,000 men. The dividends, during the same period, averaged twenty-three per cent. Various renewals of their charter had been obtained, at different times, from the States-General, notwithstanding considerable opposition on the part of the public, which was silenced, in the ears of government, by the payment of large sums of money on various occasions. In 1740, unusual difficulties appear to have been met with, and the company could only obtain a prolongation of their privileges for a single year; nor was it until 1748 that they succeeded in procuring the desired grant, which was then conceded for a term of twenty-seven years.—(Milburn, Macpherson, and Stavorinus.)

† Macpherson's *Commerce with India*, p. 239.

‡ This remarkable man (the son of an Edinburgh goldsmith), persuaded the Duke of Orleans, regent of France, in 1716, to adopt his plans of finance and commerce as a means of honourably relieving the government and nation from a debt of about £90,000,000 sterling, (mainly caused by the lavish expenditure of Louis XIV.,) in preference to the disgraceful alternative actually propounded of disavowing the large quantity of depreciated paper-money, which had been issued from the Parisian treasury. The first step taken by Law was the formation of a public Bank, with a capital of six million livres, divided into 1,200 shares; its business to be confined to receiving money on deposit, and lending it at a moderate rate of interest on personal or proprietory security. The project became immediately popular; hoarded coin found its way to the coffers of the Bank, the notes of which became current throughout Europe: the West India Company furnished £3,937,500; and the increased circulating medium gave new energy to agriculture, commerce, and the arts. During the excitement which ensued, Law wielded unlimited power, and his personal health became a matter of intense anxiety and eager speculation. In 1617, he founded the *Mississippi company*, with which was subse-

the involvements caused by war and lavish expenditure, and to lessen their public debts by sanctioning schemes which, being manifestly unjust in principle, could not fail to prove injurious to the multitudes who, unaccustomed, under any circumstances, to examine into the truth of plausible statements, would accept them without hesitation when made current by the approbation of the legislature, and thus cruelly misled, rush headlong into ruin. The conduct of the ministry and parliament of England, though deeply blamable in regard to the South Sea bubble, was far surpassed in dishonesty and infatuation by the proceedings of the rulers of the French nation, in carrying out the complication of incongruous projects called "Law's system." The "Royal Bank" constituted the leading and absorbing feature of the whole; and of the numerous societies whom their own credulity or the manœuvring of stock-jobbers had impelled within the vortex, the East India body alone appear to have survived the general wreck.

This company arose strong in the "perpetual and irrevocable"* privileges inherited from its defunct associates, and secured in its pecuniary welfare by the arbitrary measures enacted in 1721 for the diminution of its shares, which benefited the corporation by a method peculiar to despotic governments—of annihilating the property of their own subjects by a few strokes of the pen, without so much as a pretence of compensation. At the same time, the nomination of directors was claimed for the Crown, and likewise the right of appointing one, two, or even three commissioners, with considerable controlling powers over the directors, with whom they were constantly at variance. Notwithstanding this great drawback, the company pursued their eastern trade with much energy. Their Indian debts—the accumulation of a long series of years—were paid off; and, on the appointment of the able and upright Orry as minister of finance, measures were adopted for the improvement and defence of the Indo-French settlements. Pondicherry, after its surrender by the Dutch, in 1697, had been restored to the superintendence of M. Martin. By his prudence and integrity the basis of its prosperity was laid in the confidence of the natives, who gladly settled under his protection; and in course of time the village grew into a large and regular city, containing 70,000 inhabitants, of whom the European proportion continued, of course, extremely small. The French had also factories or *comptoirs* at Mahé, not far south from Tellicherry, on the Malabar coast; and at Chandernagore, on the Hooghly, in Bengal. Dumas, the governor-general appointed by Orry, increased the revenues of the company by obtaining permission from the Mogul, in 1734, to coin money in the fort of Pondicherry; and the rupees struck there yielded a profit of nearly £20,000 per annum for several years. In

quently incorporated the *Canada, China, Senegal, St. Domingo, Guinea, and East India* associations. The united body became generally known as the *Company of the West*—or sometimes *of the Indies*—and had a capital stock of one hundred million livres, it being the scheme of Mr. Law to pay the holders of government paper with the stock (or shares) of this company. All the nations of Europe became infected with the mania of suddenly growing rich by the issue of paper-money, and capitalists flocked by thousands to Paris from every metropolis: the shares bore a premium of 1,200 per cent., and the government granted to the company various privileges,—such as the sole vending of tobacco, the mint, and general farming of all the revenues, in consideration of a loan to the king of fifty million sterling towards the liquidation of the public debt. Capital was nominally added by several expedients: gold was forbidden in trade; and the coin successively diminished in value, until the people of France gladly brought their specie to the Bank, and converted their stock in the public funds into shares of the company, by which proceeding the national debt would, it was supposed, be paid off. The mania lasted about a twelvemonth, and then the bubble burst, in spite of every endeavour to continue its inflation. A terrible panic ensued, and was followed by a long season of individual misery and general depression. Multitudes of all classes awoke from their dream of wealth to the realities of want, and the government reeled under the shock which attended the downfall of its splendid projects for re-establishing the public credit. The "Sieur Law," comptroller-general of the finances and inspector-general of the Royal Bank, and all its associate societies, disappeared from France, and died in obscurity, without having acquired any thing very considerable for himself, although he had it once in his power (so far as human judgment can decide) to have become the richest subject in Christendom.—(Anderson's *Origin of Commerce*, years 1716 to 1720. Macpherson's *European Commerce with India*, pp. 264 to 276. Justamond's translation of the Abbé Raynal's *European Settlements in the East and West Indies*, vol. ii., pp. 61 to 68.)

* Macpherson's *Commerce*, p. 269. It is a trite remark, but singularly apposite to the present case, that governments are never so ready to concede unlimited privileges as when their own authority stands on a tottering and precarious footing. In examining into all questions regarding the grant of exclusive privileges, and their bearing in a national point of view, it is always important to understand clearly the condition of the acting prince or government at the time of making such concessions.

1739 the French took forcible possession of Karical, on the Coromandel coast, which was confirmed to them by a grant from the rajah of Tanjore. Meanwhile, war was being carried on between Dost Ali, the governor or nabob of Arcot, and the Mahrattas under Ragojee Bhonslay, which terminated in the defeat of the former. His family, and several of his subjects, took refuge in Pondicherry, whither Ragojee pursued them, and threatened to besiege the place, unless they were surrendered. This Dumas positively refused; and at length, after plundering far and near, the Mahrattas accepted a small subsidy, and retired from the field in April, 1741. Sufder Ali, the son of the deceased nabob, is alleged to have made a princely return for the protection bestowed upon his relatives, by ceding to Dumas personally three districts, in value amounting to nearly £100,000 sterling per annum. The emperor Mohammed is stated, by the same authority, to have confirmed this grant, and further to have sent Dumas a dress of honour, bestowed on him the title of nabob (a dignity never before conferred on a European), and made him a *Munsubdar* of 4,500—that is, a commander entitled to the rank and salary associated with the control of that (often almost nominal) number of cavalry. These distinctions were, it is added, transferred to his successor, the afterwards famous Dupleix.*

Another justly celebrated man was then at the head of the presidency established by the French in the Indian seas, which comprised the two islands of Mauritius and Mascarenhas, otherwise called Isles of France or Cerné, and of Bourbon. M. de la Bourdonnais was a native of St. Malo, and had been at sea since the age of ten years. In the course of his voyages he had the opportunity of observing the advantages of the coasting trade of India, in which he was the first of his nation to embark. In a few years he realised a considerable fortune, and by sheer force of character, acquired much influence over those with whom he associated. A violent quarrel between the crews of some Arabian and Portuguese ships, in the harbour of Mocha, was amicably adjusted through his intervention; and the viceroy of Goa, greatly relieved by this termination of an affair which threatened fatal consequences, invited the successful mediator to enter the service of Portugal, gave him the title of agent for that power on the coast of Coromandel, together with the command of a royal ship, the rank of Fidalgo, and enrolled him as a member of the order of knighthood profanely termed "of Christ." In this honourable position he remained for two years, and then, in 1733, returned to France, where his reputation for ability and uprightness procured him the appointment of governor-general of the Mauritius and Mascarenhas, where he arrived in 1735. His conduct here was truly admirable. He found the people poor, indolent, and ignorant; but by dint of unwearied application, and a capacity for taking the initiative in everything connected with the material welfare of the settlements over which he had been chosen to preside, he effected improvements which seemed, says Raynal, "owing to enchantment."† The functions of governor, judge, surveyor, engineer, architect, agriculturist, were alternately performed by this one man, who could build a ship from the keel, construct vehicles, and make roads; break in bulls to the yoke, or teach the method of cultivating wheat, rice, cassava, indigo, and the sugar-cane. He established an hospital for the sick, and notwithstanding his multifarious occupations, visited it regularly every morning for a whole twelvemonth. Neither his unwearied labours, nor the extraordinary success with which they were attended, sufficed to shield him from the shafts of calumny. Some ship-captains and other visitants of the island, whom he checked in their unreasonable demands, laid unfounded charges against him before the directors, and the high-spirited governor was consequently exposed to treatment which induced him to return to France, in 1740, with the intention of resigning his harassing and thankless office.‡ This Orry would not permit, but induced him to return to the Isles, and encouraged his plans for the extension of French power in the East, and of hostility

* See Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, i., 389. This usually correct writer possibly attributes to Dumas honours conferred on or assumed by Dupleix a few years later. Dost Ali was himself an interloper, unconfirmed by the emperor or the viceroy of the Deccan; and it is strange that the extravagant grant made by his son should have received the imperial sanction, even though bestowed in reward of opposition to the common foe of Mohammedans, the Mahrattas.

† *European Settlements in E. & W. Indies*, ii., 75.

‡ Raynal states, that La Bourdonnais, being asked how he had conducted his private affairs with more ability than those of his employers, replied: "I managed mine according to my own judgment, and those of the company according to their directions."

against the English. La Bourdonnais could not, however, procure adequate means for the execution of his extensive projects; but the force entrusted to him was usefully employed in raising the siege of Mahé, invested by the Mahrattas in 1741, after which he again occupied himself with the same energy as before in the details of his own government.

Dupleix, the French governor-general in India, was perhaps equal to his colleague in a certain description of ability, and probably superior to him in education and social position (his father having been a farmer-general of the revenues, and a director of the East India Company); but in manliness and integrity he was incomparably the inferior. In 1720, Dupleix was appointed first member of the council at Pondicherry; and here he continued for ten years, carefully studying the politics of the epoch, and accumulating property by engaging in the commerce of the country, from which the poverty of the servants of the French company for the most part debarred them. In 1730 he was sent to superintend the settlement at Chandernagore, which he found in a very neglected condition. Under his rule a great change took place, and the increase of wealth and population was marked by the erection of no less than 2,000 brick houses. A new trading establishment was formed at Patna through his exertions, and the French commerce in Bengal became an object of envy to all other Europeans. These indubitable proofs of legislative ability, aided probably by the influence of family connexion at home, procured for Dupleix the position of governor-general. It would seem as if the peculiar vices of his character had lain dormant while he remained in a subordinate position, but were called into action by the possession of supreme authority over his countrymen in India, checked only by responsibility to a distant and ill-informed body of directors. Ambitious in the extreme, inordinately vain, and no less restless and intriguing, Dupleix, from this period, constantly manifested a degree of littleness which made his really remarkable talents a matter of doubt in the sight of many who deemed such opposite qualities incompatible.

It may be imagined that a man of this character would neglect no opportunity of distinguishing himself and extending the power of his nation at the expense of the English; but his appointment at Pondicherry had been accompanied by such stringent commands for a general diminution of outlay, that he dared not commence hostilities, but was compelled to content himself by taking measures (in contravention to his instructions) for placing Pondicherry in a strongly defensible condition.

The state of the ENGLISH COMPANY at this period has been sufficiently shown in preceding pages. They do not appear to have numbered among their servants any leader fitted by experience and ability to oppose with success the generalship of La Bourdonnais, or the wiles of Dupleix. Happily for England, want of union in the councils of the enemy, tended to diminish the danger of their hostile attempts.

Before proceeding to narrate the struggle between the two nations, it is necessary to pause and briefly notice the leading territorial divisions of India at the epoch when the Mogul yoke changed from an iron chain to a rope of sand, and imperial viceroys or subahdars, nabobs or deputy governors, rajahs and ranas, naiks, wadeyars, polygars, zemindars, and innumerable chiefs of lesser note and differing titles, strove each one for the aggrandisement and independence of himself or his own family. A similar summary has been given previous to the invasion of India by the followers of Mohammed (pp. 39 to 43); as also at the epoch formed by the accession of Akber in 1556 (pp. 93 to 107): it is now important to note the origin and condition of several newly-created principalities, and also the changes which had taken place in the older states, in the course of the intervening period of nearly two centuries, for the sake of affording a means of reference, the value of which will be apparent when the narrative of European progress brings into prominent notice nabobs and rajahs taking their titles from places as yet unheard of.

INDIAN STATES—1740 TO 1745.—The invasion of Nadir Shah, in 1739 (as has been shown in previous pages), left the Great Mogul in the dismantled palace of his ancestors, with an exhausted treasury and an empire diminished by the severance of CABOOL, SINDE, and MOULTAN. A few years later, and another jewel was snatched from the imperial crown. The lovely valley of CASHMERE, ever since its acquisition by Akber, had been the favourite retreat of successive monarchs from the intense summer-heats of Delhi or Agra. Here Jehangeer had held many a Bacchanalian revel, and spent long hours in dalliance with the gifted but unprincipled Nour Mahal, watch-

ing her distilling the far-famed essence of the rose, or listening to her magnificent projects for the erection of public edifices, mingled, too often, with unworthy schemes of ambition or revenge. Here Shah Jehan passed many bright summers before death took away Taj Mahal, the wife whom he truly loved, and before the quarrels and rebellion of the children she had borne, brought to him, in retribution for the unsparing cruelty which had attended his accession to the throne, an old age of sorrowful captivity. Here Aurungzebe, proof alike against the enervating influences of climate, the charms of the seraglio, the seductions of wine, or the intoxicating drugs which had been the bane of his race, pondered in austere seclusion over the complicated web he spent a life in weaving, with the bitter result of finding himself at last entangled in his own toils. Here, lastly, Mohammed Shah came, in the first flush of regal grandeur, to forget, amid a crowd of giddy courtiers, the heavy responsibilities of the inheritance of despotic power which his indolent, easy nature rendered peculiarly burdensome; and here, too, he came in age, and beholding the vessel of the state, committed by Providence to his guidance, reduced almost to a wreck, by calamities brought on by internal corruption, rather than by external strife, he probably learnt the causes of evils it was too late to remedy, but which he encountered with a quiet dignity and forbearance that served to keep together some of the shattered remains of imperial power. Cashmere was, however, seized by Ahmed Shah Abdulli, and incorporated in the new kingdom of Candahar; and the conqueror proceeded to invade the PUNJAUB, and had even crossed the Sutlej, when he was met by the Mogul army (under his namesake the heir-apparent), completely defeated, and driven back. This victory was followed almost immediately by the death of Mohammed Shah, and the accession of Prince Ahmed. The period, however, of which we are treating commences with the departure of the Persian invaders (1739.) The intrigues of viceroys and governors were speedily resumed when the first stunning effect of the late calamity had passed away. In OUDE, Sadut Khan had been succeeded by his nephew and son-in-law, Sufder Jung. In the PUNJAUB, the rebellion of the Mogul viceroy soon produced renewed incursions from the Afghan border, and the province of GUZERAT fell completely into the hands of the Mahrattas. The three chief Rajpoot states of JEYPOOR (Amber), JOUDPOOR (Marwar), and OODIPOOR (Mewar), were still, to some extent, tributary to the emperor. The two last-named had been subjected to partial devastation from the Mahrattas; but the intimate connexion subsisting between Rajah Jey Sing and Bajee Rao, prevented such aggressions in the districts of Jeypoor, at the cost to the empire of the province of MALWA. The JATS, established in the territory between Agra and Jeypoor, were rapidly gaining ground; and after the Mahrattas crossed the Chumbul, they, for the most part, maintained a friendly intercourse with their fellow-marauders.* The principality afterwards known by the name of ROHILLA, was in progress of establishment in THE DOAB, little more than a hundred miles to the southward of Delhi.† BENGAL, BAHAR, and ORISSA were under the sway of Ali Verdi Khan, but subject to the exactions of the Mahrattas, to whom the whole of India was rapidly becoming more or less tributary. When one pretext failed, another could easily be found by those who had the power of enforcing their most unreasonable demands. A district once overrun, was said to be under tribute from usage, whilst chout and surdeshmooki were extorted from the others by virtue of letters patent.‡ Thus, on various pretences the Mahrattas, says Duff, "went plundering and burning on the east and on the west, from the Hooghly to the Bunass, and from Madras to Delhi;" while the Europeans, in their profound ignorance of native history, watched with amazement the progress of a people whom they still called

* The rise of the Mahrattas materially aided the Jats, by withdrawing Aurungzebe from the neighbourhood of Agra; but the statement of Grant Duff, that the plunder of the imperial army enabled them to fortify Bhurtpoor, is contradicted by Elphinstone.—(*India*, ii., 511. *See* also Thornton's *Indian Gazetteer*, in four vols., London, 1854—article, Bhurtpore.)

† *See* p. 171.—The founder of the Rohillas is described by Duff as the son of a Hindoo *Aheer*, a class of shepherds nearly similar to the *Dhungurs* of Maharashtra. An Afghan adopted him when a boy, and gave him the name of Ali Mohammed Rohilla. His followers assumed the same designation; and from being the commander of a small party of Afghan cavalry, in the service of the deputy-governors of Moradabad, he gradually obtained possession of lands, and encroached by degrees, until the force sent for his expulsion by the imperial viceroy, proved insufficient for the purpose.

‡ It does not appear that any deed for collecting general *chout* over the empire was ever granted by Mohammed Shah: sums of money and convenient assignments were the modes of payment.—(Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, i., 457.)

"the Sevajees," after their great leader, instead of by their own distinctive appellation.

The centre of the diffusive power of the Mahrattas was MAHARASHTRA, the region where their peculiar language was spoken. The whole of this territory had, in 1573, during the reign of Akber, been subject to the kings of Beejapoor and Ahmednuggur, with the exception of a part of Candeish (which was held as an independent principality by the sultan of Boorhanpoor), of the northern Concan belonging to Guzerat, and the possessions of the Portuguese.* At that period Golconda was the third important Mohammedan state in the Deccan, Beder (the seat of the Bahmani dynasty) and Berar having been annexed to the dominions of their more powerful neighbouring states, which, as we have seen, were themselves in turn extinguished by the encroachments of Sevajee on the one side, and the levelling policy of Aurungzebe on the other. The six Mogul subahs or provinces of THE DECCAN† were, in 1741, in so far as the Delhi emperor was concerned, an independent government, under the irresponsible rule of the old nizam, Asuf Jah, who divided the revenues with the Mahrattas; the advantage being, as has been shown, increasingly on their side. The fixed possessions of the Mohammedans, for many centuries after their first invasion of the peninsula, did not extend south of the Kistna: and, indeed, the term of "the Deccan," by writers of this religion, and even by Wilks and other English authorities, is commonly used to denote the countries lying between the Nerbudda and Kistna; the territory below the latter river being distinguished as THE SOUTH OF INDIA. It is with this portion of the continent that we are more particularly concerned, from its having been the scene of the first struggle for supremacy between European powers. Previous to the battle of Talicot, in 1565, the whole of this territory was, more or less, under the sway of the government of Beejanuggur, or Vijeyanuggur; but many districts were held by families who ruled as tributaries or feudatories, with hereditary power. The defeat and slaughter of the brave old Rama Rajah, and the destruction of his capital by the conjoined exertions of the four Mohammedan sovereigns of the Deccan, were not followed by any systematic attempts for the annexation of Beejanuggur by the conquerors to their own dominions, private jealousies and international disputes preventing any permanent arrangement between them regarding the division of the spoil. Venkatadri, the brother of the late rajah, established himself at Penconda, about 140 miles south-east of the former capital, and from thence the seat of government was shortly afterwards transferred to Chandragiri. About the year 1597, a descendant of the ancient *Rayeels* (as the rajahs of this dynasty were called) ruled with some degree of magnificence at Chandragiri and Vellore, where he still held at least nominal sway over the governors or naiks of Jinjee, Tanjore, Madura, Chennapatam, Seringapatam (Mysoor), and Penconda; and in 1640, the last representative of this ancient house, Sree Ranga Raya, sanctioned the establishment of the English at Chennapatam, or Madras. About six years afterwards, he was driven by the forces of Golconda from his occasional places of residence and nominal capitals at Chandragiri and Chingleput, and compelled to take refuge with the chief

* *See* pp. 43 and 140. Hindoo writers differ materially as to the extent of Maharashtra, which they designate one of the five principal divisions of the Deccan. According to the *Tutwa* (one of the books of the *Jotush Shastra* or *Hindoo Astronomy*), Maharashtra extends no farther than the Chandore range of hills, where Kolwun, Buglana, and Candeish are represented as its northern boundaries; and all beyond those countries is indiscriminately termed *Vendhiadree.* Duff adds, "that the tract between Chandore and Eroor Manjera, on the Kistna, is certainly the most decidedly Mahratta, and in it there is the least variation in the language; but following the rule adverted to in its more extended sense, Maharashtra is that space which is bounded on the north by the Sautpoora [? Vindhya] mountains, and extends from Naundode, on the west, along those mountains to the Wyne Gunga, east of Nagpoor."—(i., 3.) A waving line from Mahoor to Goa, with the ocean on the westward, form the chief remaining limits. Wilks states, that the Mahratta language spreads from Beder to the north-west of Canara, and of a line which, passing considerably to the eastward of Dowlatabad, forms an irregular sweep until it touches the Taptee, and follows the course of that river to the western sea, on which the district of Sedashegur, in North Canara, forms its southern limit. In the geographical tables of the Hindoos, the name of Maharashtra—and by contraction, Mahratta dasum (or *country*)—seems to have been more particularly appropriated to the eastern portion of this great region, including Baglana, part of Berar, and Candeish: the western was known by its present name of Concan.—(*Historical Sketches of the South of India*, or *History of Mysoor*, i., 5-6.)

† 1st. Candeish, capital Burhanpoor. 2nd. Aurungabad, which comprised the territory formerly called the state of Ahmednuggur, governed by the Nizam Shahi dynasty. 3rd. Beejapoor or Viziapoor, the capital of the Adil Shahi dynasty. 4th. Beder. 5th. Berar. 6th. Hyderabad, capital of the Golconda or Kootb Shahi dynasty.

of Bednore or Nuggur (now included in Mysoor.) Sera, Bangalore, and Colar, with the important fortresses of Vellore and Jinjee, were seized by Beejapoor, the ambitious and short-sighted rulers of that kingdom continuing, to their last gasp of power, to endeavour to increase a superstructure already too extensive for its slender and tottering base. Aurungzebe's great political error, in destroying states it was his interest to uphold in dependence upon him, brought both them and him a fitting reward for the ungovernable lust of conquest. It levelled the only barrier to the rapid spread of Hindoo power; and in a short period of years, the supremacy of the Mahratta state was acknowledged, more or less decidedly, over all the south of India; and this, notwithstanding the incongruities of its internal constitution with its capitals of Sattara, where the rajahs lived (kings in name, captives or pageants in reality); and of Poona, where the peishwas (ministers in name, sovereigns in reality) held their now sumptuous courts and exercised sway, checked however materially by the private designs and unsleeping watchfulness of the Dhabaray family, Rugojee Bhonslay, and other noted leaders. With these turbulent chieftains, the peishwas were glad to compromise matters, by suffering them to invade Guzerat, Bengal, and other Mogul provinces on their own account; the authority of the rajah being a convenient pretence, occasionally resorted to in confirmation of such arrangements, and which, strange to say, still carried considerable weight in the minds of the people, it being quite inconsistent with the character of the Brahminical cast to govern, except after the fashion of an English "lord-protector" or a French cardinal.

The death of Bajee Rao, the famous antagonist of the nizam, in 1740, has been narrated (p. 169), as also the events which attended the accession to the peishwaship of his son Ballajee Bajee Rao. It is not necessary to enter further into the Mahratta history of this period, save in so far as it is connected with that of the various distinct principalities now fast rising into importance beneath the sway of native rulers or usurping governors. Under the latter head may be classed TOOLAVA, the region (formerly part of Dravida) distinguished in European maps as the CARNATIC—a tract, says Colonel Wilks, which "by a fatality unexampled in the history of nations, neither is nor ever was known by that name to the people of the province, or of any part of India."* The misnomer originated in the conquest of Toolava by the government of Canara Proper,† not long before the partition of the dominions of that state between the kings of Golconda and Beejapoor. These sovereigns, in dividing a country of whose condition and history they were wholly ignorant, were satisfied with the sweeping designations of the Carnatic Bala Ghaut and Payeen Ghaut (above and below the Ghauts)‡—appellations which were transferred with the dominion over the region thus arbitrarily renamed—when all other Mohammedan governments were swallowed up in Mogul supremacy. In 1706, a chief named Sadut Oollah Khan (through the influence of Daud Khan Panni,§ then viceroy of the Deccan), was appointed by the emperor nabob of the Carnatic Bala Ghaut and Payeen Ghaut,|| and he continued to fill that position after the death of his patron and the accession of the nizam. Sadut Oollah is supposed to have fixed the seat of his government at ARCOT about the year 1716, no inscription or authority (says Colonel Wilks) having been discovered to prove the previous existence of a capital on that site. He died in 1732, leaving no issue male; but through the precautions taken in behalf of his nephews and adopted sons, Dost Ali and Bâkir Ali, the latter continued to be governor of Vellore, while the former succeeded in establishing himself as nabob of the Carnatic, despite the opposition of the nizam, whose jealous interference prevented his procuring an authentic commission from Delhi. At the period of his accession, the new nabob had two sons; the elder, Sufder Ali, had reached manhood: he had also several daughters, one of whom was married to a distant relative, the afterwards famous Chunda Sahib, who first acquired notoriety by his treacherous acquisition of TRICHINOPOLY. This little

* *History of Mysoor*, i. 8.

† Situated on the western coast of the Indian peninsula, between the Concan and Malabar (formerly named Kerala.)

‡ The great geographical feature of the south of India is a central eminence of 3,000 to 5,000 feet in height, above the level of the sea, separated by abrupt declivities from the low flat countries to the east and west, which form a belt of small and unequal breadth between the hills and the ocean. This central eminence is usually named the Bala Ghaut; and the lower belt, the Payeen Ghaut—*Ghaut* signifying a mountain pass or break.

§ *See* page 156.

|| Called also the Carnatic Beejapoor Bala Ghaut, and the Carnatic Hyderabad Payeen Ghaut.

state, like the neighbouring principality of Tanjore, although at times subject to the exactions of the Mohammedan rulers of Beejapoor and Golconda, had maintained its independence from a remote date. The death of the rajah, in 1736, gave rise to disputes concerning the succession. Minakshi Amman, the reigning queen, upheld the cause of her adopted son against a rival claimant, and was actively supported by Chunda Sahib. Grateful for his assistance, and unsuspicious of any sinister motive, the queen was induced to give her ally free access to the citadel, and he abused her confidence by taking possession of the government in his own right, and imprisoning the ill-fated lady, who soon died of grief. This unworthy conduct excited strong dissatisfaction throughout the neighbouring states. The nabob viewed with alarm the ambitious and unscrupulous temper of his son-in-law, and the nizam was exceedingly annoyed by the growing power of a family, whose members, though disunited among themselves, would, he well knew, at any time coalesce against him as their common foe. The Hindoo princes participated in the jealous feelings of the nizam, and were likewise, it may be supposed, moved with honest indignation at the cruel treatment sustained by their fellow-sovereign. The result was, the invasion of the Carnatic by a Mahratta army under Rugojee Bhonslay, in 1740, and the defeat and death of Dost Ali; followed, in 1741, by the siege of Trichinopoly and the capture of Chunda Sahib, who was carried prisoner to Sattara. Sufder Ali, the new nabob, was assassinated at the instigation of his cousin, Murtezza Ali, the governor of Vellore;* and the murderer, after vainly endeavouring to take advantage of his crime, by establishing himself as ruler of the province, shut himself up in his own citadel.

The nizam having determined on quitting Delhi, arrived at Arcot in 1743. He found that the infant son of Sufder Ali had been proclaimed nabob; and the popular feeling on the subject was so decided, that not caring openly to dispute the hereditary succession tacitly established in the family of Sadut Oollah, the wily politician affected to intend confirming the boy in office so soon as he should arrive at years of discretion. In the interim, he placed two of his own followers in the government. The first of these, Khojeh Abdulla, died in a very short space of time—it was supposed from the effects of poison administered by his successor, Anwar-oo-deen: shortly afterwards, the youthful expectant of the nabobship, who had been very improperly committed by the nizam to the care of this same person, so notoriously unfit for such a charge, was mortally stabbed at a public festival, by a guard of Patan soldiers, under pretence of revenging the non-payment of arrears due to them by the father of their victim. Anwar-oo-deen and Murtezza Ali were suspected of having conspired for the commission of this new crime—an opinion which gained strength by the efforts each of them made to cast the odium wholly on the other. The nizam would not listen to the accusations brought against Anwar-oo-deen by the friends of the unfortunate family of Sadut Oollah, but caused him to be formally installed as nabob of the Carnatic, notwithstanding the opposition of the people of the province, who found in the arbitrary and parsimonious administration of the new governor additional cause to remember the lenient and liberal conduct of their former rulers. It has been necessary to enter thus far into the domestic history of the Carnatic, in elucidation of its condition at the period when this very Anwar-oo-deen became an important personage in Indo-European history. For the same reason, a few words must be said regarding the native state of TANJORE—a relic of the ancient Hindoo kingdom of Madura—which, owing to domestic dissensions, had fallen into the hands of a Mahratta ruler. The sovereignty became an object of contest to the grandsons of Venkajee, the half-brother of Sevajee. One of these, named Pertab Sing, the son of a concubine, succeeded in gaining possession of it, in 1741, to the exclusion of Syajee, the legitimate heir of the late rajah. Syajee, some years after, sought help from the English.

The MYSOOR state, long a dependency of the kingdom of Beejanuggur, was founded under romantic circumstances,† by a youth

* Murtezza Ali is described by Orme as the model of a cruel and suspicious tyrant: he "never moved, not even in his own palace, without being surrounded by guards, nor ever ventured to taste anything that was not brought to him in a vessel to which his wife had affixed her seal." He is stated to have procured the assassination of his unsuspicious relative, by the hand of a Patan officer whom Sufder Ali had deeply injured by the seduction of his wife, and who availed himself of the opportunity of wreaking a deadly revenge by entering the tent of the nabob at midnight, and stabbing him while attempting to escape.—(*Military Transactions*, i., 46—48.)

† Two brothers left the court of Beejanuggur to

of the famous tribe of Yedava, which boasts among its eminent characters, Crishna (the celebrated Indian Apollo), one of the incarnations of Vishnu. The first chieftain or rajah of this family whose date is established, succeeded to power in 1507, and was surnamed Arbiral, or the six-fingered, from the personal trait thus described. A fort was constructed or repaired in 1524, at Mahesh Asoor,* contracted to Mysoor; but it was not till after the battle of Talicot (forty years later), that its petty chieftains began to assume any importance among the princes of the south. In 1610 they acquired possession of Seringapatam, which thenceforth became the seat of government; and from this period their territories increased rapidly, and continued to do so, even after becoming avowedly tributary both to the Mogul emperor and to the Mahratta rajah Shao.

SOUTH CANARA, MALABAR, and TRAVANCORE remain to be noticed, having as yet escaped Mohammedan invasion. In the first of these was situated the country of BEDNORE, under the sway of a family, who from a small establishment at Caladee, in 1499, had gradually extended their limits to the seacoast of Onore, and southward to the limits of Malabar, over the dominions of the former ranee of Garsopa, the "pepper queen" of Portuguese authors; while, on the north, they successfully opposed the further advance of the forces of Beejapoor along the seacoast. Sree Ranga Raya, when expelled from his last fortress, Chandragiri, took refuge here; and the Bednore rajah, formerly a servant of his family, availed himself of the pretence of re-establishing the royal house of his liege lord, as a cloak for his own ambitious designs. The district belonging to Sumbajee, the Mahratta chief of KOLAPOOR, formed the limits of Bednore on one side; and to the southwards, lay the mountainous principality of COORG, between the coast of Malabar and Mysoor. Malabar itself brings us to the familiar territory of CALICUT, governed by the zamorin or Tamuri rajah, bounded to the southward by COCHIN, on the opposite side of which, at the extreme end of the Peninsula, was the state of TANJORE, once an integral part of Malabar, known in the records of the E. I. Cy. as the country of the queen of Attinga,† by whose permission an English factory was formed at Anjengo, in 1694. Since then Tanjore had become famous in the annals of the Dutch, through the determined opposition of its rajah to their encroachments and oppression.

Besides the states enumerated in the above sketch, there were many others of less note; such for instance as those formed by the rajah of SOONDA and the dessaye of CARWAR, (who had taken part with the Portuguese in their late conflict with the Mahrattas); also by the Patan chiefs of KURNOUL, KURPA, and SAVANOOR, descendants of governors under the dynasties of Beejapoor and Golconda. The three last-named were closely connected with some of the leading Mahratta chieftains, and had been for some time nearly independent.

STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE.—Allusion has been made to the commercial crisis which convulsed these nations in 1720, brought on by imprudence and the absence of sound principle on the part of their respective governments. A quarter of a century later we find them exchanging declarations of war; and after being, in the first instance, drawn into the vortex as auxiliaries in the disputed Austrian

seek their fortunes, and having in the course of their wanderings alighted near the border of a tank, beside the little fort of Hadana, a few miles from the site of the present town of Mysoor, they overheard some women, who had come to fetch water, bewailing the fate of the only daughter of their *wadeyar* (*i.e.*, lord of thirty-three villages), who was about to be given in marriage to a neighbouring chief of inferior cast, as the only means of preserving her family from immediate hostilities, which, owing to the mental derangement of the wadeyar, they were quite unprepared to resist. The young knights-errant offered their services to rescue the afflicted damsel from the impending disgrace; and after slaying the bridegroom and his companions at the marriage feast, marched, at the head of the men of Hadana, upon his territory of Caragully, which having captured, the conquerors returned in triumph to Hadana; and one of them, Vijeya, married the lady, nothing loth, and by the general voice of her people was elected wadeyar, first changing his creed from that of a disciple of Vishnu to a *jungum* or *lingwunt*—Hindoo terms, which will be hereafter explained.

* Mahesh Asoor, "the buffalo-headed monster," whose overthrow is the most noted exploit of Cali, the consort of Siva. This goddess is still worshipped under the name of Chamoondee (the discomfiter of enemies) on the hill of Mysoor, in a temple famed at one period for human sacrifices. (Wilks' *Mysoor*, i. 34.)

† Hamilton states, that from remote antiquity the male offspring of the *tamburetties*, or princesses of Attinga, had inherited the sovereignty of Travancore, and continued to do so until the middle of the eighteenth century, when the reigning "tamburetty" was prevailed upon to transfer the authority to the male line. The conquests made by the Tanjore ruler, between 1740 and 1755, are attributed to the efficiency of a body of troops disciplined after the European manner by Eustachius de Lanoy, a Flemish officer.—(*East India Gazetteer*, ii., 674.)

succession, becoming themselves fired with the fierce excitement, they continued the contest as principals, on one pretext or another; the actual end desired by either party being the attainment of complete mastery in all points, whether as regarded political ascendancy in Europe, transatlantic dominion, trading monopolies, or maritime power. In this unhallowed rivalry both kingdoms lavished unsparingly life and treasure, deeply injuring each other's resources, and grievously retarding their mutual growth in Christian civilisation and commercial prosperity. Spain, then a great colonial and naval power, sided with France, while England had to withstand their united force, and, at the same time, to bear up against the disturbances connected with the Hanoverian succession, and the long struggle which terminated in the independence of the United States. Sea and land witnessed the strife. In *North America*—at Quebec, Louisberg, and on the Mississippi; in the *West Indies*—at Martinique, Guadaloupe, and the Caribbee Islands; in *Africa*—at Goree and Senegal; in the *Mediterranean* and *Atlantic*—at Minorca and Belleisle; and on the *European continent*, prolonged hostilities were waged: while in India a contest commenced which lasted sixty years, the prize there fought for being nothing less than the establishment of a powerful European dominion in the very heart of Asia. It is not to be supposed that the trading societies who first gained a footing amid the confusion of falling dynasties and usurping chiefs, foresaw from the commencement of the conflict the marvellous results with which their operations were to be attended. With the exception, perhaps, of the brothers Child, none of the officers of the old-established English company had any desire for the acquisition of sovereignty, nor had they the inducement which might have been afforded by an insight into the actual condition of India. The general indifference manifested by the servants of the various European companies towards the attainment of Asiatic languages, long tended to prevent their acquiring this knowledge, even when the course of events plainly demonstrated its importance. Moreover, the English and French associations were both poor, and extremely unwilling to enter upon a costly warfare, respecting the issue of which no reasonable conjecture could be formed. The representatives of the latter body became first inspired with an irrestrainable desire to take part in the strife and intrigue by which they were surrounded; and the connection which subsisted between the government and the French company, enabled La Bourdonnais and Dupleix to obtain, through the influence of Orry the minister, a sanction for their daring adventures, which the partners of a purely mercantile association would, if they could, have withheld. Even had the two states in Europe continued at peace, it was next to impossible that their subjects in India should bear a share in the disputes of neighbouring princes without soon coming to open hostility with each other; and the national declarations of war brought matters to an immediate crisis.

The English were the first to receive reinforcements from home. A squadron of four vessels appeared off the coast of Coromandel, in July, 1745, having previously captured three richly-laden French vessels on their voyage from China. The garrison of Pondicherry contained only 436 Europeans, and the fortifications were incomplete. Dupleix, fearing that the place would be taken before La Bourdonnais could answer his appeal for succour, made earnest representations to the nabob, Anwar-oo-deen, and succeeded in inducing him to interfere for the protection of Pondicherry, by threatening to revenge upon Madras any injury which should be inflicted upon French possessions within the limits of his government. At the same time, the nabob declared his intention of compelling the French, in the event of their acquiring additional strength, to abstain equally from offensive proceedings. Mogul power had not yet lost its prestige: that of England was still to be won; consequently the determined language of the nabob intimidated the Madras presidency, and induced them to prevent the fleet from attacking Pondicherry, and to confine their operations to the sea. In the June of the following year a French squadron arrived in the Indian ocean, under the command of La Bourdonnais, who had equipped the ships with great difficulty at the Mauritius; and when afterwards dismantled by a hurricane, had refitted them at Madagascar. An indecisive action took place between the rival fleets, after which the French commander proceeded to Pondicherry, and there requested a supply of cannon, wherewith to attack Madras. The hearty co-operation of Dupleix and his council was, at this moment, of the highest importance; but jealousy of the renown which would attend the success of the enterprise, induced them to receive the solicitations of their

colleague with haughty and insulting indifference. La Bourdonnais, already severely tried by the miserable unfitness of the greater portion of his crews, consisting of sailors for the first time at sea, and soldiers who needed instruction how to fire a musket—their inefficiency increased by sickness, by which he was himself almost prostrated—had now to struggle against the aggravating tone adopted towards him by those to whom he looked for aid and sympathy. Under these circumstances, he behaved with singular discretion and forbearance, and having at length obtained a scanty reinforcement of guns, set sail for Madras, against which place he commenced operations on the 3rd of September, 1746.*

The fortifications of the city had been neglected, owing to the financial embarrassment of the E. I. Cy. There was little ammunition in store, and the soldiers were few, and of a very indifferent description. The total number of Europeans in the settlement did not exceed 300, and of these about two-thirds were included in the garrison. As might be expected, no very determined resistance was offered. The town was bombarded for several days, and four or five of the inhabitants were killed by the explosion of shells, after which a capitulation was agreed upon, by virtue of which the assailants entered Madras as victors, without the loss of a single man, but on the express condition that the settlement should be restored on easy and honourable terms. This arrangement was in strict accordance with the instructions laid down by the French directors, who expressly forbade the extension of territory until their existing settlements should be more firmly established, and ordered their servants, in the event of capturing the possessions of any foreign foe, to abide by the alternative of destruction or a ransom. The very day of the surrender of Madras, a messenger, despatched for more expedition on a camel, arrived at Pondicherry with a letter from Anwar-oo-deen, expressing his great surprise at the conduct of the French in attacking Madras, and threatening to send an army there if the siege were not immediately raised. Dupleix returned a deceitful answer, promising that the town, if taken, should be surrendered to the nabob, with liberty to make favourable terms with the English for the restitution of so valuable a possession. Meanwhile, La Bourdonnais, relying on his own commission, proceeded to arrange the treaty of surrender without regard to the remonstrances or threats of Dupleix, who, notwithstanding the recent assurance given by him to the nabob, now insisted that Madras should be either retained as a French settlement, or razed to the ground. Three men-of-war arrived at this period at Pondicherry; and, thus increased, says Orme, the French force "was sufficient to have conquered the rest of the British settlements in Hindoostan."† La Bourdonnais had resolved on making the attempt, but his plans were contravened by Dupleix; and after much time having been wasted in disputes regarding the evacuation of Madras, a storm came on which materially injured the fleet, and compelled its brave commander to return in haste, before the change of the monsoon, to his own government at the Mauritius,‡ without staying to complete the shipment of the seized goods, which was to be followed by the restoration of the town. The machinations of Dupleix had thus succeeded in thwarting the views he ought to have promoted, and at the same time in acquiring an important addition of 1,200 trained men, left behind in consequence of the damage done to the squadron by the late tempest: accessions of strength were also received from other quarters, which raised the number of European troops at Pondicherry, in all, to about 3,000 men.

* The forces destined for the siege comprised about 1,100 Europeans, 400 sepoys, and 400 Madagascar blacks; 1,700 or 1,800 European mariners remained to guard the ships.—(Orme, i., 67.)

† *Military Transactions*, i., 73.

‡ From thence La Bourdonnais returned to France to vindicate himself from the complaints preferred by the family of Dupleix, some of whom being intimately connected with the E. I. Cy., had warmly espoused the quarrel of their relative against his more worthy adversary. He took his passage in a ship belonging to Holland, which, in consequence of the declaration of war, was forced into an English harbour. The distinguished passenger was recognised; but his conduct at Madras procured him an honourable reception; and the proposition of an East India director to become surety for him in person and property, was declined by government, on the ground that the word of La Bourdonnais was alone sufficient. This circumstance may have served to soothe the bitter trials which awaited his arrival in France. He was thrown into the Bastile, and remained in that terrible state prison for three years; at the expiration of which time his published vindication, supported by authentic documents, manifested not only the injustice of the charges brought against him, but also the ardour and ability of his services. Though liberated, he appears to have obtained no redress, and did not long survive his acquittal, which took place when he was about fifty-three years of age.

These additions were needed to combat the force dispatched by Anwar-oo-deen for the recapture of Madras, so soon as he perceived the hollowness of the professions by which he had been induced to violate his pledge to the English, of compelling the French to abstain from hostile proceedings throughout the Carnatic.

An army, commanded by the son of the nabob, invested Madras, and made some clumsy attempts to imitate the proceedings which had proved successful in the previous instance. The French encountered them with a greatly inferior numerical force; but the skilful and rapid management of their artillery, abundantly compensated for this disproportion, and enabled them to acquire a decisive victory. The event is memorable, as marking the commencement of a new phase of Indian history. The triumphs of the Portuguese were, for the most part, two centuries old: of late years Europeans had bowed submissively before the footstool of Mogul arrogance; and the single attempt of the English (in 1686) to obtain independent power, had only reduced them to a yet more humiliating position. The utter inability of unwieldy and ill-disciplined masses to contend with compact bodies of well-trained troops, was a fact which the French had again brought to light, together with another of equal importance—namely, the facility with which natives might be enrolled among the regular troops, and the reliance to be placed upon them. Already there were four or five disciplined companies at Pondicherry; but the English had not yet adopted a similar procedure. Dupleix followed up the defeat of the nabob's force, by declaring the treaty with the English annulled, and giving orders for the seizure of every article of property belonging to the unfortunate inhabitants, excepting their personal clothes, the movables of their houses, and the jewels of the women—commands which were executed with avaricious exactness. The governor and leading persons were carried prisoners to Pondicherry, and there exhibited before the native public in a species of triumph.

Fort St. David, twelve miles south of Pondicherry, next became an object of ambition, and a body of 1,700 men, mostly Europeans, was dispatched for the attack of its garrison, which, including refugees from Madras, comprehended no more than 200 Europeans and 100 Topasses. The unexpected advance of a large force, sent by Anwar-oo-deen to the relief of the fort, took the French by surprise while resting from a fatiguing march, and exulting in the prospect of an easy prey. They retreated at once, with the loss of twelve Europeans killed and 120 wounded. An attempt was next made upon the native town of Cuddalore, which was situated about a mile from Fort St. David, and inhabited by the principal Indian merchants, and by many natives in the employment of the company. Five hundred men were embarked in boats, with orders to enter the river and attack the open quarter of the town at daybreak. But on this, as in the case of the fleet of La Bourdonnais, the turbulence of the elements preserved the English from the assault of their foes: the wind rose, and the raging surf forbade the prosecution of the hostile enterprise.

Dupleix, finding that he could not expect to cope successfully with the united strength of the nabob and the English, directed all his powers of intrigue and cajolery to break off their alliance; and at length succeeded, by exaggerated representations of the accessions of force received and expected by the French, in inducing the vacillating nabob to forsake the garrison of Fort St. David, who were described as a contemptible handful of men, abandoned even by their own countrymen to destruction. The falsity of this last assertion was proved at a critical moment; for just as a French force had succeeded in overcoming the resistance offered to their crossing the river, and were marching on the apparently devoted town, an English fleet was seen approaching the roadstead, upon which the assailants hastily recrossed the river and returned to Pondicherry.

In January, 1748, Major Lawrence arrived in India with authority over the whole of the company's forces. In the following year, the addition of a squadron dispatched under the command of Admiral Boscawen,* rendered their fleet more formidable than any previously assembled by a single European power in India. Dupleix trembled; the nabob would, he feared, again change sides, so soon as the superior strength of the enemy should be manifest, and the French settlements be cut off from supplies both by sea and land. The English, on their part, hurried on the operations of

* Consisting of ten ships of the royal navy, and eleven belonging to the company, carrying stores, and troops to the amount of 1,400 men.

Boscawen, nothing doubting by the capture of Pondicherry, to retaliate the heavy sacrifice attendant on the loss of Madras.* Their expectations were disappointed. Major Lawrence was taken prisoner during the assault of the little fort of Ariancopang, two miles to the south-west of Pondicherry; and when, after much valuable time spent in acquiring and occupying this position, the admiral advanced upon the city, ignorance of the locality, disease in the camp, and probably also the unfitness of the brave and active sea-captain to direct the complicated proceedings of a land attack, resulted in the raising of the siege by the fiat of a council of war, assembled thirty-one days after the opening of the trenches. The rejoicings of Dupleix at this unlooked-for triumph, were, as might be expected, boastful in the extreme. He sent letters to the different neighbouring rulers, and even to the Great Mogul himself, informing them of the formidable assault which he had repulsed, and received in return high compliments on his prowess and on the military genius of his nation, which was now generally regarded as far superior to that of the English. His schemes were, however, contravened by a clause in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in which the French government agreed to restore Madras; and this stipulation was enforced, notwithstanding the expense incurred by him in strengthening a possession obtained by a glaring breach of faith. On reoccupying their ancient settlement, the English likewise established themselves at St. Thomas, or Meliapoor, a town mostly inhabited by the descendants of the ancient Christians, whom the imperious Portuguese archbishop and viceroy Menezes had, with the aid of "the Holy Inquisition," brought into compulsory submission to the Romish pontiff. Since then it had sunk into obscurity, and would hardly have excited the notice of any European power, had not its position with regard to Madras, from which it was but four miles distant, enabled the ever-intriguing Dupleix to gain from the Romish priests much important information regarding the state of that settlement. St. Thomas was therefore occupied by the English, and the obnoxious portion of the inhabitants ordered to withdraw.

While these events were taking place in the Madras presidency, that of Bombay, and the inferior but independent one of Calcutta, enjoyed tranquillity. Ali Verdi Khan, the viceroy of Bengal, had consistently maintained the determination at first expressed by Anwar-oo-deen, in the Carnatic, of compelling the hostile nations to keep the peace in his dominions. At the same time he exacted from both parties contributions, in return for the protection which he bestowed. The sums demanded from the English are stated† as not exceeding £100,000, which, considering the heavy expenses incurred in repelling Mahratta inroads, cannot be deemed immoderate.

The restoration of peace between their respective governments left the servants of the rival companies in India no pretence for continuing hostilities on any national ground. But extensive military preparations had been made: nothing but a *casus belli* was wanting; and it was not to be supposed that the commanders of considerable bodies of troops, who, having been levied, must be paid and fed, would willingly keep them in idleness for so slight a reason. The quarrels of neighbouring states afforded a ready pretext for armed interference, and offered to both French and English the immediate advantage of remunerative employment for spare force, together with the prospect of establishing a degree of independent, if not paramount authority, which might enable the factories to withhold the large sums it had been heretofore found necessary to pay to local officials, in order to secure the enjoyment of the privileges conceded by imperial firmauns.‡ Neither party showed much anxiety about the character or claims of the candidates under whose banners they took post, the scarcely disguised motive being—how best to serve themselves and weaken their rivals. Indeed, at this period, power in the Deccan had so greatly fallen into the hands of usurpers, that had the Europeans really desired to support no pretensions save such as were strictly legitimate, they must have commenced by setting aside almost the whole of the claimants who now pressed upon their notice. But this admission cannot exculpate the English from the heavy charge of indiscretion and venality—in first unsheathing the sword against a sovereign with whom they had long carried on a friendly correspondence, and then suffer-

* That event entailed a loss of £180,000 on the company.—(Auber's *British Power in India*, i., 48.)

† Mill's *British India*, iii., 83, (edited by Wilson.)

‡ At Surat, for instance, in addition to the fixed custom dues of 3½ per cent., no less a sum than 1,365,450 rupees are stated, in the records of the E. I. Company, as having been paid from 1661 to 1683, simply to facilitate business.

ing themselves to be bought off from the cause they had unsuccessfully advocated. The case was simply this: Syajee, the ex-rajah of Tanjore (*see* p. 252), craved their assistance to regain the throne from which he had been driven by his half-brother, Pertab Sing. He declared that the people were well-affected towards him, and promised, in the event of success, to bestow upon the English the territory of Devicotta—a position rendered valuable by its proximity to the mouth of the river Coleroon, which was considered to offer advantages, as a harbour, beyond any other situation between Masulipatam and Cape Comorin. His solicitations produced two attempts for the invasion of Tanjore. The first by Captain Cope, undertaken with a view to the re-establishment of Syajee, proved a complete failure. The second, led by Major Lawrence, succeeded in the object for which it was expressly designed—the capture of Devicotta—owing, under Providence, to the ingenuity and dauntless bravery of a common ship's carpenter* and—Lieutenant Robert Clive. This name, destined to stand first in a long line of Anglo-Indian conquerors, was then borne by a young man whose previous career afforded small promise of usefulness, though fraught with evidences of misdirected energy.

Some twelve years before the siege of Devicotta, the inhabitants of Market-Drayton, Shropshire, had viewed with terror the exploits of the audacious son of a neighbouring squire.† On one occasion they beheld the daring boy climb the lofty church steeple, and quietly take his seat on a projecting stone spout near the summit, fashioned in the form of a dragon's head, from whence he desired to obtain a smooth stone, for the pleasure of flinging it to the ground. At home the youth was noted for an immoderate love of fighting, and for a fierce and imperious temper; out of doors he displayed the same propensities by forming the idle lads of the town into a predatory army, and extorting a tribute of pence and trifling articles from the shopkeepers, guaranteeing them, in return, from broken windows and the effects of other mischievous tricks. The character of an exceedingly naughty boy accompanied Bob Clive from school to school, including the celebrated London seminary of the Merchant Taylor's Company. One of his early masters, it is said, had the sagacity to prophesy that the self-willed, iron-nerved child would, if he lived to be a man, and had opportunity to exert his talents, make a great figure in the world; but this was an exception to the general opinion formed of his slender parts and headstrong temper; and his family, seeing no good prospect for him at home, procured for the lad, when in his eighteenth year, a writership in the service of the E. I. Company, and "shipped him off, to make a fortune or to die of a fever."‡

For some time after the arrival of Clive at Madras, the former alternative appeared highly improbable. The ship in which he sailed was detained for nine months at the Brazils, and the young writer expended all his ready-money, but picked up, in return, a knowledge of the Portuguese language, which proved useful to him in after-life. The salaries of the junior servants were then barely sufficient for their maintenance. Clive, who it may be readily imagined was no economist, soon became involved in debt; and this circumstance, combined with his isolated position and uncongenial employment (in superintending the taking of stock, making advances to weavers, shipping cargoes, and guarding the monopoly of his employers against the encroachments of private traders), aggravated by the depressing influence of a tropical climate, so affected a mind unsupported by religious principle, that the rash youth, in one of the wayward, moody fits to which he was all his life subject, made an ineffectual attempt at self-destruction. A fellow-clerk entered his room (in Writers'-buildings) immediately after, and was requested to take up a pistol which lay at hand, and fire it out of the window. He did so, and Clive sprang up, exclaiming—"Well, I am reserved for something; that pistol I have

* The fort of Devicotta was situated on a marshy shore covered with wood, and surrounded by the Tanjore army. The English batteries were erected on the opposite side of the river, and after three days' firing a breach was effected; but before advantage could be taken of it, a broad and rapid stream had to be crossed in the face of the enemy. This was done by means of a raft, sufficient to contain 400 men, constructed by the carpenter, John Moore. The last difficulty—how to get the raft across—he removed by swimming the stream by night and fastening a rope to a tree, unperceived by the foe, whose attention was diverted from the spot by the well-directed manœuvres of the artillery. The troops were disembarked on the opposite bank.

† A landed proprietor, who practised the law, and resided on a small estate which had been enjoyed by his family since the twelfth century.

‡ T. B. Macaulay's brilliant critique on Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive*.—(*Critical and Historical Essays*.)

twice snapped at my own head."* He was reserved for many things which the world calls great and glorious, and even (by a strange perversion of the term) heroic; but his earthly career was not the less destined to terminate by the very act which he had once been specially held back from accomplishing. That act even worldlings brand with the name of moral cowardice; while believers in revealed religion view it as the last and deepest offence man can commit against his Maker. In the case of Clive, such a termination of life was rendered peculiarly remarkable by his previous frequent and extraordinary escapes from perishing by violence.

On the capture of Madras, in 1746, he, with others, gave his parole on becoming a prisoner of war, not to attempt escape; but the breach of faith committed by Dupleix was considered by many of the captives to justify their infraction of the pledge given to M. de la Bourdonnais; and Clive fled by night to Fort St. David, disguised in dress and complexion as a Mussulman. Continued hostilities afforded him an opportunity of quitting the store-room for the camp; and Major Lawrence, perceiving the military ability of the young aspirant, gave him an ensign's commission, which, after the unsuccessful attack of Pondicherry, in 1748, was exchanged for that of a lieutenant. At Devicotta he was, at his own solicitation, suffered to lead a storming party, consisting of a platoon of thirty-four Europeans and a body of sepoys. Of the Europeans only four survived; but the determination of their leader, and the orderly advance of the sepoys, checked the opposition of the Tanjore horse, and gave the signal for the advance of Major Lawrence with his whole strength, which was speedily followed by the capture of the fort.

A treaty of peace was soon entered into with the rajah, Pertab Sing, by which the English were guaranteed in the possession of Devicotta, with a territory of the annual value of 9,000 pagodas, on condition of their renouncing the cause of Syajee, and guaranteeing to secure his person so as to prevent any further attempts on the throne of his brother—a service for which 4,000 rupees, or about £400, were to be paid annually. The English had been completely misled by the statements of Syajee respecting his prospects of success; but still, this treatment of a person whom they had been endeavouring to re-establish as a legitimate ruler, was highly discreditable. It is even said, that the unfortunate prince would have been delivered into the hands of his enemies, but for the lively remonstrances of Admiral Boscawen. As it was, he found means to make his escape, though not to recover his throne.

In the meantime the French were engaged in transactions of more importance. They had far higher objects in view than any yet aimed at by the English, and their plans were more deeply laid. Dupleix, by means of his wife,† had obtained considerable acquaintance with the intrigues of various Mussulman and Hindoo princes; and this knowledge had afforded him material assistance on more than one occasion. The disturbed state of the Carnatic now offered a favourable opening for his ambition. The protracted life of the old nizam was fast approaching its termination; and the nominal viceroyalty, but actual sovereignty, of the Mogul provinces in the Deccan would, it was easy to foresee, speedily become an object of contest to his five sons. The cause of Anwar-oo-deen, himself almost a centenarian, would not therefore be likely to meet with efficient support from his legitimate superiors; while among the people a very strong desire existed for the restoration of the family of Sadut Oollah. The natural heir was the remaining son of Sufder Ali, but his tender age forbade the idea of placing him at the head of a confederacy which needed a skilful and determined leader. Murtezza Ali (governor of Vellore), though wealthy and powerful, was deemed too treacherous and too cowardly to be trusted. The only relative possessed of sufficient reputation, as a general, to direct an attempt for the subversion of the power of Anwar-oo-deen, was Chunda Sahib. The utter absence of principle manifested

* Sir John Malcolm states, that in 1749, three years after this event, Clive had a severe attack of nervous fever, which rendered necessary "the constant presence of an attendant;" and he adds, that even after his recovery, "the oppression on his spirits frequently returned."—(*Memoirs*, i., pp. 69-70.)

† Madame Dupleix is described in the *Life of Clive* as a creole, born and educated in Bengal; but her parentage is not stated. The Christian name Jeanne, she converted into the Persian appellation of Jân Begum (the *princess Jeanne*.) Her intimate acquaintance with the native languages, joined to a talent for intrigue little inferior to that of Dupleix himself, enabled her to establish a very efficient system of "espionage." At the time of the French capture of Madras, and the attempts on Fort St. David by the English, the Indian interpreter was found to have carried on a regular correspondence

in his seizure of Trichinopoly,* did not prevent him from being "esteemed the ablest soldier that had of late years appeared in the Carnatic,"† uniting in every military enterprise, "the spirit of a volunteer with the liberality of a prince."‡ On him Dupleix had early fixed his eyes as a fit coadjutor; and throughout his protracted imprisonment at Sattara, had contrived to keep up an intimate connexion with him, through the medium of his wife and family, who had taken refuge in Pondicherry—Madame Dupleix acting as interpreter; and at the same time corresponding, in the name of her husband, with various chiefs likely to prove useful in the coming struggle. At length all things seemed ripe for the enterprise. Through the intervention of Dupleix, the release of Chunda Sahib was effected in the early part of the year 1748, by means of a ransom of seven lacs of rupees (£70,000.) The nizam died shortly after; and notwithstanding the prior claims of his numerous sons, another competitor for the succession arose in the person of a grandson, the child of a favourite daughter. With the young adventurer (generally known by his title of Moozuffer Jung),§ Chunda Sahib hastened to form an alliance, and induced him to commence operations in the Carnatic. Dupleix assisted the confederates with a body of 400 Europeans, 100 Kafirs, and 1,800 sepoys; and French valour and discipline mainly contributed to bring the storming of Amboor (a fort fifty miles west of Arcot) to a successful issue. Anwar-oo-deen was slain at the extraordinary age of 107 lunar years; his eldest son taken prisoner; and his second son, Mohammed Ali, with the wreck of the army, escaped to Trichinopoly, of which place he was governor. The victorious leaders marched in triumph to Arcot, and then to Pondicherry, from whence (after increasing the limits and revenues of that settlement by the grant of eighty-one villages) they proceeded against Tanjore. It would have been unquestionably better policy to have advanced at once upon Trichinopoly; but supplies of money were urgently needed, and the known wealth of the rajah of Tanjore would, it was believed, compensate for the delay. The Tanjorine proved more than a match for his enemies in cunning, though inferior to them in force. Although at length compelled to pay a certain sum, claimed as arrears of tribute to the Mogul empire, and likewise in compensation for the expenses incurred in attacking him, the rajah continued to procrastinate in every possible manner,—one day sending, as part of the stipulated contribution, old and obsolete coins, such as he knew required long and tedious examination; another time, jewels and precious stones, the value of which it was still more difficult to determine. Chunda Sahib saw the drift of these artifices; but the want of funds induced him to bear with them until the end of the year (1749) arrived, and with it intelligence of the approach of a considerable army under the command of Nazir Jung,|| the second son of the late nizam.

The allies, struck with consternation, precipitately retreated to Pondicherry, harassed by a body of Mahrattas. Dupleix exerted all his energies to reanimate their spirits; lent them £50,000, and increased the French contingent to 2,000 Europeans; but, doubting greatly the ultimate success of the cause which he had so sedulously promoted, he sought to be prepared for any turn of circumstances, by opening a secret communication with Nazir Jung. In this treacherous attempt he failed, the prince having previously formed an alliance with the English.¶

On hearing of the defeat and death of Anwar-oo-deen, Nazir Jung had marched towards the Carnatic, where he was speedily joined by Mohammed Ali, son of the late nabob, and at the same time he sent to ask assistance from the English at Fort St. David. They were already filled with alarm at the part taken by the French in the recent hostilities, but possessed no authority from the Court of Directors to engage anew in the perils and expenses of any military undertaking. The result of

with Madame Dupleix in the Malabar tongue. He and a Hindoo accomplice were tried, found guilty, and hanged.—(Malcolm's *Clive*, i., 21; Orme's *Military Transactions*, i., 88.)

* *See* p. 252. In addition to the facts already stated, it may be noticed, as enhancing the perfidy of Chunda Sahib, that one means adopted by him to set aside any misgivings on the part of the ranee of Trichinopoly, was by swearing that his troops, if secretly admitted within the citadel, should be employed solely for the confirmation of her authority. This false oath he took on a false Koran—that is, on a brick enveloped in one of the splendid coverings used by Mohammedans to wrap round the volume they revere as divinely inspired.—(Colonel Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, i., 250.)

† Orme's *Military Transactions*, i., 119.

‡ Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, i., 250.

§ *Victorious in War*. || *Triumphant in War*.

¶ *Vide* "Vindication," entitled *Mémoire pour Dupleix*; also *Mémoire contre Dupleix*, published by the directory of the Fr. E. I. Cy.; quoted by Mill, iii., 105.

the Tanjore enterprise was not encouraging; the attempt to reinstate Syajee had proved a complete failure; and Pertab Sing, by the cession of Devicotta, had bought them off, as he might have done a body of Mahrattas,—not so much from fear of their power, as because he expected a more dangerous assault on the side of Chunda Sahib and the French. It was evidently no honest desire for peace which dictated the miserable half measures adopted by the Madras presidency. Although Admiral Boscawen offered to remain if his presence should be formally demanded, he was suffered to depart with the fleet and troops. A force of 120 Europeans was sent to Mohammed Ali; and the report of the powerful army and extensive resources* of Nazir Jung induced them to send Major Lawrence, with 600 Europeans, to fight under so promising a standard. The rival armies, with their respective European allies, approached within skirmishing distance of one another, and an engagement seemed close at hand, when thirteen French officers, discontented with the remuneration they had received for the attack on Tanjore, threw up their commissions; and M. d'Auteuil, panic-struck by this mutinous conduct, retreated, with the remainder of the troops under his command, to Pondicherry, accompanied by Chunda Sahib, while Moozuffer Jung,† having received the most solemn assurances of good treatment, threw himself upon the mercy of his uncle, by whom he was immediately placed in irons.

Nazir Jung, relieved from immediate peril, took no thought for the future; but at once resigned his whole time to the pleasures of the harem and the chase. The only rival he feared (Ghazi-oo-deen) was fully employed in the intrigues of the Delhi court; the other three brothers were held in close confinement at Arcot; and the indolent prince, in the haughtiness of imaginary security, treated with disdain the claims of those who had joined him in the hour of danger. The experience of past time might have borne witness that Mogul rulers had seldom offended their turbulent Patan followers with impunity; yet Nazir Jung now behaved towards his father's old officers (the nabobs of Kudapa, Kurnoul, and Savanoor) as if they had been mere feudatories, who as a matter of course had rallied around his standard, instead of what they undoubtedly were—adventurers who had hazarded their lives for the chance of bettering their fortunes. The expectations of the English were equally disappointed by the refusal of a tract of territory near Madras, the promised reward of their assistance; and Major Lawrence quitted the camp in disgust. Dupleix and Chunda Sahib soon learned the state of affairs, and hastened to take advantage of it both by force and stratagem. Masulipatam and the pagoda of Trivadi (fifteen miles west of Fort St. David) were captured; the fort of Jinjee, deemed almost inaccessible, was attacked by the famous French commander Bussy, and the huge insulated rock on which it stands, stormed to the very summit. The boldness of the attempt, and especially its being commenced at midnight, seems to have paralysed the energies of its superstitious defenders; and even the victors, in contemplating the natural strength of the place, were astonished at their success. Nazir Jung alarmed, entered

* Nazir Jung was at Boorhanpoor, in command of the army, at the time of the death of his father: this circumstance favoured his attempt at becoming subahdar of the Deccan, to the exclusion of his eldest brother, Ghazi-oo-deen, who, he asserted, had freely resigned his pretensions, being satisfied with the important position he held in the court of Delhi—a statement which was wholly false. Ghazi-oo-deen was by no means inclined to make any such renunciation, and had in justice nothing to renounce, the government of the southern provinces being still, at least in form, an appointment in the gift of the emperor. Mohammed Ali's claim to the government of the Carnatic (urged, in the first instance, to the exclusion of his elder brother, the only legitimate son of Anwar-oo-deen) was based on the bare grounds that Nizam-ool-Moolk had promised, and Nazir Jung would confirm to him the possession of a patrimony which had been in his family just five years. This was the "rightful cause" maintained by English valour in the field, and contended for, in many volumes of political controversy, during a prolonged paper warfare. The French, on their part, upheld with all the zeal of self-interest, both with the sword and the pen, the claims of the rival candidates. The pretensions of Moozuffer Jung rested on the will of his grandfather, which his adversaries declared to be a forgery; but if a veritable document, it was unlawful as regarded the emperor, and unjust in setting aside the natural heirs. The sole plea urged by Chunda Sahib, was the will of Moozuffer Jung that he should be nabob. The fact was, neither English nor French had any justification for interference in hostilities which were mere trials of strength among bands of Mohammedan usurpers; and the subsequent conduct of both parties in setting up pageants, because it was inexpedient for them to appear as principals, is nothing more than an additional proof that politicians, as a class, agree everywhere in receiving diplomacy and duplicity as convertible terms, maintaining, however, as much as possible, the semblance of honesty in deference to the feeling which our Creator seems to have implanted in the mind of almost every community—that the public safety is intimately connected with the integrity of those who bear rule.

† This name is sometimes mis-spelt Mirzapha.

into negotiations with Dupleix. The French deputies used their admission to his camp as a means of treacherously intriguing with the disaffected nobles. Major Lawrence heard of the conspiracy, and endeavoured to convey a warning to the subahdar at a public audience; but the interpreter employed dared not venture a declaration which might cost him his life, and the important information was withheld from fear of the vizier, who was falsely reported to be involved in the plot. The etiquette which prevented any direct communication with the subahdar, either verbally or by writing, is given as a sufficient reason for no determined effort to that effect having been made.* Nazir Jung continued, to the last moment, utterly unsuspicious of danger. He ratified the treaty with the French, and sent it to Pondicherry. They advanced against him from Jinjee the very next day; and the prince, while manfully striving to animate his troops to repel what he termed "the mad attempt of a parcel of drunken Europeans,"† was shot through the heart by the nabob of Kudapa. The army learned the fate of their late ruler by the sight of his head fixed on a pole, and were with little difficulty induced to transfer their services to his nephew Moozuffer Jung, who now, released from captivity, became the gaoler of his three uncles. Dupleix was appointed governor of the Mogul possessions on the coast of Coromandel, from the river Kristna to Cape Comorin,‡ and Chunda Sahib his deputy at Arcot. The installation of the subahdar was performed at Pondicherry with much pomp. Salutes were fired from the batteries, and *Te Deum* sung in the churches. Dupleix, dressed in the garb of a Mussulman of the highest rank, entered the city in the same palanquin with Moozuffer Jung; and, in the pageant which followed, took precedence of every other noble. The rank of a munsubdar of 7,000 horse was conferred upon him, with permission to bear on his banners the insignia of "the fish"§—a distinction among the Moguls equivalent to the coveted "blue ribbon" of the English court. Honours and emoluments could be obtained only by his intervention: the new ruler would not even peruse a petition, unless indorsed by the hand of Dupleix.

The triumph of the ambitious Frenchman, though brilliant, was soon disturbed. The chiefs, by whose perfidy the revolution had been accomplished, demanded the fulfilment of the extravagant promises made to them while the prince, now on the throne, lay bound in fetters. Dupleix endeavoured to bring about an arrangement; and, as an incitement to moderation, affected to relinquish all claim to share in the treasure seized upon the assassination of Nazir Jung, notwithstanding which he received no less than £200,000 in money, besides many valuable jewels.|| The offers made to the turbulent nobles were, however, so very large, that if (as would appear) really accepted and carried out, it is difficult to account for the rapidity with which they again broke forth into open revolt.¶ After lulling all suspicions by a semblance of contentment, accompanied by oaths of allegiance sworn on the Koran, the chiefs watched their opportunity; and, during the march of the army to Golconda, suddenly took possession of an important pass, and, supported by their numerous followers, opposed the advancing force. The steady fire of the French artillery soon cleared the way; but Moozuffer Jung, furious at finding himself menaced with the fate of his uncle, by the same double-dyed traitors, rushed upon the peril he had nearly escaped, by distancing his attendants in a reckless pursuit of the fugitive nabob of Kurnoul, whom he overtook and challenged to single combat. The elephants were driven close to each other; and the sword of Moozuffer Jung was uplifted to strike, when the javelin of his opponent pierced his brain. A moment later, and the victor was surrounded and cut to pieces: one of his fellow-conspirators had already perished in a similar manner; the third quitted the field mortally wounded.

What were the French to do now for a puppet adapted by circumstances for the part of subahdar? No time could be spared for deliberation: a few hours, and the heterogeneous multitudes of which Indian armies consist, would, under their respective leaders,

* Major Lawrence perhaps disbelieved the report, otherwise his conduct was supine and neglectful.

† Orme's *Military Transactions*, i., 156.

‡ Masulipatam and its dependencies were ceded to the French E. I. Cy., with other territories, valued by them at £38,000 per ann., but, according to Orme, the revenues were considerably overstated.

§ The *Mahi*, or figure of a fish four feet long, in copper-gilt, carried on the point of a spear.

|| Moozuffer Jung distributed £50,000 among the officers and men engaged at Jinjee, and paid an equal sum into the treasury of the French company, in compensation for the expenses of the war.

¶ Orme asserts, that besides various minor concessions, the Patan nobles were promised by Dupleix one-half the money found in the treasury of Nazir Jung, which, in a subsequent page, is stated at two million sterling.—(*Military Transactions*, i., 160-'2.)

after dividing the spoil of their late master, disperse in search of a new paymaster; and, with them, would vanish the advantages gained by the murder of Nazir Jung. Bussy, the commander-in-chief, was no less bold and ready-witted than the absent Dupleix, and his unhesitating decision exactly met the circumstances of the case. The three uncles of the newly-deceased subahdar were in the camp, having been carried about as prisoners in the train of their nephew, lest some conspiracy should be formed in their favour if separated from his immediate superintendence. In other words, it was convenient to keep within reach all persons whose dangerous consanguinity to the reigning prince might incite an attempt for the transfer of the crown; such an endeavour being best frustrated by cutting off the head for which the perilous distinction was designed. Moozuffer Jung left an infant son, whose claims on the gratitude of the French were afterwards recognised by Bussy,* though he set aside the title of the boy to sovereignty, and releasing the captive princes, proclaimed the eldest, Salabut Jung, viceroy of the Deccan. The army acquiesced in the arrangement, and proceeded quietly on the road to Golconda. Dupleix, on learning the late events, addressed the warmest congratulations to Salabut Jung, who, besides confirming the cessions of his predecessor, bestowed additional advantages on his new friends.

The English watched with amazement the progress of the French, but without any efforts at counteraction. From some unexplained cause, Major Lawrence, the commander of the troops, on whose character and experience the strongest reliance was placed in all military affairs, returned to England at the very time his services were most likely to be needed. The Madras presidency desired peace at almost any sacrifice, and united with Mohammed Ali in offering to acknowledge Chunda Sahib nabob of all the Carnatic, except Trichinopoly and its dependencies. The French, borne on the tide of victory, rejected these overtures; and the English, stung by the contemptuous tone adopted towards them, combined with Mohammed Ali to oppose their united foes. The opening of the campaign was not merely unfortunate, it was (in the words of Major Lawrence) disgraceful: "a fatal spirit of division" prevailed among the officers, and the Europeans fled before the force of Chunda Sahib, near the fort of Volconda, while the native troops maintained the conflict. Driven from one position to another, the English and their allies at length sought shelter beneath the walls of Trichinopoly. The enemy followed them without delay, and took post on the opposite side of the town, from whence they made some ineffectual attempts for the reduction of the place.

The French had now reached the culminating point of their power in India: the English, their lowest state of depression; yet the latter were soon to ascend an eminence, to which the position attained by their rivals seemed but as a stepping-stone. The young adventurer already noticed, was selected by Providence as one of the chief instruments in the commencement of this mighty change. In the interval of peace just ended, Clive had been appointed by his steady friend, Major Lawrence, commissary to the troops, with the rank of captain. He was now five-and-twenty, in the full strength and vigour of early manhood. The present emergency called forth all his powers; and, by earnestly representing the necessity of some daring attempt to relieve Trichinopoly, he succeeded in gaining the consent of the Madras presidency to attack Arcot, as a probable means of recalling Chunda Sahib to his own capital. A little force, consisting of eight officers (four of whom were factors turned soldiers, like "special constables" for the occasion), 200 Europeans and 300 sepoys, sallied forth under the leadership of Clive. The issue of this daring enterprise was awaited by the English with intense anxiety. It was no ordinary detachment, sent forth at slight hazard to effect a diversion: the men by whom it was undertaken were (at least in a military point of view) the life-blood of Fort St. David and Madras: in the event of their being cut off, these settlements would be left, the one with only 100, the other with less than fifty defenders, against the overwhelming strength of the Indo-French potentate Dupleix, and his satellites. On two previous occasions a fierce and sudden tempest had been the destined means of preserving the English from the hands of their foes. The fleet, assembled by the unflagging zeal of La Bourdonnais, shattered and dispersed when bearing down, in the pride of power, on the Coromandel coast; the stealthy, midnight assault of Dupleix on Cuddalore arrested by the rising surf;—these dis-

* The stronghold of Adoni, with its dependencies, which had been the original jaghire of the father, were given to the son, with the addition of the territories formerly possessed by the treacherous nabobs of Kurnoul and Kudapa.—(Orme, i., 249.)

pensations were now to be crowned by a third, yet more remarkable in its consequences.

When Clive and his companions had advanced within about ten miles of Arcot, a violent storm came on, through which they continued their march with the habitual bravery of European troops. The native garrison, accustomed to regard with superstitious terror the turmoil of the elements, learned with astonishment the continued advance of their assailants; and, on beholding them approach the gates of Arcot amid pealing thunder, vivid flashes of lightning, and fast-falling rain, panic spread from breast to breast: the fort was abandoned, and the English, strong in the supposed possession of supernatural courage, entered it without a blow. The city had neither walls nor defences, and no obstruction was offered to the few hundred men who passed on as conquerors, gazed upon with fear, admiration, and respect, through streets crowded by 100,000 spectators. They took possession of the citadel, in which was found a large quantity of lead and gunpowder, with eight pieces of cannon of small calibre. The merchants had, for security, deposited there effects to the value of £50,000; but these were punctually restored to the owners: and "this judicious abstemiousness," adds Orme, "conciliated many of the principal inhabitants to the English interest. The fort was inhabited by 3,000 or 4,000 persons, who, at their own request, were permitted to remain in their dwellings."

There could be little doubt that vigorous attempts would be made by Chunda Sahib to recover the city which had thus strangely slid from his grasp. Clive instantly began to collect provisions, to throw up works, and to make preparations for sustaining a siege. It was a discouraging task, even to a man whose genius ever shone most brightly amid danger and difficulty. The walls of the fort were ruinous; the ditches dry; the ramparts too narrow to admit the guns; the battlements too low to protect the soldiers. The fugitive garrison, ashamed of the manner in which they had abandoned the place, assembled together, and encamped close to the town. At dead of night Clive sallied out with almost his entire force, attacked the camp, slew great numbers, and returned to his quarters, without having lost a single man.* A more dangerous enemy soon appeared, consisting of about 10,000 men, including 150 French from Pondicherry, under the command of Reza Sahib, son of Chunda Sahib.† The garrison had but a slight prospect of maintaining its ground against so formidable an armament; and certainly the retention of Arcot was little less marvellous than its conquest, though accomplished by wholly different means. In the first instance, a scanty force took possession, without effort, of a prize unexpectedly placed within their reach; in the latter case, although reduced by casualties to 324 in number, they showed themselves determined to sacrifice even life in its defence. For fifty days the assault continued; but the courage of the besieged never faltered: they held together as one man; and at length, when food began to fail, and was doled out in diminishing portions, the sepoys, in their exceeding devotion to their suffering comrades, came in a body to Clive, and entreated that all the grain in store might be given to the Europeans who required a nourishing diet,—they could subsist on the water in which the rice was boiled.‡ The reputation of the gallant defence of Arcot proved the immediate cause of its success. An ineffectual attempt at succour, on the part of the Madras government, was followed by the approach of 6,000 Mahrattas, under the famous leader Morari Rao. These troops had been enlisted in the service of Mohammed Ali, but, deeming his cause hopeless, had remained inactive on the frontiers of the Carnatic. As a last resource, Clive managed to convey to them an earnest appeal for succour, and received an immediate reply from the chief, that, being at length convinced the English could fight, he would not lose a moment in attempting their relief. This circumstance coming to the ears of Reza Sahib, he forthwith dispatched a flag of truce to the garrison, with offers of honourable terms of capitulation, and a large sum of money to their commander, as the alternative of the instant storming of the fort and the slaughter of all its defenders. Clive, in rejecting the whole proposition, gave vent to his characteristic haughtiness, by taunting Reza Sahib with the badness of his cause, and the inefficiency of his "rabble

* Fifteen Europeans perished in a subsequent sally against the force of Reza Sahib: amongst these was Lieutenant Trenwith, who, perceiving a sepoy from a window taking aim at Clive, pulled him aside and was himself shot through the body.

† Orme calls this leader *Rajah* Sahib; Wilks (a much better authority in a question of orthography), *Reza*.

‡ This water, called Cunjee, resembles very thin gruel.

force." Then, having taken all possible measures to resist the expected attack, he lay down exhausted with fatigue, but was soon aroused by the loud uproar of oriental warfare in its most imposing form.

It was the 14th of November—the period allotted to the commemoration of the fearful massacre on the plains of Kerbela, in which the imaum Hussyn, the grandchild of "the prophet," with his whole family and followers, suffered a cruel death at the hands of his inveterate foes. The recurrence of this solemn festival is usually the signal for the renewal of fierce strife, either by words or blows, between the Sheiahs and the Sonnites, or followers of the caliphs, by whom Ali and his children were superseded. The Mohammedans engaged in the siege seem to have been Sheiahs; and in the absence of any sectarian quarrels, they directed the full force of the fanaticism roused by the recollection of the tragic catastrophe of Kerbela, against the infidel contemners of both imaums and caliphs, and even of their founder himself. Besides the well-known dictum of the Koran—that all who fall fighting against unbelievers offer thereby a sacrifice (accepted, because completed) for the sins of a whole life, and are at once received into the highest heaven, escaping all intermediate purgatories—a peculiar blessing is supposed to rest on those who perish in "holy" warfare during the period consecrated to the memory of the venerated imaums.* Stimulating drugs were called in to heighten the excitement of the discourses addressed by the priests; and in a paroxysm of mental and physical intoxication, the unwieldy host rushed furiously against the gates of Arcot, driving before them elephants with massive iron plates on thir foreheads. The first shock of these living battering-rams was a moment of imminent peril; but the gates stood firm; and then, as in many previous instances, the huge animals, maddened by the musket-balls of the foe, became utterly ungovernable, and turning round, trampled down hundreds of those who had brought forward such dangerous auxiliaries, causing confusion throughout their whole ranks. About an hour elapsed, during which time three desperate onsets were made, and determinedly resisted; the steady fire of the garrison telling fearfully on the shrieking, yelling mass beneath. The assailants then retired beyond the partially dry moat, with the loss of about 400 men,† and requested a short truce, that they might bury their dead. The English gladly complied: they must have needed rest; for many of them being previously disabled by wounds and sickness, the labour of repulsing the foe had fallen upon eighty Europeans (officers included) and 120 sepoys; and these, besides serving five pieces of cannon, had expended 12,000 musket cartridges during the attack, the front ranks being kept constantly supplied with loaded guns by those behind them.‡ The stipulated interval passed away; the firing recommenced, and continued from four in the afternoon until two in the morning, when it entirely ceased. The besieged passed some anxious hours; even the four or five men they had lost could be ill spared, for they expected to find the foe in full force at daybreak; instead of which they beheld the town abandoned, and joyfully took possession of several guns and a large quantity of ammunition left behind in the retreat.

The news of this extraordinary triumph was received at Madras with the utmost enthusiasm. Mohammed Ali, who now assumed the privilege once exclusively confined to the reigning emperor, of bestowing titles, called Clive—Sabut Jung (the daring in war), a well-earned designation which the young soldier bore ever after on his Persian seal, and by which he became known throughout India.

A reinforcement of 200 English soldiers and 700 sepoys joined Clive a few hours after the raising of the siege. Leaving a small garrison at Arcot, he set forth in pursuit of Reza Sahib; and having succeeded in effecting a junction with a Mahratta division, overtook the enemy by forced marches, and, after a sharp action, gained a complete victory.§ The military chest of the defeated general fell into the hands of the con-

* The other imaum (Hassan) likewise fell a victim to the machinations of the caliph Mauwiyah.—(*See* previous pages, 58—62.)

† Orme states, that but few of these were Europeans; for most of the French troops were observed drawn up and looking on at a distance.—(i., 195.)

‡ The personal exertions of Clive were very great. Perceiving the gunners taking ineffectual aim at a body of the enemy, who were striving to cross on a raft the water which filled a portion of the ditch, he took the management of a piece of artillery himself, and, by three or four vigorous discharges, compelled the abandonment of this attempt.

§ A gallant exploit was performed on the part of the enemy by a sepoy, who, beholding a beloved commander fall in the breach, crossed the ditch and carried off the body, passing unscathed through the fire of at least forty muskets.—(Orme, i., 194.)

querors, 600 of his sepoys joined their ranks, and the governor of the neighbouring fort of Arnee consented to abandon the cause of Chunda Sahib, and recognise the title of Mohammed Ali. The great pagoda of Conjeveram, which had been seized and occupied by the French during the siege of Arcot, was regained after a slight struggle.* Towards the close of the campaign of 1752, Clive was recalled to Fort St. David. On the march he arrived at the scene of the assassination of Nazir Jung, the chosen site of a new town, projected to commemorate the successes of the French in the East. Dupleix Futtehabad (the city of the victory of Dupleix) was the name given to the place; and a stately quadrangular pillar, with inscriptions in various eastern languages, recounted the short-lived triumph of the ambitious builder. Clive and his followers destroyed the newly-raised foundations, levelled the column to the ground and went their way in triumph, amid the wondering natives, who had lately deemed the French invincible.

Notwithstanding the brilliant exploits of his allies, the position of Mohammed Ali continued extremely precarious: many of the strongholds of the province were in hostile keeping; and the want of funds wherewith to pay the army, daily threatened to produce mutiny or desertion. Under these circumstances he appealed to the government of Mysoor, and, by extravagant promises in the event of success, prevailed upon the regent to send supplies of money and soldiers to Trichinopoly. The Mysoorean troops were 14,000 strong; the Mahrattas, under Morari Rao, numbered 6,000 more; and the Tanjore rajah, who had previously remained neutral, now sent 5,000 men to join the allies. These accessions of strength were soon followed by the arrival of Major Lawrence (then newly returned from Europe), with Clive at his right hand, accompanied by 400 Europeans, 1,100 sepoys, eight field-pieces, and a large quantity of military stores. Preparations were immediately made to take the field. Dupleix became alarmed at the altered state of affairs. As a military commander he had never attained celebrity.† Bussy was absent in the train of Salabut Jung; the remonstrances of Chunda Sahib were unheeded; and the entire force, although the Carnatic lay open before them, took up a position in the fortified pagoda of Seringham, on an island formed by the branches of the Coleroon and Cavery. All parties suffered severely from the protracted duration of the war. The mercantile affairs of the English company were extremely distressed by the drain on their finances; and Major Lawrence, believing it to be an emergency which justified "risking the whole to gain the whole,"‡ sanctioned the daring proposal of his young subaltern—to divide their small force, and remaining himself at the head of one portion for the protection of Trichinopoly, dispatch the other, under the leadership of Clive,§ to cut off the communication between Seringham and Pondicherry. Complete success attended the measure.‖ Chunda Sahib besought M. Law, the commander of the

* While reconnoitring the pagoda over a garden wall, the companion of Clive, Lieutenant Bulkley, was shot through the head close by his side.

† A memoir, drawn up by the French E. I. Cy., in answer to one published by Dupleix, accuses him of having more than once manifested a deficiency in personal courage, and states that he accounted for the care with which he kept beyond the range of a musket-ball, by declaring that, "le bruit des armes suspendait ses réflexions, et que le calme seul convenait à son génie."—(Mill's *British India*, iii., 83.)

‡ Orme's *Military Transactions*, i., 220.

§ Some difficulty arose regarding the appointment of a junior captain to so important a command; but this obstacle was removed by the express declaration of Morari Rao and the Mysooreans—that they would take no part in the expedition if dispatched under any other leader than the defender of Arcot.—(*Id.*)

‖ M. d'Auteuil was dispatched by Dupleix with supplies from Pondicherry. Owing to a double mistake on the part of Clive and d'Auteuil, the former was led to believe that the information conveyed to him regarding the French detachment was incorrect; the latter, being informed that the English commander was absent in pursuit of him, thought to take advantage of the slightly-defended British post. With this view he sent eighty Europeans and 700 sepoys. The party included—to the sad disgrace of our countrymen—forty English deserters, whose familiar speech nearly procured the success of the treacherous undertaking. The strangers, on pretence of being a reinforcement come from Major Lawrence, were suffered to pass the outworks without giving the pass-word. They proceeded quietly until they reached an adjacent pagoda and choultry (place of entertainment), where Clive lay sleeping, and there answered the challenge of the sentinels by a discharge of musketry. A ball shattered a box near the couch of Clive, and killed a servant close beside him. Springing to his feet he rushed out, and was twice wounded without being recognised. A desperate struggle ensued; the English deserters fought like wild beasts at bay. The pagoda was in possession of the French, and the attempt to regain it was broken off until cannon could be obtained. Clive advanced to the porch to offer terms: faint with loss of blood, in a stooping posture he leant on two serjeants. The leader of the deserters (an Irishman) came forward, addressed Clive in opprobrious language (apparently infuriated by some private

French forces, to make a determined effort to shake off the toils fast closing round them; but all in vain. Provisions began to fail, and men to desert; at length the personal safety of the nabob becoming in evident danger, and his constitution rapidly giving way under the combined effects of age and anxiety, attempts were made to secure his escape by intriguing with his foes. Negotiations were opened with Monajee, the commander of the Tanjore force, and a large sum of money paid to him, in return for which he swore "on his sword and dagger" to protect the unhappy noble, and convey him unharmed to the French settlement of Karical. This adjuration a Mahratta rarely violates; but Monajee did so in the present instance. His motives are variously stated. One eminent writer asserts, on native authority, that he acted as the instrument of Mohammed Ali:* Orme, that his treachery originated in the disputes which took place in the camp of the allies so soon as the arrival of Chunda Sahib became known. Fearing that his prize would be snatched away, either by the English, the Mysooreans, or the Mahrattas for their own ends, he settled the dispute by causing the object of it to be put to death. The event is still regarded by Mohammedans as a remarkable manifestation of divine vengeance; for, in the very choultry where, sixteen years before, Chunda Sahib, by a false oath, deceived the ranee of Trichinopoly, he was now cruelly murdered while lying prostrate on the ground, broken down by sickness and disappointment.† The head was sent to Trichinopoly; and Mohammed Ali, after gazing for the first time on the face of his rival, caused it to be exposed in barbarous triumph on the walls of the city. The French at Seringham ‡ capitulated immediately after the above occurrence; and the English, desirous of continuing their successful career, urged the nabob to proceed at once to Jinjee. He hesitated, procrastinated, and at length confessed that the aid of the Mysoor government had been obtained by no less a bribe than a signed and sealed agreement for the cession of Trichinipoly and its dependencies. Major Lawrence was bitterly mortified at finding that the city to which, at this period, an importance far above its intrinsic value was attached, could not after all be retained by the person with whose interests those of his countrymen had become identified, except by a flagrant breach of faith which he honestly pronounced quite unjustifiable.§ The nabob would not see the matter in this light; the Mysooreans, he argued, never could expect the fulfilment of such an unreasonable stipulation, especially while the chief portion of the dominions claimed by him as governor of the Carnatic still remained to be subdued: abundant remuneration should be made for their valuable services; but, as to surrendering Trichinopoly that was out of the question; for, after all, it was not his to give, but only to hold in trust for the Great Mogul. This very convenient after-thought did not satisfy the Mysooreans. Both parties appealed to the Madras presidency, and received in return assurances of extreme good-will, and recommendations to settle the matter amicably with one another.|| Morari Rao, the Mahratta chieftain, took a leading part in the discussion which followed, and received gifts on both sides; but it soon became evident that his impartial arbitration, if accepted, was likely to terminate after the fashion of that of the monkey in the fable,—the shells for his clients, the oyster for himself;¶ and at length, after much time spent in altercation, the

quarrel), and taking a deliberate aim, fired his musket. Clive asserts that the ball killed both his supporters, while he remained untouched. The Frenchmen disowned any share in the outrage, and surrendered; the enemy's sepoys were cut to pieces by the Mahratta allies of the English.—(*Life*, 116.)

* Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, i., 284. † *Idem*, 285.

‡ Under M. Law, a nephew of the Scottish schemer.

§ Yet, from fear of the designs of Nunjeraj and Morari Rao, Major Lawrence afterwards suggested to the presidency the seizure of their persons.

|| "We wrote to the King of Mysoor that we were merchants, allies to the circar (government), not principals."—(Letter from Madras, Nov., 1752.) The Presidency found it as convenient to disavow the semblance, while grasping the reality, of power, as did the nabob to profess fealty to the emperor: at the same time it must be remembered, they were wholly ignorant of the pledge given by their ally.

¶ After the capture of Trichinopoly, in 1741, by the Mahrattas, it remained under the charge of Morari Rao, until its surrender to the nizam, in 1743. Morari Rao, a few years later, managed to establish himself in the Bala Ghaut district of Gooty, and became the leader of a band of mercenaries. By careful training and scrupulous exactitude in the stated division of plunder, these men were maintained in perfect order; and from having frequently encountered European troops, could be relied on even to withstand the steady fire of artillery. Morari Rao and his Mahrattas were, consequently, very important auxiliaries, for whose services the English and French outbid one another. Wilks remarks, they were best characterised by the Persian compound, *Muft-Khoor* (eating at other people's expense): in the present case they were acting as subsidiaries to the Mysoor force, in the immediate pay of Nunjeraj.—(*Mysoor*, i., 252.)

nabob, glad of any pretext for gaining time, promised to deliver up the fort in two months. Nunjeraj (the Mysoor general) seemingly assented to this arrangement; but so soon as Mohammed Ali and Major Lawrence had marched off towards Jinjee, he commenced intriguing with the English garrison for the surrender of the place. The attempt afforded the nabob a flimsy pretext for avowing his determination to retain possession. The result was an open breach with the Mysooreans and Mahrattas. Dupleix, aided as before by the knowledge and influence of his wife, entered into communication with the offended leaders, and exerted every effort to form a powerful confederacy against Mohammed Ali and his supporters. The chief obstacle to his scheme arose from a deficiency of funds and European troops. The French company were much poorer than the English body; and their territorial revenues formed the only available resource for the support of the force at Pondicherry, and that maintained by Bussy at Hyderabad: little surplus remained for the costly operations planned by Dupleix; but he supplied all deficiencies by expending his own princely fortune in the cause. The want of trustworthy soldiers was a more irremediable defect. The officers sent to India were, for the most part, mere boys, whose bravery could not compensate for their utter ignorance of their profession; the men were the very refuse of the population.*

The attempt made by Major Lawrence upon Jinjee failed; but the English campaign of 1752 terminated favourably, with a victory gained near Bahoor, two miles from Fort St. David, and the capture of the forts of Covelong and Chingleput.† These last exploits were performed by Clive, who then returned to England for his health, carrying with him a young bride, an independent fortune, and a brilliant military reputation.‡

Early in January, 1753, the rival armies again took the field. No decisive action occurred; but in May, Trichinopoly was again attacked, and continued, for more than a twelvemonth, the scene of active hostility. The assailants had not sufficient superiority to overpower or starve out the garrison, nor could the English compel them to raise the siege. The introduction or interception of supplies engaged the unwearied attention of both parties, and many severe conflicts occurred, without any decisive advantage being gained by either.

Meantime the mercantile associations in Europe, and especially in France, grew beyond measure impatient at the prolongation of hostilities. Dupleix, foreseeing the unbounded concessions into which the desire for peace would hurry his employers, himself opened a negotiation with the Madras government, where Mr. Saunders, an able and cautious man, presided. The deputies met at the neutral Dutch settlement of Sadras.§ The question at issue—whether Mohammed Ali should or should not be acknowledged nabob of the Carnatic, after being for four years contested with the sword—was now to be weighed in the balance

* Addressing the French minister, in 1753, Dupleix described the recruits sent him as "enfans, décroteurs et bandits" * * * "un ramassis de la plus vile canaille;" and he complained bitterly that, with the exception of Bussy, he never had an officer on whose ability he could place the smallest reliance.—(Mill, edited by Wilson, iii., 130.)

† The English forces, under Lawrence, were for the most part of a very efficient description; but the only detachment which could be spared on this occasion consisted of 200 recruits, styled by Macaulay "the worst and lowest wretches that the company's crimps could pick up in the flash houses of London," together with 500 sepoys just levied. So utterly undisciplined were the new-made soldiers, that on attacking Covelong, the death of one of them by a shot from the fort was followed by the immediate flight of his companions. On another occasion a sentinel was found, some hours after an engagement, out of harm's way at the bottom of a well. Clive, nevertheless, succeeded in inspiring these unpromising auxiliaries with something of his own spirit; the sepoys seconded him to the utmost. Covelong fell; a detachment sent to its relief was surprised by an ambuscade, 100 of the enemy were killed by one fire, 300 taken prisoners, and the remainder pursued to the gates of Chingleput. The fortress was besieged and a breach made, upon which the French commandant capitulated and retired with the garrison.

‡ Clive married the sister of Maskelyne, the eminent mathematician, who long held the office of Astronomer Royal. The amount of the fortune, acquired as prize-money, during the few years which had elapsed since he arrived in Madras a penniless youth, does not appear; but it is certain that he had sufficient to reclaim, in his own name, the family estate, and to extricate his father from pecuniary embarrassment, beside what he lavished in an extravagant mode of life. Dress, equipages, and more than all, a contested election, followed by a petition, left Clive, at the expiration of two years, the choice between a very limited income or a return to India. He took the latter course. The E. I. Cy., on his arrival in England, had shown their sense of his brilliant exploits by the gift of a sword set with diamonds—a mark of honour which, through his interference, was extended to his early patron and stanch friend, Major Lawrence; and when Clive's brief holiday was over, they gladly welcomed him back to their service, and procured for him the rank of lieut.-col. in the British army.—(*Life*, i., 131.)

§ Forty-two miles south of Madras.

of justice. Dupleix, as the delegate of the nizam or subahdar of the Deccan, claimed the right of appointment, which he had at different times attempted to bestow upon Reza Sahib and Murtezza Ali (of Vellore); the English continued to plead the cause of the candidate they had from the first steadily supported: and both the one and the other, in the absence of any more plausible pretext, reverted to the stale plea of imperial authority. Patents and grants were produced or talked of, which were respectively declared by the opposing parties forgeries and mere pretences. After eleven days' discussion, the proceedings broke off with mutual crimination. Dupleix was censured (doubtless, with sufficient cause) as haughty and overbearing: no arrangement, it was asserted, would ever result from discussions in which he was allowed to take part. The French ministry were glad to free themselves of any portion of the blame attached to the ill success which had attended the arms of the nation in the late contest, and to hold the company and its servants responsible for all failures. The bold and warlike policy of Dupleix had been deemed meritorious while successful: his brilliant and gainful exploits were, at one time, the theme of popular applause; but now, while struggling with unflagging energy against the tide of misfortune, his unbounded ambition and overweening self-conceit overlooked in prosperity, outweighed the remembrance of zeal, experience, and fidelity in the minds of the French Directory, and in August, 1754, a new governor-general, M. Godheu, arrived at Pondicherry, with authority to conclude a peace.* The English were permitted to retain the services of Mr. Saunders and others, well versed in local affairs, instead of being compelled to trust to commissioners newly arrived from Europe. The decision arrived at, though apparently equally fair for both sides, involved, on the part of the French, the sacrifice of all they had been fighting for. One clause of the treaty enacted, that all interference in the quarrels of native princes should be relinquished; and thus tacitly recognised Mohammed Ali as nabob of the Carnatic; another proviso† based the territorial arrangements of the two nations on the principle of equality, and if fulfilled, would entail the resignation of the valuable provinces called the Northern Circars,‡ lately bestowed on Bussy by Salabut Jung. This prince, it is true, was left subahdar of the Deccan, but the English had never attempted to oppose him. Indeed, the sudden death (attributed to poison),§ of Ghazi-oo-deen, the eldest son of the old nizam, when approaching at the head of a large army to dispute the pretensions of his brother, had left Salabut Jung in the position of lineal heir, now that the Deccani viceroyalty, like that of Bengal, had come to be looked upon as an hereditary principality.

The treaty was infringed as soon as made. The English proceeded to reduce to obedience to their nabob the districts of Madura and Tinnivelly. The French, under Bussy, retained the circars, and continued to support Salabut Jung. In so doing, they unwillingly contributed to relieve Mohammed Ali from one of his great difficulties—the blockade of Trichinopoly by the Mysooreans.

Nunjeraj, justly repudiating the right of the French to make peace on his behalf, persisted in endeavouring to get possession of the fort, until the rumoured approach of a body of Mahrattas to levy contributions on the Mysoor frontier, and the simultaneous advance of Salabut Jung to demand tribute in the name of the Mogul, induced him suddenly to march homewards, to the infi-

* Dupleix immediately returned to France. His accounts with the French company showed a disbursement of nearly £400,000 beyond what he had received during the war. This claim was wholly set aside, upon the plea that expenses had been incurred without sufficient authority. He commenced a law-suit against the company for the recovery of monies spent in its behalf; but the royal authority was exercised to put a summary stop to these proceedings; and all the concession made to Dupleix was the grant of letters of protection against the prosecution of his creditors—which was nothing better than atoning for one injustice by committing another. The career of the proud governor—who had compelled his own countrymen to kneel before him, had threatened to reduce Madras to a mere fishing village, and of whom it had been boasted that his name was mentioned with fear even in the palace of ancient Delhi—terminated sadly enough in disputing over the wreck of his fortune, and soliciting audiences in the ante-chamber of his judges. Such at least is the account given by Voltaire, who adds emphatically, "Il en mourut bientôt de chagrin."—(*Précis du Siècle de Louis XIV.*, ch. xxxix.)

† "The two companies, English and French, shall renounce for ever all Moorish government and dignity, and shall never interfere in any differences that arise between the princes of the country."—(First article of Treaty, signed December, 1754.)

‡ Namely, Mustaphabad, Ellore, Rajahmundri, and Chicacole (anciently Calinga): these additions made the French masters of the sea-coast of Coromandel and Orissa, in an uninterrupted line of 600 miles.

§ Prepared by the mother of Nizam Ali.

Before quitting the intricate proceedings on the Coromandel coast, narrated in the foregoing pages, the reader may wish to glance over the annexed summary of the leading events in the south of India. Though chiefly a chronological recapitulation of facts already stated, it likewise anticipates some yet to be described. Having felt the want of "a chart" to illustrate the several territories and dynasties, I subjoin it as an assistance to others in the same position:—

STATES OF SOUTHERN INDIA CONNECTED WITH ENGLISH AND FRENCH CONTESTS IN THE CARNATIC IN THE 18TH CENTURY.

Name . . .	DECCAN.	MAHRATTA.	CARNATIC.	MYSOOR.	TANJORE.	TRAVANCORE.	TRICHINOPOLY.
Capital . .	HYDERABAD.	SATTARA AND POONA.	ARCOT.	SERINGAPATAM.	TANJORE.	TRAVANCORE.	TRICHINOPOLY.
Dynasty . .	*Mohammedan.*	*Hindoo.*	*Mohammedan.*	*Hindoo and Mohamd.*	*Hindoo.*	*Hindoo.*	*Hindoo and Mohamd.*
Origin of state; founders or usurpers; successive rulers; and present political authority.	Nizam-ool-Moolk, or *Asuf Jah*, vizier of the emperor Mohammed, and subahdar, or viceroy of the Deccan. In 1717 he assumed sovereignty over the remnant of the Mogul conquests in the south of India; died in 1748. Succession disputed: eldest son, *Ghazi-oo-deen*, supported by Mahrattas; poisoned by mother of his half-brother. *Nazir Jung*, second son, supported by English. *Moozuffer Jung* a grandson, supported by French; assassinated by Patans. *Salabut Jung*, another brother, substituted, but dethroned in turn by *Nizam Ali*, in 1761; who, in 1766, became by treaty an ally of, and had his territories protected by, the E. I. Cy., in return for the cession of the Northern Circars. In 1798, the French force at Hyderabad was entirely removed, in compliance with a treaty arranged by Lord Wellesley.	*Sevajee*, son of Shahjee, grandson of Maloojee, who had a jaghire at Poona, consolidated the Mahrattas by conquests from Aurungzebe, kings of Beejapoor, Ahmednuggur, and others: died in 1680. *Sumbajee*, his son and successor, put to death by Aurungzebe. grandson, *Shao*, became a puppet in the hands of his minister the Peishwa. *Bajee Rao*, whose eldest son and successor, *Ballajee Bajee Rao*, obtained from Shao a transfer of real power, and became, in 1749, head of the Mahratta confederacy. Ballajee Bajee died in 1761. *Madhoo*, second son, a minor, succeeded with his uncle *Ragoba* as regent. Madhoo died in 1772: brother, Narrain, succeeded; murdered; Ragoba (Rugonath Rao) proclaimed peishwa. Territory now British.	*Saadut Oollah*, in 1706, appointed by the Mogul nabob or governor; died 1732—no male issue: nephew, *Dost Ali*, succeeded; defeated and slain by Mahrattas, 1740. *Sufder Ali*, his son and successor, assassinated: infant heir proclaimed nabob; stabbed by Patan soldiers. *Anwar-oo-deen*, proclaimed nabob by the nizam, in 1743; was slain in battle, in 1749. his son, *Mohammed Ali*, after various contests with Chunda Sahib and the French, remained in possession of that portion of the Carnatic recovered by British arms. In 1783, the English had to reconquer the Carnatic from Hyder Ali, the sultan of Mysoor. Before the close of the century, the whole authority passed into the hands of the E. I. Cy., and the nabob became a state pensioner.	*Arbiral*, the first recorded rajah, in 1507, in 1610, Seringapatam acquired, and other territories subsequently added. In 1714, *Nunjeraj* and another minister became the depositories of power, and the rajah a mere cipher. They were put down, and the throne usurped, in 1769, by a Mohammedan soldier of fortune, *Hyder Ali*, who ravaged the Carnatic by the aid of the French to the gates of Madras: died in 1782, and was succeeded by his son Tippoo, who carried on three wars against the British, and was slain at the capture of Seringapatam by the Marquess Wellesley, in 1799, when the Hindoo rajah was restored as a stipendiary of the E. I. Cy. The Mysoor territory has since been governed by British officers in the name of the rajah.	Occupied by *Vencajee*, a Mahratta chief, half-brother to Sevajee, in 1678. This state formed a part of the ancient kingdom of Madura. There was a lineal descent from Vencajee continued till the reign of *Toolja-jee*, son and successor of *Pertab Sing*, in 1772; the fort was then captured by the British on behalf of Mohammed Ali, nabob of the Carnatic, who claimed tribute, —restored to the rajah in 1781, he becoming a subsidiary to the E. I. Cy. In 1799, Rajah Serfojee surrendered the country to the British, on whom he became a pensioner, with an income of £35,000 *per. an.* Serfojee died in 1832, and was succeeded by his only son, Sevajee, the present stipendiary. Tranquebar, in Tanjore, purchased by English from Danes in 1845.	Part of ancient Malabar, and a gynecocracy for many ages; until Martanden Wurmah persuaded the princesses to resign the future sovereignty to the male line. Between 1740 and 1755, Martanden subdued many petty neighbouring states. In 1784, it was included in a treaty between the E. I. Cy. and Mysoor. In 1789 the state was devastated by Tippoo Sultan, and in 1799 the rajah agreed by treaty to pay an annual subsidy for the maintenance of a British force in his dominions; in 1805 another and more stringent treaty was formed; in 1808 and in 1812, insurrections against British authority were suppressed; in 1832 rajah entrusted with the maintenance of internal peace; political control retained by the British government.	A Hindoo principality. In 1732 the rajah died without issue; one of his wives continued to reign until 1736, when *Chunda Sahib*, the ally of the French in the Carnatic, obtained possession by treachery; seized from him by the Mahrattas in 1741. The nizam gained possession in 1743, and delegated the government to Anwar-oo-deen; on his death, in 1749, the territory devolved on his second son, Mohammed Ali, nabob of the Carnatic. The fort was besieged by the French and their allies from 1751 to 1755, and defended by the English Upon the transfer of the dominion of the Carnatic to the English E. I. Cy., Trichinopoly was incorporated with the Anglo-Indian empire.

nite relief of the nabob. While the treaty was pending, a British squadron with reinforcements had been sent to India, under Admiral Watson, and the decided superiority thus given to the English probably accelerated the arrangement of affairs. Their services were now employed in the suppression of the systematic piracy carried on by the Angria family for nearly fifty years on the Malabar coast. The peishwa, or chief minister of the Mahratta state, viewed them in the light of rebellious subjects, and united with the English for their suppression. Early in 1755, the fort of Severndroog, and the island of Bancoot, were taken by Commodore James; and in the following year, Watson, in co-operation with Clive (then just returned from England with the appointment of governor of Fort St. David), captured Gheria, the principal harbour and stronghold of the pirates. The English and Mahrattas both coveted this position: the tactics of the former proved successful. Booty to the amount of £150,000 sterling was obtained, and its distribution occasioned disputes of a very discreditable character between the sea and land services. The partial biographer of Clive endeavours to set forth his hero on this, as on other occasions, as generous and disinterested; but few unprejudiced readers will be inclined to acquit him of fully sharing, what Sir John Malcolm himself describes as "that spirit of plunder, and that passion for the rapid accumulation of wealth, which actuated all ranks."—(i. 135.)

The scene of Anglo-Indian politics is about to change; the hostilities on the Coromandel coast serving but as the prelude to the more important political transactions of which the Calcutta presidency became the centre.

War of Bengal.—Ali Verdi Khan, subahdar or viceroy of the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, died in 1756. Though in name a delegate of the Mogul emperor, he had long been virtually independent, and his power recognised as hereditary. In the absence of any nearer relative, this important government devolved on his grandson, Mirza Mahmood, a prince better known by his title of Surajah Dowlah. Ali Verdi had no sons: his three daughters married their cousins; and this youth, the offspring of one of these alliances, from his cradle remarkable for extraordinary beauty, became the object of excessive fondness on the part of his grandfather. Unrestrained indulgence took the place of careful training, and deepened the defects of a feeble intellect and a capricious disposition. To the vices incident to the enervating atmosphere of a seraglio, he is said to have added a tendency for society of the most degrading character; and as few of the courtiers chose to risk the displeasure of their future lord, with little chance of any effectual interference on the part of their present ruler, Surajah Dowlah was suffered to carry on a career of which even the annals of eastern despotism afford few examples. A Mohammedan writer emphatically declares, that "he carried defilement wherever he went,"* and became so generally detested, that people, on meeting him by chance, used to say, "God save us from him!"† The accession to irresponsible power of a youth of this character, could not fail to inspire a general feeling of apprehension. The English had special cause for alarm, inasmuch as the new ruler entertained strong prejudices in their disfavour. Some authorities state that Ali Verdi Khan, shortly before his death, had advised his destined successor to put down the growing military power of this nation; more probably he had urged the pursuance of his own gainful and conciliatory policy of exacting, at different times and occasions, certain contributions from all European settlements under his sway, taking care, at the same time, not to drive them into a coalition against his authority, or by any exorbitant demand to injure his permanent revenues by rendering their commerce unremunerative. Policy of this character was far beyond the comprehension of Surajah Dowlah. The plodding traders of Calcutta were, in his eyes, not as in reality agents and factors of a far distant association, but men of enormous private wealth, like the Hindoo soucars or bankers, whom one of his countrymen declared resembled sponges, which gathered all that came in their way, but returned all at the first pressure.‡ This pressure the English were now to receive: a pretext was easily found. The impending outbreak of European war would, it was evident, lead

* *Siyar ul Mutakherin*, i., 646.

† The son of Mohammed Ali made this remark as a reason for employing Hindoo officials in preference to his fellow-believers, whom, he asserted, were like sieves—"much of what was poured in, went through."—(Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive*, i., 222.)

‡ The *one* wife of Ali Verdi Khan steadily befriended the English.—(Holwell's *Historical Events*, p. 176.)

to hostilities in India: they had, therefore, begun to take measures for the defence of the presidency. Surajah Dowlah, with whom a previous misunderstanding had occurred,* sent them an imperative order to desist, and received in return a deprecatory message, urging the necessity of taking measures against French invasion. The subahdar, remembering the neutrality enforced by his grandfather, deemed the excuse worse than the fault; and, although actually on the march against a rebellious relative, he abandoned this object, and advanced immediately to the factory at Cossimbazar, which at once surrendered, the few Europeans there having no means of offering any resistance. The tidings were received at Calcutta with dismay. The defensive proceedings, which had attracted the attention of the subahdar, must have been very partial; for the works, stores of ammunition, and artillery were all utterly insufficient to sustain a protracted siege. The garrison comprised 264 men, and the militia, formed of European and native inhabitants, 250;† but their training had been so little attended to, that when called out, scarcely any among them "knew the right from the wrong end of their muskets."‡ Assistance was entreated from the neighbouring Dutch settlement of Chinsura, but positively refused; and, in the urgent necessity of the case, the probability of impending warfare with the French did not deter the presidency from appealing to them for aid. The reply was an insolent intimation that it should be granted if the English would quit Calcutta, and remove their garrison and effects to Chandernagore; that is, put themselves completely into the power of their patronising protectors. The last resource —an endeavour to purchase immunity from Surajah Dowlah—failed, and an attempt at resistance followed. The military officers on the spot, of whom none ranked higher than a captain, were notoriously incompetent to direct a difficult defence; the civil authorities had neither energy nor presence of mind to counterbalance the deficiencies of their colleagues. To abandon the fort and retreat to shipboard was the common opinion; and, under the circumstances, no dishonour would have attended such a course, if judiciously carried out. But the thunder of the enemy without the walls, was less inimical to the safety of the inhabitants than the confusion, riot, and insubordination within, which, in the words of a modern historian, "made the closing scene of the siege one of the most disgraceful in which Englishmen were ever engaged."§ The intention of a general escape was frustrated by the miserable selfishness of those on whom it devolved to make arrangements for the safety of the whole. The men sent off with the women and children refused to return; and soon after the governor and commandant, with a select body of cowards, seized the last boats which remained at the wharf, and joined the ships which, partaking of the general panic, had dropped down the river. The inhabitants, thus abandoned to the power of a despot whose naturally cruel temper they believed to be inflamed by a peculiar hatred towards themselves, elected Mr. Holwell (a member of council) as their leader, and for two days continued the defence of the place, in the hope that some of the ships would return to their stations and answer the repeated calls for aid made by means of fiery signals thrown up from all parts of the town. These were indeed little needed, for the continued firing of the enemy proclaimed aloud their increasing danger. Orme, who has minutely examined the details of this discreditable business, declares, that "a single sloop, with fifteen brave men on board, might, in spite of all the efforts of the enemy, have come up, and, anchoring under the fort, have carried away all" those who remained to suffer a strange and terrible doom. No stronger illustration can be found of the manner in which selfishness and the greed of gain corrupt and extinguish the gentler instincts of humanity, and deprive men even of physical courage, than this affair.

Mr. Holwell strove, by throwing letters over the wall, to obtain terms of capitulation; but in vain. An assault, in which ninety-five of the garrison were killed or

* An uncle of Surajah Dowlah died governor of Dacca. His hopeful nephew at once resolved on plundering the widowed begum, or princess his aunt, with whom he had long been at open variance, of the enormous fortune she was supposed to have inherited, and sent orders for the imprisonment of the receivers and treasurers of the province: one of these—a Hindoo, named Kishendass, supposed to have accumulated great wealth—escaped to Calcutta. The subahdar sent to demand the fugitive; but the messenger entering the town in a sort of disguise, was treated by the president as an impostor, and dismissed with insult from the company's territory.

† Making 540 men, 174 being Europeans.

‡ Holwell's *India Tracts*, 302.

§ Thornton's *British India*, i., 190.

wounded, was followed by direct insubordination on the part of the remainder of the common soldiers. They broke open the stores, and, all sense of duty lost in intoxication, rushed out of one gate of the fort, intending to escape to the river, just as the enemy entered by another. The inhabitants surrendered their arms, and the victors refrained from bloodshed. The subahdar, notwithstanding his character for inhumanity, showed no signs of it on this occasion, but took his seat in the chief apartment of the factory, and received the grandiloquent addresses of his officers and attendants with extreme elation; all angry feelings being merged in the emotions of gratified vanity at the victory thus absurdly overrated. The smallness of the sum found in the treasury (50,000 rupees) was a great disappointment; but when Mr. Holwell was carried into his presence with fettered hands, they were immediately set free; and notwithstanding some expressions of resentment at the English for the defence of the fort, he declared, upon the faith of a soldier, not a hair of their heads should be touched. The conference terminated about seven in the evening. Mr. Holwell returned to his companions in captivity, and the question arose how they were to be secured for the night. No suitable place could be found; and while the guards were searching about, the prisoners, relieved from fear by the unexpected gentleness of Surajah Dowlah, stood in groups, conversing together, utterly unsuspicious of their impending doom. The chief officer returned and announced that the only place of security he could find was the garrison prison. At this time (before the philanthropic labours of Howard) gaols, even in England, were loathsome dens; that of Calcutta was a chamber, eighteen feet long by fourteen broad, lit and ventilated by two small windows, secured by iron bars, and overhung by a verandah. Even for a dozen European malefactors this dungeon would have been insufferably close and narrow. The prisoners of the subahdar numbered 146 persons, including many English, whose constitutions could scarcely sustain the fierce heat of Bengal in this the summer season, even with the aid of every mitigation that art could invent or money purchase. They derided the idea of being shut up in the "Black Hole," as manifestly impossible. But the guards, hardened to the sight of suffering, and habitually careless of life, forced them all (including a half-cast woman, who clung to her husband) into the cell at the point of the sword, and fastened the door upon the helpless crowd. Holwell strove, by bribes and entreaties, to persuade an old man of some authority among the guards, to procure their separation into two places. He made some attempts, but returned, declaring that the subahdar slept, and none dared disturb him to request the permission, without which no change could be made in the disposition of the prisoners. The scene which ensued perhaps admits of but one comparison in horror—that one is the hold of a slave-ship. Some few individuals retained consciousness; and after hours of agony, surrounded by sights and sounds of the most appalling description, rendered up their souls tranquilly to their Creator and Redeemer, satisfied (we may hope), even under so trying a dispensation, that the dealings of Providence, though often inscrutable, are ever wise and merciful. Man, alas! often evinces little of either quality to his fellow-beings; and in this instance, while the captives, maddened by the double torment of heat and thirst, fought with each other like furious beasts to approach the windows, or to obtain a share in the pittance of water procured through the intervention of the one compassionate soldier, the other guards held lights to the iron bars, and shouted with fiendish laughter at the death-struggles of their victims.* Towards daybreak the tumult began to diminish; shrieks and groans gave place to a low fitful moaning; a sickly, pestilential vapour told the reason—the majority had perished: corruption had commenced; the few who remained were sinking fast. The fatal sleep of Surajah Dowlah at length ceased; the door was opened by his orders; the dead were piled up in heaps; and twenty-three ghastly figures (including the now widowed woman before mentioned) staggered one by one out of the charnel-house. A pit was immediately dug, into which the bodies of the murdered men, 123 in number, were promiscuously flung.

No shadow of regret seems to have been evinced by the subahdar for this horrible catastrophe.† The first flush of exultation had passed away, and feelings of pecuniary

* The detachment on guard had lost many men in the siege, and the survivors were merciless.

† Mr. Holwell and Mr. Cooke, another of the sufferers, gave a painfully interesting account of the whole catastrophe before a committee of the House of Commons.—(*Parl. Papers.* E. I. Cy., 1772.)

disappointment were now uppermost. Holwell, unable to walk, was carried into his presence, with some companions, and harshly interrogated regarding the treasures of the company. No satisfactory answer being obtained, they were all lodged in miserable sheds, fed on grain and water, and left to pass as they might the crisis of the fever, in which several who lived through the night of the 20th June, 1756, perished. The release of the survivors was eventually procured by the intercession of the grandmother of the prince,* and a merchant named Omichund.

A Moorish garrison of 3,000 men was placed in Fort William, and with reckless impiety the name of Calcutta changed to that of Alinagore (the port of God.) Surajah Dowlah then exacted from the Dutch a tribute of £45,000, and £35,000 from the French; better terms being accorded to the latter, in consideration of their having furnished 200 chests of gunpowder to the army while on their march to Calcutta.

Tidings of the fall of the settlement and the catastrophe of the Black Hole reached Madras in August, and were received with a general cry for vengeance. Even at such a time the old jealousies between the land and sea forces interposed to prevent immediate action, and two months were spent in discussing how the command was to be divided, and in what manner prizes were to be distributed. At the expiration of that time, Clive and Watson sailed from Madras with ten ships, having on board 900 European troops and 1,500 sepoys. The fugitives from Calcutta were found at Fulta, a town some distance down the Ganges, and offensive operations were commenced by the attack of a fort called Budge-Budge, situated on the river banks between the places above named. An unaccountable piece of carelessness on the part of Clive nearly occasioned the failure of the enterprise. While the ships cannonaded the fort, a number of the troops were to lay wait for the garrison, who it was expected, would abandon the place; instead of which the ambuscade was itself surprised by a body of the enemy while resting on the march, having neglected even the common precaution of stationing sentinels to keep guard in the broad daylight. The presence of mind of Clive, aided probably by his reputation for good fortune, enabled him to rally the soldiers with rapidity, and advance with steadiness and success against the irregular ranks of two or three thousand horse and foot who had stealthily approached amid the thick jungle. Monichund, governor of Calcutta, led the attack, and on receiving a ball in his turban, this commander, having "no courage, but much circumspection,"† turned his elephant, and decamped with his entire force. The fort was cannonaded by the ship (the *Kent*) which first reached the spot, and a general attack projected for the next morning, but prevented by the silent evacuation of the place.‡ The other posts on the Ganges were abandoned at the approach of the English, and Calcutta itself recaptured, after a siege of two hours. The merchandise belonging to the company remained, for the most part, untouched, having been reserved for Surajah Dowlah; but the houses of individuals had been totally plundered. Hooghly was next attacked, and a breach easily effected; the troops mounted the rampart, and the garrison took to flight, leaving in the place a large amount of property.

Intelligence of the renewal of hostilities between England and France, reached the armament at this period. The French in Bengal had a force of 300 Europeans and a train of field-artillery. Their union with Surajah Dowlah would give him an overpowering degree of superiority; it was therefore manifestly politic to take immediate advantage of the desire for an accommodation with which the issue of the contest had inspired him.

In February, 1757, a treaty was formed, by which the subahdar—or, as he is commonly called, the nabob—consented to restore to the English their former privileges; to make compensation for the plunder of

* The widow of Ali Verdi Khan, before mentioned.

† Orme's *Military Transactions*, ii., 123. The total loss of the English in this affair does not appear. Orme mentions thirteen men killed. Clive, in a private letter to Mr. Pigot, remarks, that "our loss in the skirmish near Budge-Budge was greater than could well be spared if such skirmishes were to be often repeated."—(*Life*, i., 153.)

‡ The attack was deferred on account of the fatigue of the troops. A body of 250 sailors were landed in the evening, and refreshed themselves by becoming extremely drunk. One of them, about dusk, straggled across the moat, scrambled up the rampart, and, meeting with no opposition in the deserted citadel, hallooed loudly to the advanced guards in the village that he had taken the place. Sepoys were stationed round the walls. Others of the intoxicated sailors coming up to share the triumph of their comrade, mistook the sentinels for foes, and fired their pistols. In the confusion an officer was killed. The seamen, on returning to their ships, were flogged for misconduct: the man who had discovered the flight of the garrison did not escape; upon which he swore in great wrath never to take a fort again.

Calcutta; and to permit the erection of fortifications. This arrangement was speedily followed by an alliance, offensive and defensive, eagerly ratified by both parties. The peace which followed was of short duration. The English impatiently desired to retaliate on the French their late conduct; and demanded the consent, if not the co-operation of their new ally, which he long refused, declaring with truth, that having no cause of enmity to either party, it was alike a point of duty and interest to prevent the outbreak of hostilities. Beneath this ostensible reason, another existed in his desire to preserve terms with the French in the event of a rupture with the English. The invasion and capture of Delhi by Ahmed Shah Abdalli, and the fear of an advance upon Bengal, for a time banished all other schemes. The nabob clung to his European allies as an efficient defence; but a restless inquietude nevertheless possessed him; for the ability to protect was accompanied by an equal power of destruction. At length, the peremptory demand and threats of Watson and Clive, backed by the arrival of reinforcements, with well-directed bribes to underlings, extorted from him a reluctant permission to "act according to the time and occasion."* This oracular phrase was considered to imply consent to the attack of Chandernagore, which was immediately proceeded with, notwithstanding subsequent direct and repeated prohibitions.

The French conducted the defence with gallantry; but the combined force of the land and sea divisions proved irresistible. Admiral Watson evinced extraordinary seamanship in bringing two of his vessels (the *Kent* and *Tiger*) abreast the fort; and after three hours' firing the besieged capitulated. Chandernagore, like Calcutta, comprised a European and native town with a fort, and stretched over territory which, commencing at the southern limits of the Dutch settlement of Chinsura, extended two miles along the banks of the river, and about one-and-a-half inland. Clive was delighted at the conquest, considering it of more consequence than would have been that of Pondicherry itself,† which he hoped would follow. To "induce the nabob to give up all the French factories," and "drive them out, root and branch,"‡—this and nothing less was now attempted. But Surajah Dowlah was never less inclined to so impolitic a procedure, than after the taking of Chandernagore. The exploits of the ships of war had filled him with consternation: it is even asserted that he had been made to believe they could be brought up the Ganges close to his own capital—an operation which he immediately took measures to prevent, by causing the mouth of the Cossimbazar river to be dammed up.§ The idea of counterbalancing the power of the English by that of the French, was a natural and judicious one; but he had neither judgment nor self-reliance for its execution. Old in dissipation, he was young in years and in all useful experience. Vicious habits,‖ and an ungovernable tongue, had alienated from him the affections of the chosen friends and servants of his grandfather; and they viewed with disgust the contrast afforded to the provident habits and courteous bearing of their late ruler by his profligate successor. Scarcely one voice appears to have been raised up to warn the unhappy youth of the growing disaffection of his subjects. The haughty Mussulman nobles were incensed by his insulting demeanour; and the Hindoos had still stronger grounds for estrangement. Under all Mohammedan governments, the financial departments were almost solely entrusted to this thrifty and calculating race. The Brahminical and mercantile classes were treated with that solid respect, which those who wield the sword usually pay to those who keep the purse. By unwearied application and extreme personal frugality, the seits or soucars frequently accumulated immense wealth, which they well knew how to employ, both for purposes of augmentation and for the establishment of political influence. Their rulers lavished enormous sums on wars and pageants; and though sometimes violent means were used to obtain stores of hidden wealth, the more frequent course adopted by princes to raise supplies was through orders on the revenue, in the negotiation of which the bankers contrived to make a double profit. Ali Verdi Khan had understood the value of these auxiliaries, and the importance of conciliating their confidence. Under his sway Hindoos filled

* Orme's *Military Transactions*, ii., 140.

† Clive describes Chandernagore as "a most magnificent and rich colony; the garrison consisted of more than 500 Europeans and blacks, all carrying arms: 360 are prisoners, and nearly 100 have been suffered to give their parole, consisting of civil, military, and inhabitants. Nearly sixty white ladies are rendered miserable by the loss of this place."—(Malcolm's *Life of Clive*, i., 196.)

‡ *Idem.*, p. 196.

§ Parker's *Transactions in the East Indies*, 57.

‖ He threatened Juggut Seit with circumcision, the worst insult that could be offered to a Hindoo.

the highest offices of the state. Ram Narrain, the governor of Patna, and Rajah Ram of Midnapoor, were the chief of the managers and renters. Roydullub, the dewan or minister of finance, was likewise a person of great influence—the more so from his intimate connection with Juggut Seit, the representative of the wealthiest soucar, or banking firm in India. This last, by means of his extended transactions, possessed equal influence at Lucknow,* Delhi, and at Moorshedabad. Most of these persons, with the addition of Monichund, the temporary governor of Calcutta, Surajah Dowlah had offended in different ways;† and he especially resented the sense evinced by the Hindoos generally of the rising power of the English. The result was a determination to subvert his government. The chief conspirator was the bukshee, or military commander of the army, Meer Jaffier Khan, a soldier of fortune, promoted by Ali Verdi to the highest military rank, and further exalted by a marriage with a member of the reigning family. Omichund, a wealthy Hindoo merchant, long resident in Calcutta, and intimately associated by commercial dealings with the E. I. Cy., became the medium of conveying to the English overtures to join the plot. Clive at once advocated compliance, on the ground that sufficient evidence existed of the intention of the nabob to join with the French for their destruction. It certainly appears that a correspondence was actually being carried on with Bussy, but to little effect, since the precarious state of politics at the court of Salabut Jung rendered his continuance there of the first importance. Still Clive argued that the conduct of the nabob sufficed to release his countrymen from their solemn pledge, and justified them in entering into a plot with the treacherous ministers; and his strong will weighed down the opposition offered in discussing the question by a committee of the Calcutta presidency. To oppose the vacillating, cowardly intrigues of Surajah Dowlah with fraud and perjury, was decided to be a more promising course than to remain in the narrow path of honest dealing. Meer Jaffier promised, in the event of success, large donations to the company, the army, navy, and committee. Clive declared Surajah Dowlah to be "a villain," and Meer Jaffier "a man as generally esteemed as the other was detested."—(Malcolm's *Life of Clive*, i., 263.)

The conduct of the chief person on this occasion, strongly supports the much-criticised opinion of Mill—that deception never cost him a pang. Vague rumours of the plot reached the nabob; and Clive, to dispel his suspicions, wrote to him "in terms so affectionate, that they for a time lulled the weak prince into perfect security."‡ The courier conveyed a second missive of the same date, from the same hand, addressed to Mr. Watts, the British resident at Moorshedabad —in which, after referring to the "soothing letter"§ above alluded to, Clive adds, "Tell Meer Jaffier to fear nothing; that I will join him with 5,000 men who never turned their backs; and that if he fails seizing him, we shall be strong enough to drive him out of the country. Assure him I will march night and day, as long as I have a man left."‖ The protestations of Clive gained force in the mind of the deluded nabob, through a circumstance which occurred at this period. The Mahrattas, who had long been encroaching on the fertile provinces of Bengal, thought the unpopularity and known inefficiency of its present ruler afforded a favourable opportunity for an attempt at its complete subjugation. The capture of Cossimbazar and Calcutta would, the peishwa Ballajee Bajee Rao conceived, render the English willing to enter into a coalition against the nabob, and the co-operation of the troops in the invasion of Bengal was solicited; the compensation offered being the repayment of double the amount of the losses sustained from Surajah Dowlah, and the vesting of the commerce of the Ganges exclusively in the E. I. Cy. Some doubt was entertained as to the authenticity of this communication. It was even surmised to have been a trick on the part of Surajah Dowlah; and as the assistance of the Mahrattas was by no means desirable

* The capital of the viceroy of Oude.

† The copy of a letter found at Moorshedabad, after the fatal battle of Plassey, addressed by the nabob to Bussy, contains allusions to the seizure of Chandernagore, and offered co-operation against "these disturbers of my country, Dileer Jung Bahadur, the *valiant in battle* (Watson), and Sabut Jung (Clive), whom bad fortune attend!"

‡ *Vide* Stewart's *History of the Deccan*, ii., 498; and the translation of the *Siyar ul Mutakherin*, published at Calcutta in 1789.—(i., 758-'9.)

§ The words of Macaulay, one of Mill's censurers.

‖ The following is an extract from one of Admiral Watson's letters to the nabob:—"Let us take Chandernagore," he writes, "and secure ourselves from any apprehensions in that quarter, and then we will assist you with every man in our power, and go with you even to Delhi, if you will. Have we sworn reciprocally that the friends and enemies of the one should be regarded as such by the other? and will not God, the avenger of perjury, punish us if we do not fulfil our oaths?"—(Parker's *East Indies*, p. 78.)

in the scheme already set on foot, the letter was at once forwarded to the nabob as affording, in either case, evidence of the good faith of his allies. It proved to be authentic; and all the effect expected resulted from its transmission. But the execution of a plan in which many jarring interests were concerned, necessarily involved numerous dangers. At one moment a violent quarrel between the nabob and Meer Jaffier threatened to occasion a premature disclosure of the whole plot. This danger was averted by a reconciliation, in which that "estimable person," Meer Jaffier, swore upon the Koran fidelity to his master, after having a few days before, given a similar pledge to his English confederates in the projected usurpation. Clive had his full share of what Napoleon would have styled "dirty work" to do in the business. When all things were arranged, Omichund suddenly declared himself dissatisfied with the amount of compensation* allotted to him in the division of the spoil planned by the conspirators. His services at this crisis were invaluable, and his influence with the nabob had repeatedly been the means of concealing the plot. The demand of thirty lacs of rupees (£350,000), was accompanied by an intimation of the danger of refusal. Whether Omichund really intended to risk the reward already agreed on, together with his own life, by betraying a transaction in which he had from the first borne a leading part, may well be doubted; but Clive took an easy method of terminating the discussion by consenting to the exorbitant stipulation. Omichund likewise insisted on the agreement regarding himself being inserted in the treaty between the English and Meer Jaffier. Clive seemingly complied. Two treaties were drawn up, one on white paper, the other on red; in the former, Omichund's name was not mentioned; the latter, which was to be shown to him, contained the specified proviso. The honesty of Admiral Watson had nearly defeated this manœuvre. He positively refused to sign the false treaty. Omichund would at once suspect some reason for this omission. Clive removed the difficulty by causing a Mr. Lushington to forge the important name.

Hostility to the nabob was now openly professed. The English force marched against him, sending forward a letter equivalent to a declaration of war. Surajah Dowlah dispatched an appeal for aid to the French, assembled his troops, and prepared to encounter a foreign foe, unsuspicious of the treachery at work within his camp. The courage of Meer Jaffier failed; doubt and fear, in the hour of danger, overpowered ambition: he hesitated; and instead of immediately coming over to Clive, at Cossimbazar, with his division, as had been agreed upon, he advanced with the nabob to Plassy. The position of the English became extremely perilous: the strength of the enemy twenty times outnumbered theirs. The ford of the Hooghly lay before them, easily crossed; but over which not one man might ever be able to return. Clive called a council of war for the first and last time in his whole career, probably as a cloak for his own misgivings, since he voted first, and doubtless influenced the majority in deciding that it would be imprudent to risk an advance.† This

* The position of Omichund, with regard to the English, was peculiar. He had been connected with them in the affairs of commerce about forty years, and was looked upon as a person of great importance, both on account of his mercantile transactions, which extended to all parts of Bengal and Bahar, and the magnitude of his private fortune. His habitation is described by Orme as having been on a splendid scale, and divided into various departments, resembling rather the abode of a prince than of a merchant. Besides numerous domestic servants, he maintained (as is frequent among eastern nobles) a retinue of armed men in constant pay. When news of the approach of Surajah Dowlah reached Calcutta, the local authorities, among other vague fears, suspecting Omichund of being in league with the enemy, seized and imprisoned him. An attempt was made to capture the person of his brother-in-law, who had taken refuge in the apartments of the women; but the whole of Omichund's peons, to the number of 300, rose in resistance, and the officer in command (a Hindoo of high cast), fearing that some indignity might be sustained by the females, set fire to the harem, and killed no less than thirteen with his own hand, after which he stabbed himself, though (contrary to his intention) not mortally. This melancholy catastrophe did not prevent Mr. Holwell from soliciting the intervention of Omichund to procure terms of capitulation from Surajah Dowlah; and his conduct at this time totally removed the suspicions previously entertained. On the capture of the place, 400,000 rupees were plundered from his treasury, and much valuable property of different descriptions seized; but his person was set at liberty, and a favourable disposition evinced towards him by the nabob, of which he took advantage to procure the restoration of his losses in money, and likewise in soliciting the release of the survivors of the massacre, who were fed by his charity, and in great measure restored to liberty through his entreaties.

† The following is a list of the officers of this council, and the way in which they voted:—*For delay*—Robt. Clive; James Kirkpatrick; Archd. Grant; Geo. Fred. Goupp; Andrew Armstrong; Thos. Rumbold; Christian Firkan; John Corneille; H. Popham. *For immediate attack*—Eyre Coote, G. Alex. Grant; G. Muir; Chas. Palmer; Robt. Campbell; Peter Carstairs; W. Jennings.—(*Life of Clive*, i., 258.)

was an unusual opinion for "Sabut Jung" the daring in war, to form, and it was not a permanent one. Passing away from the meeting, gloomy and dissatisfied, he paced about for an hour beneath the shade of some trees, and, convinced on reflection that the hesitation of Meer Jaffier would give place to re-awakened ambition, he resolved to reverse the decision in which he had so lately concurred; and, returning to the camp, gave orders to make ready for the passage of the river.* The army crossed on the following morning, and, at a little past midnight, took up its position in a grove of mango trees† near Plassy, within a mile of the wide-spread camp of the enemy.

The sound of drums and cymbals kept Clive waking all night; and Surajah Dowlah, overpowered by vague fears and gloomy apprehensions, passed the remaining hours of darkness in upbraiding and complaint.‡ At sunrise his army, marshalled in battle array, commenced moving towards the grove in which the English were posted. The plain seemed alive with multitudes of infantry, supported by troops of cavalry, and bearing with them fifty pieces of ordnance of great size, drawn by long teams of white oxen, and propelled by elephants arrayed in scarlet cloth and embroidery. Beside these, were some smaller but more formidable guns, under the direction of Frenchmen.§ The force to oppose this mighty host numbered, in all, only 3,000 men, but of these nearly 1,000 were English. Conspicuous in the ranks were the men of the 39th regiment, who that day added to the inscriptions on their colours the name of Plassy, and the motto, *Primus in India.* Of hard fighting there was but little; treachery supplied its place. The action began by a distant cannonade, in which some of the few officers, still true to a falling cause, perished by the skilfully-directed fire of the "hat-wearers," who, says Hussein Gholam Khan, "have no equals in the art of firing their artillery and musketry with both order and rapidity."‖ Several hours were spent in this manner. At length Meer-meden, one of the two chief leaders of the adverse force, was mortally wounded by a cannon-ball. He was carried to the tent of the prince, and expired while explaining the arrangements he had made for the battle. Driven to desperation by witnessing the death of his faithful servant, Surajah Dowlah summoned Meer Jaffier to his presence, and bade him revenge the death of Meer-meden; at the same time, placing his own turban at the foot of his treacherous relative—the most humiliating supplication a Mohammedan prince could offer—he besought him to forget past differences, and to stand by the grandchild of his benefactor (Ali Verdi Khan), now that his life, his honour, and his throne, were all at stake. Meer Jaffier replied to this appeal by treacherously advising immediate retreat into the trenches; and the fatal order was issued, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrance of the Hindoo general, Mohun Lall, who predicted the utter confusion which would ensue. Meer Jaffier had unsuccessfully endeavoured to convey a letter to Clive, advising the immediate attack of the nabob's camp; now, perceiving the fortune of the day decided, he remained, as before, stationary with his division of the army, amid the general retreat. Surajah Dowlah, on witnessing the inaction of so large a part of the force, comprehended at once his betrayal; and on beholding the English advancing, mounted a camel and fled to Moorshedabad, accompanied by 2,000 horsemen. In fact, no other course remained to one incapable of taking the lead in his own person; for to such an extent had division spread throughout the Mohammedan troops, that no officer, even if willing to fight for his rightful master, could rely on the co-operation of any other commander. The little band of Frenchmen alone strove to confront the English, but were rapidly carried away by the tide of fugitives. Of the vanquished, 500 were slain. The conquerors lost but twenty-two killed and fifty wounded; they gained not merely the usual spoils of war in

* This is the account given by Orme, who probably heard the circumstances from Clive himself. Scrafton attributes the colonel's change of mind to a letter received from Meer Jaffier in the course of the day.—(*Reflections*, p. 85.)

† Regularly planted groves or woods of tall fruit trees are very common in India: that of Plassy was a square of about two miles in circuit; but it has been neglected, and is now much diminished.

‡ The despondency of the nabob, says Orme, increased as the hour of danger approached. His attendants, by some carelessness left his tent unguarded, and a common person, either through ignorance, or with a view to robbery, entered unperceived. The prince, at length recognising the intruder, started from the gloomy reflections in which he had been absorbed, and recalled his servants with the emphatic exclamation,—"Sure they see me dead!"—(*Military Transactions*, i., 172.)

§ Orme states the force of the enemy at 50,000 foot, 18,000 horse, and fifty pieces of cannon. Clive says 35,000 foot, 15,000 horse, and forty pieces of cannon.—(*Letter to Secret Committee of E. I. Cy.*)

‖ *Siyar ul Mutakherin*, i., 766.

abundance—baggage and artillery-waggons, elephants and oxen—but paramount authority over a conquered province, larger and more populous than their native country.

The conduct of Meer Jaffier had been by no means unexceptionable, even in the sight of his accomplices. He had played for a heavy stake with a faltering hand—a species of cowardice for which Clive had no sympathy; nevertheless, it was expedient to overlook all minor occasions of quarrel at this critical moment, and proclaim the traitor subahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Meer Jaffier marched to Moorshedabad. Surajah Dowlah learned his approach with a degree of terror that prevented him from forming any plan of defence: deserted on all sides, he strove to conciliate the alienated affections of the military commanders by lavish gifts; and at length, after balancing between the advice given by his counsellors —to throw himself upon the mercy of the English, or again try the fortune of war—he renounced both attempts, and accompanied by his consort, his young daughter, and several other females, quitted the palace at dead of night, carrying with him a number of elephants laden with gold, jewels, and baggage of the most costly description.* Had he proceeded fearlessly by land in the broad daylight, it is possible that many of the local authorities would have rallied round his standard; but instead of taking a bold course, he embarked in some boats for Plassy, hoping to be able to effect a junction with a party of the French under M. Law, who, at the time of the battle of Patna, was actually marching to his assistance. This proceeding removed all obstacles from the path of Meer Jaffier, and his installation was performed with as much pomp as circumstances would permit. At the last moment, either from affected humility or a misgiving as to the dangerous and troublesome nature of power treacherously usurped, he hesitated and refused to take possession of the sumptuously-adorned musnud, or pile of cushions, prepared for him. Clive, having vainly tried persuasion, took his hand, and placing him on the throne, kept him down by the arm while he presented the customary homage—a nuzzur, or offering of gold mohurs, on a salver. The act was sufficiently significative; thenceforth the subahdars of Bengal existed in a degree of dependence on the foreign rulers by whom they were nominated, with which that formerly paid to the most powerful of the Great Moguls bears no comparison.

This public ceremonial was followed by a private meeting among the confederates to divide the spoil. Whether the extravagance of Surajah Dowlah, during his fifteen months' sway, had exhausted a treasury previously drained by Mahratta wars and subsidies, or whether Meer Jaffier and his countrymen succeeded in outwitting their English associates, and secretly possessed themselves of the lion's share,† remains an open question; but it appears that the funds available, amounted only to 150 lacs of rupees—a sum far short of that which had been reckoned upon in the arrangement previously made. One large claim was repudiated in a very summary manner. When Meer Jaffier, and the few persons immediately concerned in the plot, adjourned to the house of Juggut Seit, to settle the manner of carrying out the treaty, Omichund followed as a matter of course. He had no suspicion of the deceit practised upon him; for "Clive, with dissimulation surpassing even the dissimulation of Bengal, had, up to that day, treated him with undiminished kindness."‡ Not being invited to take his seat on the carpet, Omichund, in some surprise, withdrew to the lower part of the hall, and waited till he should be summoned to join the conference.§

* Orme says that Surajah Dowlah escaped by night from a window of the palace, accompanied only by a favourite concubine and a eunuch; but Gholam Hussein, who, besides his usual accuracy, may be expected to be well informed on the subject, makes the statements given in the text, and confirms them by much incidental detail. —(*Siyar ul Mutakherin*, i., 7; see also Scott's *Bengal*, ii., 371.)

† The interpreter of Clive—a renegade Frenchman, called Mustapha, who translated the *Siyar ul Mutakherin*—states in a note (i., 773), that the English never suspected the existence of an inner treasury said to contain eight crores (eight million sterling), kept, in pursuance of a custom common in India, in the zenana or women's apartments. In corroboration, various circumstances are adduced in the history of the individuals whom he asserts to have been participants in the secret, to prove their having derived immense wealth from some hidden source. Among others Mini Begum, the favourite wife of Meer Jaffier Khan, who survived him, possessed an immense fortune, although her husband was constantly involved in disturbances with the soldiery from real or affected inability to discharge their arrears of pay.

‡ Macaulay's *Essay on Life of Clive*, p. 50.

§ Admiral Watson was not of the party. He died in the course of the year of a malignant fever which prevailed on the coast. Captain Brereton, when questioned before parliament regarding the deception practised on Omichund, bore witness that the admiral had stigmatised the conduct of Clive as "dishonourable and iniquitous."—(Parl. Reports, iii., 151.)

The white treaty was produced and read; its various stipulations (including the utter expulsion of the French from Bengal) were confirmed, and the pecuniary claims of the English met by the immediate payment of one-half—two-thirds in money, and one-third in plate and jewels; the other portion to be discharged in three equal annual payments.*

At length Omichund became uneasy at the total disregard evinced of his presence. On coming forward, he caught sight of the document just read, and exclaimed—"There must be some mistake; the general treaty was on red paper!" Clive, who during his long residence in India never acquired a knowledge of any Indian language, turned to Mr. Scrafton, one of the servants of the company, then acting as interpreter, and said—"It is time to undeceive Omichund." This was easily done; the few words in Hindostanee, "The red treaty was a trick, Omichund—you are to have nothing," were soon spoken; but the bystanders could scarcely have been prepared for the result. The Hindoo was avaricious to the heart's core; and this sudden disappointment, aimed at the tenderest point, and aggravated by feelings of anger and humiliation, came like the stroke of death. He swooned, and was carried to his stately home, where, after remaining many hours in a state of the deepest gloom, he began to exhibit symptoms of insanity. Some days after he visited Clive, who, probably unwilling to recognise the full extent of the ruin he had wrought, strove to soothe the old man by promises of procuring favourable terms with the company regarding certain contracts which he held from them; and even spoke of him, in an official despatch, as "a person capable of rendering great services, and therefore not wholly to be discarded."† This statement is, however, quite incompatible with the description of Orme, who declares that Omichund, after being carried a senseless burthen from the house of Juggut Seit,‡ never rallied, but sank from insanity to idiocy. Contrary to the custom of the aged in Hindostan, and especially to his former habits and strong reason, Omichund, now an imbecile, went about decked in gaudy clothing and costly jewels, until his death, in the course of about eighteen months, terminated the melancholy history. Such a transaction can need no comment, at least to those who believe that in all cases, under all circumstances, a crime is of necessity a blunder.§ In the present instance there could be no second opinion on the point, except as regarded the private interests of the persons concerned in the division of spoil found in the treasury of the deposed prince. The commercial integrity of the English had laid the foundation of the confidence reposed in them by the natives, whether Mohammedan or Hindoo: the alliance of Juggut Seit and other wealthy bankers had been procured chiefly by this means. Omichund, in his endeavours to allay the suspicions of Surajah Dowlah, had declared that the English were famous throughout the world for their good faith, inasmuch that a man in England, who, *on any occasion*, told a lie, was utterly disgraced, and never after admitted to the society of his former friends and ac-

* Clive, in a letter to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated Moorshedabad, 26th July, after giving some details of the battle, says—"The substance of the treaty with the present nabob is as follows:—1st. Confirmation of the mint and all other grants and privileges in the treaty with the late nabob. 2ndly. An alliance, offensive and defensive, against all enemies whatsoever. 3rdly. The French factories and effects to be delivered up, and they never to be permitted to resettle in any of the provinces. 4thly. One hundred lacs (£1,000,000) to be paid to the company in consideration of their losses at Calcutta, and the expenses of the campaign. 5thly. Fifty lacs (£500,000) to be given to the English sufferers at the loss of Calcutta. 6thly. Twenty lacs (£200,000) to Gentoos, Moors, &c., black sufferers at the loss of Calcutta. 7thly. Seven lacs (£70,000) to the Armenian sufferers: these three last donations to be distributed at the pleasure of the admiral and gentlemen of the council, including me. 8thly. The entire property of all lands within the Mahratta ditch, which runs round Calcutta, to be vested in the company: also 600 yards all round, without the said ditch. 9thly. The company to have the zemindary of the country to the south of Calcutta, lying between the lake and the river, and reaching as far as Culpee, they paying the customary rents paid by the former zemindars to the government. 10thly. Whenever the assistance of the English troops shall be wanted, their extraordinary charges to be paid by the nabob. 11thly. No forts to be erected by the government on the river side, from Hooghly downwards." Clive carefully avoided all mention of the separate treaties for the payment of monies in which he had the chief share.—(*See* Note in ensuing page.)

† *Life of Clive*, i., 289.

‡ The amount of the reward received by Juggut Seit does not appear. If at all in proportion to his previous wealth, it must have been very large. At the time of the plunder of Moorshedabad by the Mahrattas, in 1742, two million and a-half sterling in Arcot rupees were taken from the treasury of himself and his brother; notwithstanding which they continued to grant bills at sight, of one crore each.

§ "Using no arguments but such as Machiavelli might have employed in his conferences with Borgia," remarks Macaulay, "Clive committed not merely a crime but a blunder."—(*Essay*, p. 51.)

quaintances.* This invaluable prestige of honest dealing was placed in imminent jeopardy by Clive; and years afterwards, rank and wealth failed to preserve him from learning, with anger and bitter humiliation, that forgery and lying were vices which, in the sight of his countrymen at large, could not be atoned for by the most brilliant successes. With regard to the enormous sums accepted, or, in other words, seized by English officials, both civil and military, from the treasury of Bengal, that also seems to resolve itself into a very simple question. If, like Morari Rao, they had been professed leaders of mercenary troops, selling their services to the highest bidder, there could have been no doubt that, after their own fashion of reasoning, they would have well earned the stipulated reward. But Clive and his compeers were not masters, but servants; the troops under their command were, like themselves, in the pay of the nation or the company; and it was unquestionably from the government or the Court of Directors (to the latter of whom Clive repeatedly affirmed that he "owed everything"),† and from them only, that rewards should have been received.

Years afterwards, when sternly questioned respecting the proceedings of this period, Clive declared that on recollecting the heaps of gold and silver coin piled up in masses, crowned with rubies and diamonds, through which he passed in the treasury of Moorshedabad, he could not but view with surprise his own moderation in only taking (as it appeared)‡ to the extent of twenty to thirty lacs of rupees—that is, between £200,000 and £300,000. This "moderation"§ was, however, of brief continuance; for, some time afterwards, on the plea of desiring means wherewith to maintain a Mogul dignity conferred on him, he intimated to Meer Jaffier the propriety of its being accompanied by a jaghire (or estate for the support of a military contingent.) || In their relative positions a hint was a command, and the quit-rent paid by the E. I. Cy. for the extensive lands held by them to the south of Calcutta, amounting to nearly £30,000 sterling per annum, was forthwith ceded.

To return to the general narrative. Surajah Dowlah and his female companions reached Raj Mahal on the third night after leaving Moorshedabad. Exhausted with fatigue, and famishing with hunger, they landed, took refuge in a deserted garden, and began to prepare a mess of rice and pulse (called kichery), the common food of the country. While engaged in this unwonted task, the fugitives were discovered by a man of low condition, whose ears had been cut off by order of Surajah Dowlah a twelvemonth before. Dissembling his vengeful feelings, he affected compassion and respect for the prince, and assisted in the preparation of the meal, but secretly sent word to the soldiers engaged in pursuit where to find the object of their search. At this very time, Law and his detachment were within three hours' march of Raj Mahal; but they were driven from place to place by a party under Major Coote, and eventually expelled from Bengal; while Surajah Dowlah was seized by the emissaries of Meer Jaffier, laden with chains, treated with every species of cruelty compatible with the preservation of life, and dragged through Moorshedabad, to the presence of his successor. It was noon; but Meer Jaffier, though seated on the musnud, had taken his daily dose of bang, ¶ and was incapable of giving instructions regarding the treatment of the prisoner. His son Meeran, a lad of about seventeen, took upon himself to decide the question. This mere boy, educated in the harem, and remarkably effeminate both in dress and speech, possessed a heart no less callous to the gentler feelings of humanity than that of an old and unprincipled politician, hardened in the world's ways. "Pity and compassion," he said, "spoilt business." It scarcely needed the murmuring and dissension which pervaded the army, when the capture and ignominious treatment of their late ruler became known, to decide his fate.

* Orme's *Military Transactions*, ii., 137.

† Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive*, i., 182.

‡ Clive cautiously abstained from any explicit statement of the sums acquired by him on various pretences; and his fellow-officials, as far as possible, refrained from acknowledging the extent of his extortions or their own, even when sharply cross-examined before parliament.

§ In a letter addressed to Mr. Pigot, dated August, 1757, Clive speaks of his "genteel competence," and "a possible reverse of fortune," as reasons for desiring to leave Bengal. Mr. Pigot probably sympathised with him, for he himself accumulated a fortune of £400,000, chiefly (according to Mr. Watts) by lending money at high interest to the nabob, the chiefs, and managers of provinces—a practice, says Sir John Malcolm, then too common to be considered as in any way discreditable.—(ii., 251.)

|| *Vide* his own evidence before the House of Commons. Such a solicitation was clearly opposed to the duty of a servant of the E. I. Cy. and a Lieutenant-colonel in the British army.—(Parl. Papers, vol. iii., p. 154.)

¶ An intoxicating beverage, made from hemp.

Meeran caused him to be confined in a small chamber near his own apartments, and then summoning his personal friends, asked which of them would serve the existing administration, by removing the only obstacle to its permanency. One after another peremptorily rejected the dastardly office; at length it was accepted by a man under peculiar obligations to the parents of the destined victim, in conjunction with a favourite servant of Meeran's. On beholding the entrance of the assassins, Surajah Dowlah at once guessed their purpose. "They will not suffer me even to live in obscurity!" he exclaimed; and then requested that water might be provided for the performance of the purification commanded by the Koran before death. A large vessel which stood at hand was emptied rudely over him, and he was hewn down by repeated sabre strokes; "several of which fell," says the Mohammedan historian, "on a face renowned all over Bengal for regularity of feature and sweetness of expression." The memory of a past deed of violence came over the prince in this terrible hour, and he died declaring, in allusion to an officer whom he had tyrannically caused to be executed in the streets of Moorshedabad, "Hussein Kooli, thou art avenged!" *

The morning after this event Meer Jaffier visited Clive, and, in the words of the former, "thought it necessary to palliate the matter on motives of policy." Clive does not appear to have deemed any excuse necessary; but the truth was, his own neglect had been unjustifiable, in not taking precautionary measures to guard at least the life of a ruler deposed by a conspiracy in which the English played the leading part. No effort was made to protect even the female relatives † of the murdered prince from cruel indignities at the hands of Meer Jaffier and his son, and his consort and infant daughter were robbed of all the valuables about them, and sent into confinement in a manner calculated to inflict indelible disgrace on Mohammedan females of rank.

In Calcutta all was triumph and rejoicing. Few stopped to think, amid the excitement created by the tide of wealth fast pouring in, of past calamities or future cares. It was a momentous epoch; the step once taken was irrevocable; the company of traders had assumed a new position—henceforth to be rulers and lawgivers, with almost irresponsible sway over a territory far larger and more populous than their native land. It may be doubted if the directors at home gave much heed to these considerations; their representatives in India certainly did not, each one being fully occupied in gathering the largest possible share of the spoil. The monies stipulated for in restitution of the damage inflicted in Calcutta, with those demanded on behalf of the squadron, army, and committee, amounted to £2,750,000, besides donations to individuals.‡ The company received property to the amount of £1,500,000, and territorial revenues valued by Clive at £100,000 a-year. A fleet of 100 boats, with flags flying and music playing, bore to Fort William £800,000 in coined silver alone, besides plate and jewels, as the first instalment of the promised reward.

Leaving the Bengal functionaries in the enjoyment of wealth and influence, it is necessary to narrate the cotemporary proceedings of the Madras presidency.

Affairs in the Carnatic and Coromandel Coast.—Upon the breaking out of war between Great Britain and France in 1756, the French ministry resolved to strike an important blow in India. A powerful armament was fitted out, and entrusted to the charge of Count Lally, an officer of Irish extraction, who had shared the exile of James II., and was no less noted for personal courage than for strong feelings against England.

* The above account is, as before stated, chiefly derived from the *Siyar ul Mutakherin*. The author is strongly prejudiced against Surajah Dowlah, to whom he was distantly related. He had been taken prisoner in an engagement between this prince and Shaocat Jung, a rival pretender to the viceroyalty of Bengal, who was slain during a fit of intoxication. The conduct of Surajah Dowlah on this occasion, does not corroborate the statements made by Orme and Stewart of his cruelty and violence, and it is possible that these have been exaggerated; but unhappily, all the evidence comes from one side.

† Surajah Dowlah was five-and-twenty at the time of his assassination. His mother, on beholding the mangled remains dragged past her windows, rushed into the street, without veil or slippers, and clasped the body in her arms, but was forced back with blows.

‡ The army and navy had £500,000 for their share, Clive coming in, as commander-in-chief, for £20,000. As a member of the *Secret Committee*, he received to the amount of £28,000, the others having £24,000 each; besides which every one of them obtained a special gift from Meer Jaffier: that of Clive is variously stated at from £160,000 to £200,000. The *General Council* (not of the *committee*) received £60,000. Among the individuals who profited largely by what Clive termed the "generosity" of Meer Jaffier, was Mr. Drake, the runaway governor of Calcutta. Lushington (who forged the hand and seal of Admiral Watson) had, Clive stated in reply to parliamentary inquiry, "something very trifling, —about 50,000 rupees."—(Parl. Reports.) The division of the booty occasioned very serious disputes between the army and the navy.

He was accompanied by his own regiment of Irish (1,080 strong), by fifty of the royal artillery, and a great number of officers of distinction. The court of Versailles looked on the success of the expedition as a matter of certainty, and directed the commencement of operations by the siege of Fort St. David. Their anticipated conquests were marred by a remarkable series of disasters. The fleet quitted Brest in May, 1757, and carried with them the infection of a malignant fever then raging in the port. No less than 300 persons died before reaching Rio Janeiro; and from one cause or another delays arose, which hindered the ships from reaching Pondicherry until the end of April, 1758. There new difficulties occurred to obstruct the path of Lally. He had been especially directed to put down, at all hazards, the dissension and venality which prevailed among the French officials, and to compel them to make exertions for the benefit of their employers, instead of the accumulation of private fortunes. The task was at best an onerous one, and Lally set about it with an uncompromising zeal, which, under the circumstances, bordered on indiscretion. Perfectly conversant with the technicalities of his profession, he was wilful and presumptuous: his daring plans, if heartily seconded, might have been crowned with brilliant success; as it was, they met the same fate as those of La Bourdonnais, while he was reserved for a doom more terrible, and equally unmerited. Some of his early measures were, however, attended with success. The English beheld with alarm the overpowering additions made to the force of the rival nation; and when, after a prolonged siege, Fort St. David capitulated, serious apprehensions were entertained for the safety of Madras. The want of funds alone prevented Lally from making an immediate attack. After vainly endeavouring to raise sufficient supplies on credit, he resolved to direct to their attainment the next operations of the war. The rajah of Tanjore, when hard pressed, in 1751, by the united force of Chunda Sahib and Dupleix, had given a bond for 5,600,000 rupees, which remained unredeemed at Pondicherry. To extort payment of this sum an expedition was now undertaken against Tanjore, and on the march thither, many cruel acts of violence were committed.* The rajah, after some resistance, offered to compromise the matter by the payment of a sum much inferior to that required. The French commander was willing to abate his pecuniary demand, provided he should be supplied with 600 cattle for draught and provisions, which were greatly needed for the troops. The rajah refused, on the plea that his religion did not sanction the surrender of kine for the unhallowed uses of Europeans. The impetuous Lally had before excited strong feelings of aversion in the minds of the natives by obliging them to carry burthens for the army, and other services which he enforced promiscuously, without regard to the laws of cast: he now treated the assertion of the rajah as a mere pretext to gain time, similar to those practised upon Chunda Sahib on a previous occasion; therefore, making little allowance for the invariable prolixities of eastern negotiation, he declared that unless an arrangement were forthwith agreed on, the rajah and all his family should be shipped as slaves to the Mauritius. The Hindoos rarely indulge in intemperate language; and the Tanjore prince, stung and astonished by the outrage offered him, resolved to perish sooner than succumb to his insulting foe. At his earnest request, an English detachment was sent from Trichinopoly to his assistance. Lally continued the assault on Tanjore, and had effected a breach, when news arrived that the English fleet, after an indecisive engagement with that of France,† had anchored before Karical, from whence alone the besieging force could derive supplies. Powder and provisions were both nearly exhausted, and Lally, by the almost unanimous opinion of a council of war, withdrew from Tanjore, and hastened to Pondicherry, with the intention of making a simultaneous attack by sea and land on Madras. This project fell to the ground, owing to the determination of the naval commander to quit India immediately, which, notwithstanding the urgent entreaties of the local government and the army, he persisted in doing, on the ground that the disablement of the ships, and the disease and diminution of the crews, rendered it imperatively necessary to refit at the Mauritius. Lally thus weakened, directed his next en-

* At Kivaloor, the seat of a celebrated pagoda, Lally, in the hope of finding hidden treasures, ransacked the houses, dug up the foundations, dragged the tanks, and carried away the brass idols; but to very little purpose as far as booty was concerned. Six Brahmins lingered about the violated shrines; and Lally, suspecting that they were spies, caused them all to be shot off from the muzzle of his cannon.—(Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, i., 397.)

† The English suffered most in their shipping; the French in their men.—(*Vide* Owen Cambridge's *Account of the War in India, from* 1750 *to* 1760, p. 123.)

deavours against Arcot, and succeeded in gaining possession of that place through the artifices of Reza Sahib (now dignified by the French with the title of nabob), who opened a correspondence with the governor placed there by Mohammed Ali, and induced him to make a pretended capitulation, and come over with his troops to the service of the enemy. About the time of entering Arcot, Lally was joined by Bussy. This officer had, by the exercise of extraordinary ability, maintained his position in the court of Salabut Jung, and dexterously threading his way amid the intrigues of the Mohammedan courtiers, headed by the brothers of the subahdar (Nizam Ali and Bassalut Jung), had contrived, with very slender means, to uphold the power of his countrymen in connexion with the ruler they had nominated.* Lally did not, or would not, see that the authority of the French at Hyderabad—that even the important possessions of the Northern Circars, rested almost wholly on the great personal influence of one man; and notwithstanding the arguments and entreaties of Bussy and Salabut Jung, the troops were recalled to Pondicherry. It appears that Lally, having heard of the large sums raised by Dupleix on his private credit, hoped that Bussy might be able to do so likewise; and he listened with mingled surprise and disappointment to the averment of the generous and high-principled officer, that having never used his influence with the subahdar as a means of amassing wealth, he was altogether incapable of affording any material assistance in pecuniary affairs. The government of Pondicherry declared themselves devoid of the means of maintaining the army, upon which Count d'Estaigne and other leading officers agreed in council, that it was better to die by a musket-ball, under the ramparts of Madras, than by hunger within the walls of Pondicherry, and determined to commence offensive operations by endeavouring to bombard the English settlement, shut up the troops in Fort St. George, pillage the Black Town, and lay waste the surrounding country. The sum of 94,000 rupees was raised for the purpose, of which 60,000 were contributed by Lally himself, and the remainder in smaller sums by members of council and private individuals. The force thus sparely provided with the sinews of war, consisted of 2,700 European, and 4,000 Indian troops. The English, apprised of the intended hostilities, made active preparations for defence under the veteran general, Lawrence, and their efforts were again favoured by climatorial influences; for the French expedition, though in readiness to leave Pondicherry at the beginning of November, 1758, was prevented by heavy rains from reaching Madras till the middle of December, and this at a crisis when Lally had not funds to secure the subsistence of the troops for a single week. The spoil of the Black Town† furnished means for the erection of batteries, and the subsequent arrival of a million livres from the Mauritius, led to the conversion of the blockade (which was at first alone intended) into a siege; but, either from prudential considerations or disaffection,‡ the officers refused to second the ardour of their commander; and after nine weeks' tarry (during the last fortnight of which the troops had subsisted almost entirely upon some rice and butter captured in two small vessels from Bengal), the approach of an English fleet of six sail, compelled the enemy to decamp by night with all haste. The state of feeling at Pondicherry may be easily conceived from the assertion of Lally, that the disastrous result of the expedition was celebrated by the citizens as a triumph over its unpopular commander. Their ill-founded rejoicings were of brief continuance; scoffing was soon merged in gloomy apprehensions, destined to find a speedy realisation. The arrival of an important accession to the English force, under Colonel Coote, in October, 1759, decided for the time the struggle between France and England for supremacy in India. Wandewash was speedily attacked and carried. Lally, while marching to attempt its recovery, was met and defeated. Bussy placed himself at the head of a regiment, to lead the men to the charge of the bayonet, as the only means of saving the battle; had his horse wounded under him, was abandoned by the troops, and taken prisoner.

* A detailed account of his proceedings occupies a considerable part of Orme's *Military Transactions*.

† No attempt was made to defend the Black Town; but after its seizure by the French, the English perceiving the intemperance and disorder of the hostile troops, strove to profit by the opportunity, and sallied out 600 strong. They were, however, driven back with the loss of 200 men and six officers.

‡ Orme says the former; Lally, in his *Memoirs*, the latter: at the same time he severely censures the plots and whole conduct of the Pondicherry government, declaring, in an intercepted letter, that he "would rather go and command the Kafirs of Madagascar, than remain in this Sodom; which it is impossible but the fire of the English must destroy sooner or later, even though that of heaven should not."

Chittaput, Arcot, Devicotta, Karical, Valdore, Cuddalore, and other forts, were successively captured; and by the beginning of May, 1760, the French troops were confined to the bounds of Pondicherry, and the English, having received further reinforcements, encamped within four miles of the town. Lally shrank from no amount of danger or fatigue in his exertions to rally the troops and subdue the pervading spirit of mutiny and corruption. As the last chance of upholding the national interest, he resorted to the policy of Dupleix, and looked round for some native power as an auxiliary. The individual on whom he fixed was Hyder Ali,* a soldier of fortune, who had risen to the command of the Mysoor army. With him Lally concluded an agreement, by which Hyder undertook to furnish a certain quantity of bullocks for the supply of Pondicherry, and to join the French with 3,000 picked horse and 5,000 sepoys. In return he was to receive immediate possession of the fort of Theagur—an important station, about fifty miles from Pondicherry, situate near two of the principal passes in the Carnatic, with, it is alleged, the promise even of Madura and Tinnivelly, in the event of the favourable termination of the war. A detachment of the English army, sent to interrupt the march of the Mysoor troops, was defeated; but, after remaining in the vicinity of Pondicherry about a month, Hyder decamped one night

* The great-grandfather of Hyder Ali was a religious person, named Bhelole, who migrated from the Punjab and settled with his two sons at the town of Alund, 110 miles from Hyderabad. Here he erected a small mosque by charitable contributions, and also what is termed a fakeer's *mokan*—that is a house for the fakeer, who attends at the mosque and procures provisions for the use of the worshippers. By this speculation, Bhelole raised some property, but not sufficient to support the families of his sons, who left him and obtained employment at Sera as revenue peons. One of these, named Mohammed Ali, left a son called Futteh, who having distinguished himself for bravery, was promoted to be a Naik or commander of twenty peons. From this position he gradually rose to eminence, and married a lady of a rank superior to his own. The circumstances attending this union were altogether of a romantic character. The father of the lady was robbed and murdered near the borders of Bednore while traversing the peninsula. His widow and two daughters begged their way to Colar, where they were relieved from further difficulty by Hyder Naik, who married both the sisters in succession—a practice not forbidden by the Mohammedan law. Two sons, of whom the younger was the famous Hyder Ali, were born to the second wife, and they had respectively attained the age of nine and seven years, when their father was slain in upholding the cause of the Mohammedan noble whom he served, against the pretensions of a rival candidate for one of the minor Deccani governments in 1728. The patron of Hyder Naik was defeated and slain; the family of the latter fell into the hands of the victor, and on pretence of a balance due from the deceased to the revenues of the province, a sum of money was extorted from his heirs by cruel and ignominious tortures, applied to both the lads, and even, Colonel Wilks supposes, to the widow herself. Hyder Ali waited thirty-two years for an opportunity of revenge; and then, as will be shown in a subsequent page, grasped it with the avidity of a man retaliating an injury of yesterday. Meanwhile his mother, being permitted to depart after having, in the words of her grandson, Tippoo Sultan, "lost everything but her children and her honour," sought refuge among her own kindred. Through the influence of a maternal uncle, the elder boy was received into the service of a Hindoo officer of rank, and gradually rose to a respectable position; but Hyder Ali attained the age of twenty-seven without entering on any profession, in utter ignorance of the first elements of reading and writing, absent from home for weeks together on some secret expedition of voluptuous riot, or passing, as was the custom of his whole life, to the opposite extreme of rigid abstinence and excessive exertion—wandering in the woods in pursuit of wild beasts, himself hardly less ferocious. At length he thought fit to join his brother's corps as a volunteer on a special occasion, and having attracted the attention of Nunjeraj by his singular bravery and self-possession, he was at once placed in command of some troops, and from that time acquired power by rapid steps. The authority of the Mysoor state then rested wholly in the hands of Nunjeraj and his brother Deoraj; but the death of the latter, and the incapacity of the former, induced an attempt on the part of the rajah to become a king in reality as well as name. Hyder at one time sided with, at another against, the rajah, his object in both cases being purely selfish. An invasion of Mysoor by the Mahrattas, in 1759, contributed to his aggrandisement, by giving scope for the exercise of his warlike abilities; but he played a desperate game; for the queen-mother, perceiving his daring temper, dreaded to find her son released from the hands of one usurper only to fall into worse custody, and laid a scheme, in conjunction with a Mahratta chief, for the destruction of Hyder Ali, who was then engaged at a distance from court. Hyder escaped with difficulty, and having travelled ninety-eight miles in twenty hours (the first seventy-five on the same horse), reached Bangalore, the fort and district of which had been given him shortly before as a personal jaghire, just in time to precede the orders sent by the rajah to close the gates against him. The strength of the Mahrattas was shattered by the disastrous battle of Paniput, in 1760; the exhausting strife of the European power in the Carnatic precluded their interference; and Hyder found means to reduce his nominal master to the condition of a state pensioner, and then looked round for further food for ambition. As an illustration of the cruelty of his nature, it is related that when after the successful termination of the rebellion, Kundee Rao, the brave and faithful general of the rajah, was surrendered to the conqueror with an earnest supplication for kind treatment, Hyder replied, that he would not only spare his life, but cherish him like a paroquet; and the miserable captive was accordingly confined in an iron cage, and fed on rice and milk.

with his whole force, on account of internal proceedings which threatened the downfall of his newly-usurped authority in Mysoor. The English, so soon as the rains had ceased, actively besieged Pondicherry. Insubordination, dissension, and privation of every description * seconded their efforts within the walls. Lally himself was sick and worn out with vexation and fatigue. The garrison surrendered at discretion in January, 1760,† and the council of Madras lost no time in levelling its fortifications with the ground.‡

The consequences predicted by Bussy, from his compulsory abandonment of Salabut Jung, had already ensued. An expedition from Bengal, fitted out by the English against the Northern Circars, had wrested from the French these important possessions. Mahé and its dependencies on the Malabar coast had been likewise attacked, and reduced a few months before the fall of Pondicherry. Theagur capitulated after a feeble resistance; and the capture of the strong fort of Jinjee in April, 1761, completed the triumph of the English, and left the French without a single military post in India.

The storm of popular indignation at this disastrous state of affairs was artfully directed upon the devoted head of Lally. On his return to France the ministry, seconded by the parliament of Paris, threw him into the Bastille, and on various frivolous pretexts he was condemned to die the death of a traitor and a felon. Errors of judgment, arrogance, and undue severity might with justice have been ascribed to Lally; but on the opposite side of the scale ought to have been placed uncompromising fidelity to the nation and company he served, and perfect disinterestedness, together with the uninterrupted exercise of energy united to military talents. It is related that he confidently anticipated a triumphant issue to the proceedings instituted against him, and was seated in his dungeon sketching a chart of the Coromandel coast, when tidings of the fatal sentence arrived. "Is this the reward of forty-five years of faithful service?" he exclaimed; and snatching up a pair of compasses, strove to drive them to his heart. The bystanders prevented the fulfilment of this criminal attempt, and left to the representatives of the French nation the disgrace of perpetrating what Voltaire boldly denounced as "a murder committed with the sword of justice." A few hours after his condemnation, Lally, then in the sixty-fifth year of his age, was dragged in a dirty dung-cart through the streets of Paris to the scaffold, a gag being thrust in his mouth to prevent any appeal to the sympathies of the populace.

La Bourdonnais, Dupleix, and Lally, were successive victims to the ingratitude of the French company. Bussy was more fortunate. Upon his capture by the English he was immediately released on parole, greatly to the dismay and disappointment of Mohammed Ali, the nabob of the Carnatic. He subsequently returned to France, and, strengthened by an aristocratic marriage (with the niece of the Duc de Choiseuil), lived to enjoy a high reputation and a con-

* When famine prevailed to an increasing extent in Pondicherry, Lally strove to prolong the defence by sending away the few remaining cavalry, at the risk of capture by the English; by returning all prisoners under a promise not to serve again; and also by expelling the mass of the native inhabitants, to the number of 1,400, without distinction of sex or age. The wretched multitude wandered in families and companies to various points, and sometimes strove to force a path through the hosts of the enemy, or back within the gates from which they had been expelled, meeting on either side death from the sword or the bullet. For eight days the outcasts continued to traverse the circumscribed space between the fortifications and the English encampment, the scant-spread roots of grass affording their sole means of subsistence. At length the English commander suffered the survivors to pass; and though they had neither home nor friends in prospect, deliverance from sufferings more prolonged, if less intense, than those endured in the Black-Hole, was hailed with rapturous gratitude.—(Orme, ii., 699.) An episode like this speaks volumes on the unjustifiable character of a war, between civilised and Christian nations, which is liable to subject heathen populations to calamities so direful and unprovoked.

† The departure of Lally for Madras was marked by a scene of a most discreditable character. The French officers raised a shout of derision, as their late commander passed along the parade a worn and dejected prisoner, and would have proceeded to violence but for the interference of his English escort. The same reception awaited Dubois, the king's commissary. He stopped and offered to answer any accusation that might be brought forward, upon which a man came forth from among the crowd and drew his sword. Dubois did the same: he was of advanced age, with the additional infirmity of defective sight; and the second pass laid him dead at the feet of his antagonist. The catastrophe was received with applause by the bystanders, and not one of them would even assist the servant of the deceased in the removal of the body. The unpopularity of Dubois originated in his energetic protests against the disorder and venality of the local government.

‡ A sharp dispute took place between the officers of the crown and of the company. Colonel Coote claimed Pondicherry for the nation; Mr. Pigot on behalf of his employers; and the latter gentleman being able to enforce his arguments by refusing to advance money for the payment of the troops, unless the point was conceded, gained the day.—(Orme, i., 724.)

siderable fortune. The company itself was soon extinguished,* and the power of the nation in India became quite inconsiderable.

AFFAIRS OF BENGAL RESUMED FROM 1757. —The first important danger which menaced the duration of Meer Jaffier's usurped authority, was the approach of the Shah-zada or heir-apparent to the throne of Delhi, who having obtained from his father formal investiture as subahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, now advanced to assert his claims by force of arms. The emperor (Alumgeer II.) was at this period completely in the power of his intriguing vizier, Shaab or Ghazi-oo-deen (the grandson of the famous nizam); and the prince had only escaped the toils of the imperious minister by cutting his way, sword in hand, with half-a-dozen followers, through the body of guards stationed to retain him a close prisoner within his own palace. The spirit manifested by this daring exploit did not characterise his after career, for he proved quite incapable of grappling with the many difficulties which beset his path. The governors or nabobs of Allahabad and Oude, both virtually independent powers, supported his cause at the onset; and the prince further endeavoured to obtain the support of the English by large promises. His offers were declined, and active co-operation with Meer Jaffier resolved on. The Shah-zada and his adherents advanced to Patna; but the treachery of the nabob of Oude, in taking advantage of the privilege accorded him of a safe place for his family, to seize the fortress of Allahabad, compelled the ruler of that province to march back for the protection or recovery of his own dominions.† The result of their disunion was to bereave the Shah-zada of friends and resources. In this position he solicited a sum of money from the English general in requital for the abandonment of his pretensions in Bengal, and £1,000 were forwarded to the impoverished descendant of a powerful dynasty. Through the influence of Shaab-oo-deen, the emperor was compelled to sign a *sunnud* (edict or commission), transferring the empty title of subahdar of Bengal to his second son, and confirming Meer Jaffier in all real power, under the name of his deputy. Upon this occasion Clive obtained the rank of a lord of the empire, which afforded him a pretext for extorting a jaghire amounting to £30,000 per annum; although, at the very time, the treasury of Bengal was almost exhausted, and the soldiers of the province clamorous for arrears of pay: and moreover, so doubtful a complexion had the alliance between the English and Meer Jaffier already assumed, that immediately after the departure of the Shah-zada, the nabob was suspected of intriguing with a foreign power for the expulsion of his well-beloved coadjutors. The Bengal presidency learned with alarm the approach of a great armament fitted out by the Dutch at Batavia. Seven ships ascended the Hooghly to within a few miles of Calcutta, where 700 European and 800 Malay soldiers disembarked, with the avowed intention of marching thence to the Dutch settlement of Chinsura. England and Holland were at peace; but Clive, notwithstanding the absence of any hostile manifestation on the part of the newly-arrived force, obtained from the nabob a direct contradiction to the encouragement he had previously given, and a positive order for the Dutch to leave the river.‡ An English detachment was sent to intercept the march of the troops to Chinsura, but the officer in command (Colonel Forde) hesitated about proceeding to extremities, and sent to head-quarters for explicit instructions. Clive was engaged at the card-table when the message arrived. Tearing off a slip from the letter just presented to him, he wrote in pencil: "Dear Forde,—Fight 'em immediately, and I'll send an order of council to-morrow." Forde obeyed, and succeeded in completely routing the enemy, so that of the 700 Europeans, not above fourteen reached Chinsura, the rest being either taken pri-

* French trade with India was laid open in 1770; but in 1785 a new company was incorporated, and lasted until 1790, when its final abolishment, at the expiration of two years, was decreed by the National Assembly.—(Macpherson, pp. 275—284.)

† The Allahabad ruler, while marching homeward, was met by M. Law with a French detachment, and entreated to return to the Shah-zada and assist in besieging Patna, which, it was urged, would occasion but a very slight delay. The proposition was rejected; the nabob continued his march, but being eventually persuaded by the rival subahdar to trust to his generosity, was made prisoner and put to death.

‡ The dominant influence of Clive is illustrated by an anecdote recorded in the *Siyar ul Mutakherin*. A fray having taken place between the soldiers of Clive and those of one of the oldest and most attached adherents of Meer Jaffier, the nabob reproached his officer for what had occurred, exclaiming, "Have you yet to learn in what position heaven has placed this Colonel Clive?" The accused replied, that so far from seeking a pretext of quarrel with the colonel, he "never rose in the morning without making three profound bows to his jackass;"—a speech which Scott (*History of the Deccan*, ii., 376) explains as meant in allusion to the nabob himself.

soners or slain. The attack upon the ships was equally successful, the whole being captured. After this heavy blow, the Dutch, to save their settlements in Bengal from total destruction, made peace with their powerful opponents by paying the expenses of the war; while Clive, aware of the irregularity of his proceedings,* facilitated the termination of the dispute by the restoration of the captured vessels in December, 1759. Early in the following year he resigned the government of Bengal, and sailed for England.

It has been asserted that Clive never suffered his personal interests to interfere with those of his employers. Had this been the truth, he would certainly not have quitted India at so critical a period for the E. I. Cy. as the year 1760. It was not age (for he was yet but five-and-thirty) nor failing strength (for he declared himself "in excellent health") that necessitated his departure; neither is it easy to find any less selfish reasons than a desire to place and enjoy in safety his immense wealth, leaving those at whose expense it had been accumulated to bear alone the brunt of the impending storm. His opinion of Meer Jaffier was avowedly changed; for though he continued personally to address him as the most munificent of princes, yet in his semi-official correspondence with his own countrymen, the "generally esteemed" individual of two years ago, becomes an "old man, whose days of folly are without number." The English in general attributed to the ruler of their own nomination every vice previously alleged against Surajah Dowlah. It was urged, that whatever soldierly qualifications he might have possessed in the days of Ali Verdi Khan, had passed with the vigour of youth, leaving him indolent and incapable; but easily carried away by unfounded suspicions to perpetrate, or at least sanction, deeds of midnight assassination against innocent and defenceless persons of either sex.† A native authority‡ describes Meer Jaffier as taking a childish delight in sitting, decked with costly jewels, on the musnud, which he disgraced by habitual intoxication, as well as by profligacy of the most unseemly description. The English he feared and hated, but lacked energy and ability to offer any systematic opposition to their encroachments. The leading Hindoos became objects of aversion to him on account of their intimate connexion with the powerful foreigners, and plots were laid for the destruction of several individuals, with varying success. The chief instigator of these intrigues was Meeran, the heir-apparent, who, in spite of the inexperience of youth and a merciless disposition, possessed a degree of energy and perseverance which, together with strong filial affection, rendered him the chief support of his father's throne.§ The "chuta" (little or young) nabob and the English regarded one another with scarcely disguised distrust. The Begum (or princess), the mother of Meeran, betrayed excessive anxiety for the safety of her only son; and although her affectionate intercessions were treated with contemptuous disdain by the servants of the company, they were far from being uncalled for; since it needed no extraordinary foresight to anticipate that the ill-defined claims, and especially the right of interference in every department of the native government asserted by the English, must end either in their assumption of all power, in name as in reality, or, it was just possible, in their total expulsion from the province.

Clive had quite made up his mind on the matter; and while receiving immense sums from the nabob on the one hand, and the wages of the E. I. Cy. on the other, he addressed a letter from Calcutta, as early as January, 1759, to Mr. Pitt, urging upon him the necessity of affairs in Bengal being viewed as a national question, and a sufficient force sent forthwith "to open a way for securing the subahship to ourselves." The Mogul would, he added, willingly agree to this arrangement in return for a pledge for the payment of fifty lacs annually—a sum which might be easily spared out of revenues amounting to £2,000,000 sterling; and as to Meer Jaffier, there need be no scruple on his account, since he, like all other Mussulmans, was so little influenced by gratitude,

* He remarked, with regard to these transactions, that "a public man may occasionally be called upon to act with a halter round his neck."

† The infant brother or nephew of Surajah Dowlah, on the accession of Meer Jaffier, is stated to have been murdered by being pressed to death between pieces of wood used in packing bales of shawls.

‡ *Siyar ul Mutakherin*, ii., 19.

§ Clive calls him "a worthless young dog," and asserts his belief that he would one day attempt the overthrow of the nabob, blaming "the old fool" at the same time severely for "putting too much power in the hands of his nearest relations;" but there is no evidence to warrant his assertion: on the contrary, Gholam Hussein Khan, though strongly prejudiced against both father and son, gives repeated evidence of the unbroken confidence which subsisted between them.—(*Life*, ii., 104; *Siyar*, ii., 86.)

as to be ready to break with his best friends the moment it suited his interests, while Meeran was "so apparently the enemy of the English, that it will be almost unsafe trusting him with the succession."*

This communication was forwarded to Mr. Pitt by Mr. Walsh, the secretary of Clive. In relating the discussion which followed its presentation, Mr. Walsh writes, that the able minister expressed his views a little darkly (or probably very cautiously) on the subject; mentioned that the company's charter would not expire for twenty years; and stated that it had been recently inquired into, whether the conquests in India belonged to the company or the Crown, and the judges seemed to think to the company; but, he added, "the company were not proper to have it, nor the Crown, for such a revenue would endanger our liberties;" therefore Clive showed "good sense by the suggested application of it to the public."

Here the question dropped for the time, and Clive returned to England, apparently before learning the result of his memorial, and at a time when events of the first importance were taking place.†

The Shah-zada, at the invitation of certain influential nobles of Patna, had already renewed hostilities, when Clive and Forde quitted the country in February, 1760. In the previous December an English detachment, under Colonel Calliaud, had been sent from Calcutta to Moorshedabad, and this force, in conjunction with 15,000 horse and foot, under command of Meeran, marched in the following month to oppose the Mogul prince. Meanwhile the powerful king of the Doorani Afghans was again on his way to ravage Hindoostan. Shaab-oo-deen, the vizier of the pageant-emperor, Alumgeer II., aware of the strangely-assorted friendship which existed between his ill-used master and Ahmed Shah, caused the former to be assassinated, and seated another puppet on the throne. The Shah-zada had entered Bahar, when tidings of the tragical end of his father reached the camp. He assumed the title of Alum Shah, and secured the alliance of Shuja Dowlah, the nabob of Oude; by the promise of the vizierat; conferred on Nujeeb-ad-Dowlah (an able Rohilla chief, staunchly attached to the imperial family) the dignity of ameer-ool-omra;‡ and, with the assistance of these leaders, assembled a considerable force. An engagement took place near Patna, between his troops and those of Meeran and the English. The emperor was defeated, and fled to Bahar, where he continued to maintain a feeble contest until the campaign was abruptly concluded by the death of one of the parties chiefly concerned in its results. A heavy storm commenced on the night of the 2nd of July, and Meeran, the better to escape its violence, quitted his spacious tent for one of less size, lower, and of greater strength. According to eastern usage, a story-teller stationed himself beside the prince, striving to soothe the unquiet spirit to repose, while a domestic chafed his limbs, with the same view of inducing sleep. Fierce thunder-claps long continued to break over the encampment, alternating with vivid flashes of lightning. The fury of the elements at last abated, and some attendants, whose turn it was to keep guard, entered and beheld with dismay the lifeless bodies of Meeran and his companions, all three having perished by the same stroke. Colonel Calliaud considered it impolitic to publish the catastrophe, lest the consequence should be the immediate dispersion of the army of the deceased; he therefore, after certain necessary precautions, caused the body to be dressed, as if alive, and placed on an elephant; marched to Patna with all possible expedition, and distributed the troops in winter quarters. It is scarcely possible to avoid attributing the fate of Meeran to an act of Divine retribution, so cruel and bloodthirsty had been his brief career.§ The previous month had added to the list of victims sacrificed by his father and himself, two aged princesses, the surviving daughters of Ali

* *Life*, ii. 120—122. The succession of Meeran had, it should be borne in mind, been one of the primary conditions made by Meer Jaffier with Clive.

† Mr. Scrafton, in a letter to Clive, states that Meeran, on one occasion, became so excited by the partiality evinced towards a Hindoo governor (Roydullub) who was known to be disaffected to him, that he declared, unless an express guarantee of safety should be given, he would leave Moorshedabad with those who were faithful to him, and, if necessary, fight his way to the nabob, who was then at Patna. Scrafton adds, that the "old Begum sent for Petrus (the Armenian interpreter for the company), and fell a blubbering, saying that she had but that son, and could not spare him."—(Malcolm's *Life*, i., 349.)

‡ *See* previous section on Mogul empire, p. 177.

§ Upon examination, five or six holes were found on the back part of his head, and on his body streaks like the marks of a whip. A scimitar which lay on the pillow above his head had also holes in it, and part of the point was melted. The tent pole appeared as if rotted. Yet, notwithstanding these indications, a rumour arose that the death of Meeran had been caused by the English; and to this unfounded accusation Burke alludes in his famous speech on opening the charges against Warren Hastings.

Verdi Khan; and among his papers was found a list of the names of persons whom he had resolved to cut off at the conclusion of the campaign; determined, as he said, "to rid himself of the disloyal, and sit down in repose with his friends."

The death of Meeran was a terrible blow to his father. The slight barrier which had heretofore in some measure kept down the arrogance and extortion of the English functionaries, and likewise the clamours of the unpaid native troops being now removed, the nabob was left alone to bear, in the weakness of age and intellect, the results of his unhallowed ambition. Clive, with others who had largely benefited by sharing its first-fruits, had gone to enjoy the wealth thus acquired under the safeguard of a free constitution; and their successors would, it was probable, be inclined to look to the expedient of a new revolution as the best possible measure for their private interests, as well as those of their employers. The excitement attendant on the payment of the chief part of the stipulated sums to the Bengal treasury, had before this time given place to depression; that is, so far as the public affairs of the company were concerned. Individuals had accumulated, and were still accumulating large fortunes, to which, in a pecuniary sense, no drawback was attached; but the general trade was in a much less flourishing condition. On being first acquainted with the extent of money and territory ceded by Meer Jaffier, (of which, it may be remarked, Clive gave a very exaggerated account,) the directors sent out word that no supplies would be sent by them to India for several ensuing seasons, as the Bengal treasury would, it was expected, be well able to supply the civil and military exigences of the three presidencies, to provide European investments, and even to make provision for the China trade. This was so far from being the case, that in less than two years after the deposition of Meer Jaffier, "it was found necessary to take up money at interest, although large sums had been received besides for bills upon the Court of Directors." * The distress created in England by these drafts was very great; and even in the year 1758, the holders were with difficulty prevailed upon to grant further time for their liquidation.

The payment of the English troops engaged in repelling the attempts of the Shahzada, presented an additional difficulty. It had been thought that the stipulated sum of one lac of rupees (£10,000) per month, would amply cover their expenditure; but experience proved that amount insufficient to provide for the exigences of the augmented establishment thereby necessitated, even had the money been regularly paid; instead of which, the nabob was greatly in arrears at the time of Clive's departure.

In fact, his own forces were so costly and extensive, that it is alleged they were alone sufficient to absorb the entire revenue. The death of Meeran was quickly followed by an alarming mutiny. The palace was surrounded, the walls scaled, and Meer Jaffier threatened with instant death unless the claims of the really distressed troops were liquidated. Meer Cossim, who had married the only surviving legitimate child of the nabob, interfered for his protection, and brought about an arrangement by the advance of three lacs from his own treasury, and a promise of the balance due in a stated period.

Mr. Vansittart arrived to fill the position of governor of Bengal in July, 1760. An empty treasury; a quarrelsome and dictatorial council; unpaid and disorderly troops; the provision of an investment actually suspended;—these were some of the difficulties which awaited him.† Mr. Holwell, while in the position of temporary governor, had suggested to his fellow-officials, that the cruelty and incapacity of Meer Jaffier justified his abandonment, and proposed that they should change sides—accept the reiterated offers of the emperor, and make common cause with him. This project was rejected; but the necessity for some decisive measure being pretty generally agreed upon, it was at length resolved to offer Meer Cossim Ali the limited degree of real power still residing in the person of the nabob, on condition of the title and a fixed income being left with Meer Jaffier, and certain additional concessions made to the English.

Mr. Vansittart acquiesced in the scheme formed by Mr. Holwell and the select committee. One or two members of the general council, when the intended change was first hinted at, dissented on the ground that the incapacity of Meer Jaffier was itself favourable to the interests of the company; but the urgent need of fresh supplies of funds to meet increased expenditure, combined per-

* Vansittart's *Narrative of Transactions in Bengal*, i., 22. The same authority states, that in 1760 the military and other charges in Bengal amounted to upwards of £200,000 per ann.; while the net revenue did not exceed £80,000—(p. 97.)

† Vansittart's *Letter to E. I. Proprietors*, p. 13.

haps with less easily avowed motives on the part of certain influential persons overpowered this reasoning, and a treaty was entered into by the governor and select committee with Meer Cossim, by which he agreed to assign to the English the revenues of the three districts of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, in discharge of the balance due from his father-in-law. On the night on which the articles were signed, Meer Cossim tendered to Mr. Vansittart a note for the payment of twenty lacs of rupees to the five members of the select committee. Considering the large sums extorted from Meer Jaffier on a previous occasion, it was only natural to expect some similar instance of "munificence" in the present case; though, from the impoverished state of the revenues, the amount must of necessity be greatly inferior. The note was, however, returned, and the governor and committee, if they had not the self-denial wholly to reject the tempting offer, displayed at least a sufficient regard to decorum to refuse accepting any portion of it, until Meer Cossim should be seated in security on the musnud, and all the conditions of the treaty fulfilled. In the meantime they appear to have made no private agreement whatever; but, in lieu of it, to have asked a contribution of five lacs for the company, which was immediately paid and employed in aid of the operations then in progress against the French at Pondicherry.

The deposition of Meer Jaffier was effected with so much ease, that on the evening of the day on which it took place, a stranger entering Moorshedabad would scarcely have suspected the revolution that had so recently occurred. When first informed of his intended supercession, the nabob manifested an unexpected degree of energy—declared that his son, Meeran, had warned him what would happen, and even threatened to oppose force by force, and abide his fate. But this was the mere effervescence of impotent rage. The palace was surrounded by English troops, and he possessed few, if any, on whose fidelity reliance could be placed; besides which, so "general a disaffection against his government, and detestation of his person and principles, prevailed in the country amongst all ranks and classes of people," that Mr. Vansittart declared, "it would have been scarcely possible for the old nabob to have saved himself from being murdered, or the city from plunder, another month."*

Scarcity alike of money and provisions began to be painfully felt throughout Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Moorshedabad, once the seat of unparalleled abundance, had become the abode of poverty-stricken multitudes; while Patna, exposed for two years to the ravages of the imperial forces, and threatened with renewed invasion, instead of furnishing, as in times of peace, vast stores of rice, was now almost a wildernesss. Amid this wide-spread misery, the man from whom aid was expected continued to lavish sums extorted by oppression on favourites of the most unworthy character; and pleasures (if they deserve that name) of the most disreputable description. The measure of his iniquities was filled by the sanction or direction given by him, in conjunction with Meeran, for the midnight assassination of Gassitee Begum and Amina Begum,† which, in the case of the former princess, was an act of peculiar ingratitude as well as cruelty, since she had been extremely useful to him during the fifteen months' sway of her nephew, Surajah Dowlah. It must be remembered, that Colonel Clive had viewed the assassination of that prince with utter indifference; and it is the less to be wondered at that so sanguinary a commencement having passed uncensured, Meer Jaffier should have allowed his son to follow out the same course until he was cut off as one who, though unscathed by human laws, yet "vengeance suffereth not to live." The

* Vansittart's *Narrative*, i., 100—138.

† Among the reasons stated by the governor and committee for the deposition of Meer Jaffier, was a massacre committed by his orders at Dacca in June, 1760, in which the mother of Surajah Dowlah, his aunt, his widow and daughter, and a boy adopted into the family, were taken from prison at midnight and drowned, together with seventy persons of inferior note. Such wholesale slaughter as this, if actually perpetrated, would have cast into the shade even the enormities which formed the steps to the Mogul throne; yet it does not seem that any official inquiry was instituted in the matter. So hardened do the minds of Europeans become by familiarity to the worst features of despotism, that Messrs. Amyatt, Ellis, and Smyth, the three dissenting members of council, in their minute complaining of not having been duly consulted regarding the recent measures adopted by the select committee, positively palliate the charges brought against Meer Jaffier as cruelties which would appear shocking to a civilised government, but which were common to all despotic ones. In fact, the transaction, infamous as it really was, had been greatly magnified; for in October, 1765, it was officially stated by the government of Bengal, that of the five principal victims named above, only two had perished; the rest had been kept in confinement, and were subsequently set at liberty. (Thornton's

death of Meeran formed a new feature in the complicated question upon which Mr. Vansittart was called upon to decide. The prince was well known to have been the chief counsellor and abettor of his father's actions; and it may be doubted whether Mr. Holwell's proposition (of abandoning Meer Jaffier and surrendering the government to the emperor) being wholly set aside, it would not have been wiser to have avoided the questionable expedient of a supercession, by suffering the present nabob to continue to occupy the musnud, but with a very limited degree of authority. It was evident things could not remain as they were; the power of the English was too great and too little—altogether too undefined to be stationary; and though there is much reason to believe that the course pursued in this difficult crisis was really prompted by an honest desire for the good of all parties, yet, like most temporising measures, the result was total and disastrous failure.

The resignation forced upon Meer Jaffier appears, under the circumstances, rather a boon than a punishment. The first outburst of rage having subsided, he listened calmly to the proposals made to him—prudently rejected the offer of continuing to enjoy the empty semblance of power, while the reality was to be vested in another person; and simply stipulated that he should be suffered to proceed immediately to Calcutta, and reside there under British protection. It has been alleged that his ambitious son-in-law objected strongly to such a procedure, and would have preferred disposing of his predecessor after a more summary fashion:* but be this as it may, Meer Jaffier quitted Moorshedabad the very evening of his deposition, bearing away, to solace his retirement, about seventy of the ladies of the harem, and "a reasonable quantity of jewels." His only lawful wife (the mother of Meeran) refused to accompany him, and remained with her daughter and Meer Cossim. Thus ends one important though not very creditable page of Anglo-Indian history in Bengal.

ADMINISTRATION OF MEER COSSIM ALI.—The question uppermost in the mind of every member of the Bengal presidency, whether friendly or adverse to the new nabob, was—how he would manage to fulfil the treaty with the English, pay the sums claimed by them, and liquidate the enormous arrears due to his own clamorous troops? Being an able financier, a rigid economist in personal expenditure, and a man of unwearying energy, Meer Cossim set about the Herculean task of freeing himself from pecuniary involvements, and restoring the prosperity of the country by measures which soon inspired the English officials with the notion that, so far as their personal interests were concerned, the recent revolution might prove as the exchange of King Log for King Stork. Strict accounts of income and expenditure were demanded from the local governors, from the highest to the lowest; the retrospect was carried back even to the time of Ali Verdi Khan; and many who had long since retired to enjoy, in comparative obscurity, wealth gotten by more or less questionable means, while basking in the short-lived sunshine of court favour, were now compelled to refund at least a portion of their accumulations. In short, according to Gholam Hussein, the advice of Sadi the poet—"Why collectest thou not from every

British India, i., 387.) This does not free the English authorities from blame regarding the fate of those who really perished, and the hazard incurred by the survivors, who were left at the caprice of an apathetic old man and a merciless youth. But so little concern was manifested when human lives and not trading monopolies were concerned, that Meeran, being reproached by Scrafton (then British resident at Moorshedabad) for the murder of one of the female relatives of Ali Verdi Khan, did not take the trouble of replying, as he truly might, that she was alive, but asked, in the tone of a petulant boy who thought he "might do what he willed with his own," "What, shall not I kill an old woman who goes about in her dooly (litter) to stir up the jematdars (military commanders) against my father?" The perceptions of the Bengal public were, happily, not quite so obtuse as those of their Mohammedan or European rulers; and the murder of the princesses (with or without their alleged companions of inferior rank) was held to be so foul a crime, that the fire of heaven, which smote the perpetrator, was popularly believed to have been called down by Amina Begum (the mother of Surajah Dowlah), who in dying uttered the vengeful wish, that the lightning might fall on the murderer of herself, her child, and her sister. The imprecation is of fearful meaning in Bengal, where loss of life during thunder-storms is of frequent occurrence; and the tale ran, that the deaths of Meeran and his victims were not, as stated in the text, a month apart, but simultaneous, the fatal orders being executed at Dacca on the same night and hour that Meeran perished, several hundred miles away. (*Siyar ul Mutakherin*, ii., 133.) The translator adds, in a note, that the imprecation of Amina Begum was mentioned in Moorshedabad full thirty days before intelligence became public of the death of Meeran.

* This charge will be found in Holwell's *Indian Tracts*, 90—91; but in a subsequent page it is denied by Mr. Holwell, the person to whom the proposition is stated to have been made.—(*Idem*, p. 114.)

subject a grain of silver, that thou mayest form a treasure?"—became the rule of Meer Cossim; and, in the short space of eight months, he wrought a wonderful change for the better, though at a cost of personal exertion which he described by declaring, that he had "scarce had leisure to drink a little water, nor a minute's time to eat or enjoy sleep."*

Such rigid supervision was sure to displease those especially by whom it was most needed; and the camp of the Mogul became in consequence the rallying ground of many discontented zemindars and petty rajahs who were not strong enough to rebel in their own names. Early in 1761 an engagement took place between the imperial forces and those of Meer Cossim and the English under Major Carnac. The emperor was again defeated; the small French corps by which he had been supported quite dispersed; and its indefatigable leader, M. Law, taken prisoner.† Immediately after the battle, overtures of peace were made by the victors, through the intervention of a brave Hindoo general, whose name, whatever it may have been, has been anglicised into Rajah Shitabroy. The proposition was gladly accepted; Shah Alum proceeded to Patna, and there bestowed on Meer Cossim the investiture of the government of the three provinces, on condition of the annual payment of twenty-four lacs of rupees.‡ The English commander then escorted the emperor some distance on his road to join Shuja Dowlah, the nabob of Oude. External hostility had scarcely been removed from the path of Meer Cossim, before obstacles of a domestic character took its place. Several Hindoo officials of high rank persisted in evading his just demands for a settlement of outstanding accounts, and screened themselves from punishment, or even from inquiry, through the intervention of the English. Ram Narrain, the governor of Patna, afforded a remarkable example of this ill-judged partiality. He had been placed in office by Ali Verdi Khan, and was one of the few nobles whose fidelity to Surajah Dowlah remained inviolate. After the deposition and murder of this prince, Meer Jaffier had urgently solicited Clive to induce Ram Narrain to come to Moorshedabad under the promise of British protection, in order, as the proposer of this notable scheme did not hesitate to avow, to obtain a convenient opportunity for cutting off his head. The experience of Clive in the art of writing "soothing" letters to an intended victim, was, happily for the national honour, not made use of in the present case; on the contrary, the ungenerous policy of maintaining a rival party in the court of the nabob, induced favourable terms to be made with Ram Narrain, and he was confirmed in his government despite the opposition of his nominal master.

As might be expected under such circumstances, between constant warfare and a disaffected ruler, the revenues of Patna proved of little benefit to the exhausted treasury of Moorshedabad. Ram Narrain scarcely disguised the hatred and contempt he felt for Meer Jaffier, and found no difficulty in resisting or evading his demands; but Meer Cossim was a man of a different stamp; and a fierce and prolonged dispute took place between the nabob and the governor—the former demanding the immediate settlement of all arrears; the latter, on one pretence or other, refusing even to render the accounts justly demanded from him. The refractory subordinate relied on the protection of the English, and long continued to be upheld in his unwarrantable

* Vansittart's *Narrative*, i., 214.

† After the fate of the day had been decided, Law, though deserted by his countrymen, refused to quit the field; and vexed to the soul by the utter failure of his attempts to uphold the interests of the French nation, sat down astride a gun, ready to fling away his life, when an attempt should be made to capture him. Major Carnac found him in this attitude, accepted his surrender on parole without delivering up his sword, and subsequently, in common with all the other British officers, treated the captive with marked consideration. Gholam Hussein Khan highly extols this chivalrous behaviour, and finds frequent occasion to applaud in the strongest manner the military qualifications of the English; adding, that if they did but possess equal proficiency in the arts of government, and manifested as much solicitude for the welfare of native communities in time of peace, as they did forethought in war, then no nation in the world would be worthier of command. "But," he adds, "such is the little regard they show to the people of these kingdoms, and such their apathy and indifference to their welfare, that the natives under their dominion groan everywhere, and are reduced to poverty and distress."—(*Siyar ul Mutakherin*, ii., 102.)

‡ Meer Cossim, aware of the strong personal prejudice of Major Carnac towards himself, refused to enter the imperial camp, lest some design against him—such as it appears was actually entertained by Carnac and Ellis (Vansittart's *Narrative*, ii., 399)—should be put in practice. Therefore the investiture was performed in the hall of the English factory, a platform being made of two dining-tables covered with cloth, on which to enthrone the fallen majesty of the house of Timur.

refusal to furnish any statement of his administration by the military commanders then stationed at Patna; but at length the representations of Meer Cossim, regarding the violent conduct of Colonel Coote* and Major Carnac, occasioned their recall, and left Ram Narrain in the hands of the nabob, by whom his person was seized and his effects confiscated, on the charge of embezzlement.

The truth was, the whole affair had been treated rather as a bone of contention among the jarring members of the Bengal presidency, than as a question of justice. The secret of their disunion appears to have been sheer jealousy of the present offered by Meer Cossim to the select committee previous to his accession, which they refused receiving until the claims of the company should be satisfied, peace restored, and the long standing arrears of the native troops entirely liquidated.†

These preliminaries having been fulfilled, it was probably expected that Meer Cossim would repeat his offer of the twenty lacs of rupees to the individuals by whom it had been temporarily rejected. The remaining members of council (not of the select committee) became extremely violent on the subject, and instead of pleading, as they might have reasonably done, against being excluded from all share in a transaction which they had about as much, or as little right to benefit by as their colleagues, the tone adopted was one of disinterested zeal for the interest of their employers, in whose name it was insisted the twenty lacs should be immediately demanded from Meer Cossim. This motion was brought forward by Mr. Amyatt, who, as Governor Vansittart did not fail to remark, had been of a different opinion some three years before, or he would scarcely have accepted a share in the golden harvest obtained by the elevation of Meer Jaffier, without exhibiting any such scrupulous regard to the interests of the general body. The result of a subsequent nabob-making affair proved that another stickler for the rights of the company (Mr. Johnstone) was equally willing, when practicable, to make a bargain on his own account. The measure was, however, carried by a majority of the entire council, and a formal requisition to the above effect made to Meer Cossim. The answer was prompt and decisive. The nabob, after stating, "by the grace of God, that he had fulfilled every article of the treaty,"‡ declared, "I owe nobody a single rupee, nor will I pay your demand." The sum intended for the select committee had been, he said, positively refused; most of the gentlemen to whom it was offered had left the country; and as to the one or two still in India, "I do not think," adds the nabob, "they will demand it from me."§ The directors at home clearly appreciated the motives of all concerned, and expressed decided approbation of the "spirited" refusal given to an unauthorised encroachment.

But the fire of anger and distrust, far from being extinguished by such well-merited rebuffs, was fed by various concomitant circumstances. An angry, if not insolent|| memorial, dictated by Clive immediately before sailing for England, and addressed by

* For instance, Meer Cossim complained that on one occasion Colonel Coote, accompanied by thirty-five European horsemen and 200 sepoys, entered his tent in a great passion with a pistol in either hand, crying out, "Where is the nabob?" and uttering "God dammees!" Colonel Coote tacitly admitted the truth of this statement, with the trivial exception that his pistols were not cocked, as the nabob had declared.—(Vansittart's *Narrative*, i., 238—244.)

† Soon after his accession, Meer Cossim took occasion to present Mr. Vansittart with a present of 25,000 rupees on the birth of a son—an ordinary eastern compliment, which the governor accepted, but immediately paid into the company's treasury.

‡ A receipt in full was given to Meer Cossim in March, 1762, from all pecuniary obligation to the English. A minute in council showed that he had paid them twenty-six lacs of sicca rupees (valued at 2*s.* 8½*d.* each), together with fifty-three lacs of current rupees (2*s.* 4*d.* each), derived from the ceded districts. He had likewise satisfied the claims both of his own and his predecessor's troops.—(*Narrative.*)

§ It appears, however, from the evidence given before parliament, in 1772, by Colonel Calliaud and Mr. Sumner, that the twenty lacs were actually paid by Meer Cossim, and received in the following proportions:—the governor, five lacs (£50,000); Holwell, Sumner, Calliaud, and M'Gwire, in diminishing portions, according to seniority. This makes the select committee to have consisted of five persons; but beside these, it appears there were others not then present at Calcutta. The committee consisted of the senior members of the council, and the council itself varied in the number of members from six to sixteen, according to the number of those absent in their employments as chiefs of factories, &c.

|| One phrase declares that a recent communication from the directors was equally unworthy of the parties by whom it was written, or those to whom it was addressed, "in whatever relation considered—as masters to servants, or gentlemen to gentlemen;" and it is added, significantly, that from the partiality evinced to individuals, "private views may, it is much to be feared, take the lead here from examples at home, and no gentlemen hold your service longer, nor exert themselves further in it, than *their own exigencies require.*" This remarkable specimen of plain speaking boasts the signatures of Clive, Holwell, Sumner, and M'Gwire, all of whom were dismissed the service, as also another councillor named Pleydell.

the Bengal officials to their "honourable masters," procured the dismissal of all by whom it had been signed. This measure failed in producing the intended effect; for of the refractory members, the majority, like their leader, had realised immense fortunes by the use of more or less discreditable means; others paid the penalty of sharing the violence of their predecessors by expulsion from the company's service. Although subsequently reinstated, their temporary absence left the governor in a minority in council, and vested the personal opponents of the nabob with overwhelming power. Mr. Vansittart, in rectitude of character, discretion, and gentlemanly bearing, was infinitely superior to his fellow-officials; but he lacked energy to control their unruly tempers, and successfully oppose their selfish ends. It appears that he and the other four gentlemen associated with him (that is, all the members of the select committee then in Bengal), did eventually receive from Cossim Ali the much-canvassed twenty lacs. This single drawback on a general reputation for disinterestedness, afforded an opening of which his enemies well knew how to take advantage, and every effort made to check their illegitimate gains was treated as an act of corrupt and venal partiality towards the nabob.

We have already seen that in the time of Moorshed Kooli Khan, the English officials had striven to construe the firmauns granted by the emperor Ferokshcer, as conferring not only exemption from custom-dues on all foreign commerce, but as including the produce of the country, which they asserted ought to pass untaxed, if accompanied by their *dustucks* or licenses, even from one district to another. Now, as half the local revenue was, by the system universally pursued, obtained by innumerable petty dues levied on merchandise, at frequent intervals, in its passage from place to place, it followed that such an unreasonable claim, if granted, must prove highly injurious to the income of the province, and ruinous to the native traders, who, fettered by taxation, could not hope to compete with their favoured rivals. The manifest injustice of the demand procured its speedy, and for a time, complete abandonment. At a subsequent period the directors (in a dispute with the Dutch regarding the right of the emperor to grant the English merchants a monopoly for the sole purchase of saltpetre, notwithstanding the promise of free trade conceded to their competitors) laid it down as an axiom, that the design of all firmauns granted to Europeans was to admit them "to the same freedom of trading with the Mogul's own subjects—surely not a better."* In fact, the interests of the company were in no manner concerned in the question of inland traffic, because this had been entirely resigned to their servants; and every attempt at encroachment made by them during the strong administrations of Moorshed Kooli and Ali Verdi Khan had been carefully suppressed, until the latter ruler became weakened by age, foreign wars, and domestic sorrows. The previous efforts were recommenced and increased at the time of the accession of Surajah Dowlah—so much so, that the articles signed by the English on the surrender of Cossimbazar in May, 1757, included a specific promise to make good all that the Mohammedan government had suffered from the abuse of dustucks.† This pledge was far from being redeemed, and the abuse complained of rose to such an extent, despite the repeated remonstrances of Meer Jaffier, that not only every servant of the company, together with their *gomastahs* or native agents, claimed complete immunity in carrying on inland trade in salt, betel-nut, tobacco, bamboos, dried fish, &c., but even the Bengalee merchants found it expedient to purchase the name of some member of the presidency; and by virtue of "dustucks" thus obtained, could laugh at the revenue officers, and compel the natives, on penalty of flogging or imprisonment,‡ to buy goods at more, or sell them at considerably less, than the market price.§

Had Mr. Vansittart been a man of more determination, he might probably have averted a new revolution; but the compromising character of his measures served only to encourage his intractable associates. In taking a firm stand on the justice of the question, and insisting upon the proper pay-

* Vansittart's *Narrative*, ii., 153.

† Treaty with Surajah Dowlah; *vide* Scrafton's *Reflections on the Government of Indostan*, p. 63.

‡ Vansittart's *Narrative*, ii., 113.

§ The existence and notoriety of these practices is evidenced in a letter from the directors, dated April, 1760, in which it is asserted, that the chiefs of subordinate factories gained full twenty per cent. upon goods supplied to private traders, often exclusive of commission; while the native merchants "apply to our junior servants, and for valuable considerations receive their goods covered with our servants' names: even a writer trades in this manner for many thousands, when at the same time he has often not real credit for an hundred rupees. For the truth of these assertions we need only appeal to yourselves.'

ment of taxes necessary to the maintenance of the country government, he would doubtless have been supported by the directors, who, unbiassed by self-interest, would then, as on a subsequent occasion, have given an honest decision on so plain a case. But Vansittart, aware of the extreme anxiety of the nabob to preserve peace with the English, hoped to bring about an arrangement by offering, on their behalf, the payment of nine per cent. (a rate not a quarter the amount of that exacted from native traders) upon the prime cost of goods at the time of purchase, after which no further duties should be imposed. These terms were settled at a private interview between the nabob and the governor, and the latter departed highly pleased at having brought about an amicable adjustment. But he did not understand the blinding influence of the factious and grasping spirit of the men with whom he had to deal. The members of council, absent in their capacities of chiefs of factories, were called together: even majors Adams and Carnac, though empowered to give a vote only in military affairs, were suffered to come and join a discussion in which they were unprofessionally, and not very creditably, interested as traders; and the result was, the refusal of an overwhelming majority to ratify the pledge given by their president. Warren Hastings, who had lately been elevated to the council, alone stood by Vansittart, and eloquently pleaded the cause of justice, relating the oppressions he had himself witnessed while employed in an inferior capacity in different factories, but with no beneficial result.*

Meer Cossim soon saw the state of the case;—a governor, willing but unable to protect him against the rapacity of subordinate officials. He knew their vulnerable point; and instead of wasting more time in fruitless complaints, aimed a well-directed blow by proclaiming free trade among his own subjects for the ensuing two years. It was clearly the most equitable and statesmanlike measure that could have been adopted; but the council, in their unbridled wrath at having the native traders placed on a level with themselves, denounced it as a shameless infringement on the company's prerogative; and, upon this flimsy pretext, sent a deputation to the nabob, consisting of Mr. Amyatt and Mr. Hay, to demand its immediate annulment. Meer Cossim refused to discuss the subject, and, in commenting on the decision of the council—that all disputes between English gomastahs and his officers, should be referred to the chiefs of the company's factories—he said their justice consisted simply in this:—"they abuse and beat my officers, and send them away bound." Regarding the immediate question at issue, he vindicated the abolition of customs on the plea of necessity, the conduct of the English having utterly prevented their realisation, and thus deprived him of one-half his revenues. The remainder, he added, arose from land-rents, which were diminished by the abstraction of half the country, and were required to pay his standing army. Under these circumstances he would be well pleased to be relieved of his irksome task, and see some other person placed in his stead as nabob. This proposition was probably made in reference to the projects already canvassed in council (and of which he doubtless had some knowledge), for his supercession in the event of the outbreak of hostilities. The tone and bearing of Meer Cossim were, however, still on the whole so deprecating and conciliatory, that no fear of the consequences appears to have arisen in the minds of the council to suggest the danger of driving him to extremities. The governor explicitly declares that, up to this period, the nabob had not shown "any instance of a vicious or a violent disposition; he could not be taxed with any act of cruelty to his own subjects, nor treachery to us."† Of his troops a very contemptible opinion had been formed; they were spoken of as "undisciplined rabble," whom a single European detachment could at once disperse: while Meer Cossim himself was known to possess neither taste nor talent as a military leader; and the chief warlike enterprise of his administration (an invasion of Nepaul) had proved a failure. But sufficient account had not been made of the care with which the native army had been gradually brought to a state of unprecedented efficiency; their number being diminished by the payment and dismissal of useless portions, while the remainder were carefully trained, after the European manner, by the aid of some military adventurers who entered the service of Meer Cossim. Among these the most celebrated was a man called by the natives

* In the course of these discussions, Mr. Batson, one of the council, struck Hastings a blow. The injured party, with true dignity, left to his colleagues the charge of dealing with the offender.

† Vansittart's *Narrative*, iii., 394.

Sumroo.* He was a German, Walter Reinehard by name, and came to India as a sergeant in the service of France. Military abilities raised him to high favour with Meer Cossim, and he became the chief instigator and instrument of the cruelties which disgraced the close of the struggle with the presidency. The abuse of certain discretionary powers vested in Mr. Ellis by the council, despite the opposition of the governor, precipitated matters. Patna was seized by the English, and, to their surprise, immediately regained by Meer Cossim. Mr. Amyatt was at this time on his way back to Calcutta; Mr. Hay being detained as a hostage for the safety of some of the native officials then imprisoned at Calcutta. Orders were given for the capture of Mr. Amyatt: he was intercepted, and, with several of his companions, slain in the struggle which ensued. The council closed all avenues to reconciliation with Meer Cossim, by the restoration of the man who, three years before, had been pronounced utterly unfit to reign. Suddenly annulling all that had been said and done—setting aside the imperial investiture, and everything else, Meer Jaffier, without even the form of a fresh treaty, was, by a strange turn of the wheel of circumstances, again hurried to the musnud from whence he had so lately been ignominiously expelled.

Vansittart, overpowered by bitter opposition, and sinking under ill-health, no longer strove to stem the torrent. It was an emergency in which he thought "justice must give way to necessity,"† and accordingly he signed the proclamation inviting the people of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa to rally round the standard of Meer Jaffier; with other documents, whose contents were wholly at variance with his previous measures; only declaring that he would resign the government so soon as Meer Cossim should be subdued. This did not prove so easy a task as had been expected. The ex-nabob made a last effort at an accommodation by a letter to the presidency, in which he denied having given any order for the destruction of Mr. Amyatt; but, at the same time, referred significantly to the number of English captured at Patna, plainly intimating that their fate depended on the terms made with him. The threat was little heeded. So perfect and uniform had been his self-control, that not even the governor or Mr. Hastings (the two Europeans who had most intimately known him) ever suspected the fierce passions which lay hid beneath the veil of a singularly dignified bearing and guarded language. No decisive measure was therefore taken for the rescue of the prisoners, but only letters written, threatening unsparing vengeance in the event of any injury being inflicted upon them. These communications did but add fuel to fire. Meer Cossim well knew the stake for which he played—independent sway over at least a part of Bengal, or a violent death, with the possible alternative of poverty and expatriation in the dominions of his powerful neighbour, Shuja Dowlah. The English took the field in 1763, and commenced operations by the successful attack of the army stationed to protect Moorshedabad. The city was captured; and in the following month, the severest conflict which the English had yet sustained took place on the plain of Geriah. The battle lasted four hours, and the enemy at one period broke the line, seized two guns, and attacked the 84th regiment front and rear. But the steadiness of the troops prevailed over the impetuosity of their assailants, and eventually procured a complete victory. Meer Cossim was driven from place to place; defeat and disgrace dogged his steps; and after sending his family and treasures to the stronghold of Rhotas, he commenced a series of executions at once, to gratify his revenge and intimidate his foes. Ram Narrain, with ten relatives, and other native prisoners of note, were the first victims after the battle of Geriah. A no less disastrous engagement, in September, near Oodwa, was followed by the execution of the celebrated bankers, Juggut Seit and his brother (or cousin), of whose persons the nabob had some time before obtained possession. Finally, the treacherous surrender of Monghyr, which he learned at Patna, occasioned an order for the immediate execution of all prisoners confined there, including fifty of the company's servants, civil and military. Among the number were Hay, Ellis, and Lushington (the person before named as having counterfeited the signature of Admiral Watson.) Mr. Fullarton, a surgeon, in virtue of a profession more peaceful than his practice,‡

* His *nom-de-guerre* of Summer was changed by the French soldiers into Sombre, on account of his dark complexion, pronounced by the natives *Sumroo.*

† Vansittart's *Narrative*, iii., 317.

‡ He is stated by Vansittart to have been mainly instrumental in urging Mr. Amyatt, with whom he

formed the sole exception to this savage massacre, which was perpetrated by Sumroo and two companies of sepoys. On the advance of the English, Patna was abandoned by its ruthless master; but the capture was not effected until the middle of November, after a prolonged and resolute defence. Meer Cossim, unable to offer further resistance, crossed the Caramnassa as a fugitive, and threw himself upon the protection of his ally, Shuja Dowlah, the nabob of Oude, who, from the nominal vizier, had by this time become the gaoler, of Shah Alum. Early in the following year, an army was assembled at Benares by Shuja Dowlah, who, it appears, desired to make the claims of his *protégé* a pretext for obtaining possession of the three provinces for himself. The prospect of invasion was alarming—less from the strength of the enemy than from the mutinous and disaffected condition of the British force. From the moment when a division of booty, to a hitherto unheard-of extent, commenced at the taking of Geriah in 1756, a marked deterioration had, as Clive truly observed, taken place in their health and discipline. Large numbers perished from sheer debauchery; and the survivors, imitating the civilians, were constantly on the watch for some new source of irregular gain. "A gratification to the army" had been one of the articles canvassed in council, as a point to be insisted on in case of Meer Cossim's supercession; but war had come on them at the last so suddenly, and had been attended with such an unexpected amount of danger and expense, that in the terms dictated to Meer Jaffier, after his reinstatement on the musnud, the council had scarcely leisure to do more than stipulate for thirty lacs on behalf of the company; for the reimposition of taxes on the oppressed natives; for their own total exemption, except a duty of two-and-a-half per cent. upon salt,* which, in their liberality, they offered to pay as a gratuitous assistance to the nabob; and, lastly, for complete reimbursement to individuals who might suffer loss by the stoppage of the inland trade. It is easy to understand who these individuals were, but difficult to conceive to what an extent a clause so indefinite as this might enable them to carry their extortions. Even Meer Jaffier seems to have had a notion that, in return for these stipulations, he also might put forward some peculiar claims; and he now successfully urged, as a condition of re-accepting the subahship, permission to employ, as one of his chief ministers, an intriguing Hindoo named Nuncomar, who was actually in confinement for having intrigued against the English with Shuja Dowlah and the French governor of Pondicherry. In these arrangements, all idea of a gratuity to the army was lost sight of; nor was any forthcoming, as expected, after the expulsion of Meer Cossim, although a specific pledge to that effect had, it appears, been given to the troops through Major Adams.†

Under such circumstances little vigour was displayed in opposing the invading troops, until, after ravaging Bahar, they penetrated as far as Patna. Here, however, they were defeated. The English soldiers and sepoys—but especially the latter, on whom the principal weight of the attack fell—behaved with great steadiness and gallantry; and the vizier, perceiving that his rude levies were quite unable to oppose a disciplined European force, soon began to evince an inclination for an amicable adjustment of affairs. But the English would make no terms that did not include the surrender of the fugitive nabob and his sanguinary instrument, Sumroo; and Shuja Dowlah, on his part, looked for nothing less than the surrender of the whole province of Bahar: consequently the discussion produced no result; and the tedious war dragged on until the approach of the rainy season compelled the vizier to conclude the campaign by retreating with all speed to Oude.

The arrival of Major (afterwards Sir Hector) Munro from Bombay, with European reinforcements, was the signal for an outbreak of the dissatisfaction long at work in the British army; and a whole battalion of sepoys, with their arms and accoutrements, marched off to join the enemy. The major detached a select body of troops in pursuit. The fugitives were surprised by night, while sleeping, and brought back as prisoners. By the decree of a court-martial of their own countrymen, twenty-four of the prisoners were condemned to die. They were tied up, four at a time, to the muzzle of as many guns, and blown away; the first to suffer being some grenadiers, who stepped forward and urged that, as they had constantly been allowed precedence in the hour of danger, so now it should be granted them in death. The claim was

had great influence, to adopt the policy which led to so melancholy a termination.—(*Narrative*, i., 164.)

* Even this rate was never levied.—(*Clive*, iii., 103.)

† Evidence of Major Munro.—(*First Report of Parliamentary Committee*, 1772.)

tacitly admitted to be true, by being granted, and the whole twenty-four were executed, despite the earnest remonstrances and even open opposition of their comrades.

Military men have applauded this transaction as a piece of well-timed and necessary severity; those who, like myself, question both the lawfulness and expediency of capital punishments, and deem war and standing armies the reproach and not the glory of Christian nations, will probably view the whole affair in a different light.

In the middle of September (1764) the British troops again took the field, and having crossed the Sone in spite of the opposition of a corps of cavalry, advanced towards the intrenched camp of the vizier at Buxar. A sharp conflict took place, and lasted about three hours; the enemy then began to give way, and slowly retired; but an immediate pursuit being commenced, Shuja Dowlah procured its abandonment, though at an immense sacrifice of life,* by destroying a bridge of boats upon a stream of water two miles from the field of battle. The emperor seized the opportunity of escaping from his tyrannical minister, pitched his tents beside those of the English, and placed himself under their protection. Renewed overtures for peace, on the part of Shuja Dowlah, were again met by a demand for the surrender of Meer Cossim and Sumroo. The former, fearing to trust his life any longer in the hands of one who had already taken advantage of his defenceless position to obtain possession of the chief part of the gold and jewels which he had brought from Bengal, now fled to the Rohilla country, whither he had fortunately caused some treasure to be conveyed before the confiscation ordered by his ungenerous ally, on pretence of paying the troops. Sumroo, no less faithless than cruel, had deserted him; and, with a large body of trained sepoys, had joined the force of Shuja Dowlah before the battle of Buxar. This piece of treachery nearly proved fatal to its perpetrator; for the vizier, anxious to come to terms with the English, and yet to avoid the infamy of delivering up the deserter, positively offered to procure his assassination in presence of any two or three witnesses chosen by Major Munro, and evinced great surprise at the rejection of this truly oriental proposal. It should be remarked, however, in justice to Shuja Dowlah, that though willing to plunder Meer Cossim to the last rupee, he could not be induced to surrender his person on any terms; and even for the life and liberty of the villain Sumroo, he would willingly have paid a heavy ransom; for it was not until after the rejection of the offer of a sum of fifty-eight lacs, in lieu of delivering up the fugitives, that he made the treacherous suggestion above narrated regarding Sumroo. Whether he really intended to carry it out, or if, on the contrary, some other stratagem was designed in the event of the plan being approved by the English, cannot be ascertained. It is certain that his army was in no condition to renew hostilities, and, indeed, never recovered the effects of the late decisive engagement.

Meanwhile corruption, venality, and oppression reigned unchecked in Bengal. The name of a nation, once highly honoured, became alike hateful in the ears of Mussulmans and Hindoos.† The approach of a party of English sepoys served as a signal for the desertion of whole villages, and the shopkeepers fled at the approach of the palanquin of the passing traveller, fearing that their goods might be seized for an almost nominal value, and they themselves abused and beaten for offering a remonstrance. The people at large were reduced to a state of unprecedented misery; the ungenerous and impolitic advantage taken of their weakness, having put it in the power of every marauder who chose to style himself an English servant, to plunder and tyrannise over them without control. The effect, Warren Hastings plainly declared to be, "not only to deprive them of their own laws, but to refuse them even the benefit of any." Had all this wrong proceeded from the will of a single despot, there can be little doubt he would have been speedily removed by a combination of his own officers, or, as Mohammedan history affords so many instances, been smitten to the earth by a private individual, in vengeance for some special injury. But the tyranny of a far-distant association, dreadful and incomprehensible beyond any bugbear ever painted by superstition, possessed this distinguishing feature above all other despotisms—that it was exercised through numerous distinct agencies,

* Stated at 2,000 men drowned or otherwise lost; besides which, 2,000 men were left dead on the field, with 133 pieces of cannon. The loss of the English, in killed and wounded, was 847.

† *Vide* Hasting's letter;—*Narrative*, ii., 78. Clive declares the oppressions practised had made "the name of the English stink in the nostrils of a Gentoo or a Mussulman."—(Malcolm's *Life*, ii., 380.)

of which the hundred hands and arms of the Hindoo idols could convey but a faint and feeble image.

Oppression reached a climax under the second administration of Meer Jaffier. He had previously complained in forcible language* of the injury done to the native merchants, as well as to the provincial revenues, by the abuse of the privileges conferred by the firmaun; but to this wrong he formally assented when replaced on the musnud. It soon, however, became manifest that it mattered little what the terms of the agreement had been; for he was regarded simply as "a banker for the company's servants, who could draw upon him as often, and to as great an extent as they pleased."† The clause for compensation to individuals proved, as might have been foreseen, a handle for excessive extortion. At the time of its insertion the nabob had been assured that, although it was impossible to specify the particular amounts of claims, they would not altogether exceed ten lacs; notwithstanding which, the demand was increased to twenty, thirty, forty, and at last reached fifty-three lacs. Seven-eighths of this sum, according to the testimony of Mr. Scrafton, then an E. I. director, "was for losses sustained (or said to be sustained) in an illicit monopoly of the necessaries of life, carried on against the orders of the company, and to the utter ruin of the India merchants." He adds, that "half of this sum was soon extorted from the nabob, though the company were at that time sinking under the burden of the war, and obliged to borrow great sums of money of their servants at eight per cent. interest, and even with that assistance could not carry on both their war and their investment, but sent their ships half loaded to Europe." ‡ The military establishment of the English had by this time increased to 18,000 horse and foot, and its ill-regulated expenditure soon swallowed up the thirty lacs paid by Meer Jaffier, as also the further sum of five lacs a month, which he had agreed to furnish during the continuance of the war.

Pressed on all sides by extortionate claims, despised and brow-beaten by the very men who had used him as an instrument for their private ends, the nabob sank rapidly to an unhonoured grave. His death in January, 1765, had been shortly preceded by the departure of Governor Vansittart and Warren Hastings for England; and in the absence of any restraining influence, the council were left to conduct the profitable affair of enthroning a new nabob after their own fashion. The choice lay between the eldest illegitimate son of Jaffier, Nujeem-ad-Dowlah, aged twenty years, and the infant son of Meeran. The claim of the emperor to appoint an officer was considered far too inconvenient to be acknowledged; it would be easy to extort his sanction when the selection was made. Repeated offers had been made by him to bestow on the English real power over the revenues of Bengal, by vesting in them the right of collection. This office, called the *dewannee*, had been devised during the palmy days of the empire§ as a means of preventing attempts at independence on the part of the subahdar, the dewan being designed to act as treasurer, appointed from, and accountable to, the Delhi government, leaving the subahdar to direct in all other matters. This arrangement had been allowed to fall into disuse; for Ali Verdi Khan had usurped the whole authority, both financial and judicial. Shah Alum must have been too well acquainted with the state of affairs, to doubt that the English, if they accepted the dewannee, would be sure to engross likewise all real power vested in the subahdar; but he expected in return a tribute, on the regular payment of which dependence might be placed. It did not, however, suit the views of the representatives of the E. I. Cy. to occupy a position which should render them personally accountable for the revenues. A nabob—*i.e.*, a person from whom "presents" might be legally received—could not be dispensed with. The child of Meeran was old enough to understand the worth of sugar-plums, but hardly of rupees; and his claims were set aside for those of Nujeem-ad-Dowlah. The new nabob consented to everything demanded of him: agreed to entrust the military defence of the country solely to the English, and even to allow of the appointment, by the presidency, of a person who, under the title of Naib Subah, should have the entire management of the affairs of government. He eagerly advocated the nomination of Nuncomar to fill this important

* "The poor of my country," said Meer Jaffier, "used to get their bread by trading in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, which the English have now taken to themselves; by which my poor are starving, my revenues ruined, and no advantage to the company."—(*Vide* Scrafton's *Observations* on Vansittart's *Narrative*, printed in 1766, pp. 38-'9.)

† Clive's speech, 1772;—Almon's *Debates*, xiv.

‡ Scrafton's *Observations*, pp. 48-'9.

§ *See* preceding section on Mogul Empire, p. 117.

office, but in vain; and the selection of an experienced noble, named Mohammed Reza Khan, was perhaps the best that could have been made. The other articles of the treaty were but the confirmation of previous arrangements; and the whole affair wound up, as usual, very much to the satisfaction of the English officials concerned, among nine of whom the sum of £139,357 was distributed, besides gifts extorted from leading Indian functionaries, in all of which the chief share was monopolised by Mr. Johnstone, the dissenting member of council, who had so vehemently deprecated the conduct of the select committee of 1760, in receiving the largess of Meer Cossim. The money thus acquired was not destined to be enjoyed without a contest; for the curb (so greatly needed) was at length about to be placed on the greediness of Bengal officials.

Ever since the deposition of Surajah Dowlah, the E. I. Cy. had been spectators rather than directors of the conduct of their servants in Bengal. Clive had quitted their service with bitterness in his heart and defiance on his lips; and the example of insubordination, ambition, and covetousness given by him, had been closely imitated by men who could not appreciate the energy and perseverance which enabled him to swim where they must sink. The representations of Mr. Vansittart, the massacre at Patna, and the sharp contest with Shuja Dowlah following that with Meer Cossim, seriously alarmed the mass of East India proprietors;—anxiety for their own interests, and indignation at the wrongs heaped on the natives in their name, for the sole benefit of a few ungovernable servants, conspired to rouse a strong feeling of the necessity of forthwith adopting measures calculated to bring about a better state of things. Stringent orders were dispatched in February, 1764, forbidding the trade in salt, betel-nut, tobacco, and all other articles whatsoever, produced and consumed in the country;* and in the following May it was directed that new covenants should be executed by all the company's servants (civil and military), binding them to "pay over to their employers all presents received from the natives, which should exceed 4,000 rupees in value." The above orders, and the unsigned covenants, were actually lying at Calcutta when the treaty with the new nabob was made, and the sum above stated extorted from him. Probably the directors were not unprepared for disobedience, even of this flagrant character. The execution of orders so distasteful needed to be enforced in no common manner; and reasoning, it would seem, on the ground that it was one of those cases in which "the children of this world are wiser than the children of light," it was suggested that Clive (now a lord) was of all men the best fitted to root up the poisonous tree he had planted.†

The inducement was not wanting; for his jaghire had been called in question; and to ensure its continuance for the next ten

* Second Parl. Report on E. I. Cy., 1772.

† An Irish peerage was, after long delay, obtained by Clive, who took the title of Baron of Plassy: an English one, by his own account, might have been purchased with ease (*Life*, ii., 189); but then the enormous wealth which was to maintain its possessor on a level, in a pecuniary point of view, with the high-born aristocracy of England, rested on a precarious footing. Clive, notwithstanding his extraordinary facility of attributing to himself every possible perfection, never doubted that his position in society rested on his "bags of money and bushels of diamonds" (ii., 168), rather than on any mere personal qualifications; and when urged to exert his influence in the India House, soon after his return to England, for some special purpose, in contravention to the directors, he peremptorily refused, declaring, "my future power, my future grandeur, all depend upon the receipt of the jaghire; and I should be a madman to set at defiance those who at present show no inclination to hurt me." It must be remembered that Clive, besides the jaghire, had avowedly realised between three and four hundred thousand pounds during his second sojourn in India—a circumstance that greatly detracts from the effect of the fiery indignation with which, when the right was questioned of Meer Jaffier to bestow, or his own to accept, the quit-rent paid by the company, he came forward to save his "undoubted property from the worst of foes—a combination of ungrateful directors" (ii., 229.) "Having now," says Sir John Malcolm, "no choice between bartering his independence to obtain security for his fortune," Clive commenced hostilities after the old fashion, sparing neither bold strokes in the field, nor manœuvres in the closet. Upwards of £100,000 were employed by him in securing support by a means then commonly practised, but afterwards prohibited—viz., that of split votes. He had, however, some powerful opponents, with the chairman, Mr. Sulivan, at their head. This gentleman and Clive were at one period on intimate terms; but according to the latter, their seeming good-fellowship had been sheer hypocrisy, since, in reality, they "all along behaved like shy cocks, though at times outwardly expressing great regard and friendship for one another." The issue of the conflict in London was materially influenced by the critical state of affairs in Calcutta. The court of proprietors took up the matter in the most decided manner. Clive availed himself of the excitement of the moment, and besides the confirmation of his jaghire for ten years, obtained as a condition of his acceptance of the office of governor and commander-in-chief in the Bengal Presidency, the expulsion of Mr. Sulivan from the direction. The four persons associated with him, under the name of a select committee—Messrs. Sumner, Sykes, Verelst, and General (late Major) Carnac—were all subordinate to his will

years to himself or his heirs, he agreed to return to India for a very limited period—signed covenants to refrain from receiving any presents by which he became pledged from native princes; and, invested with almost despotic power, reached Calcutta in May, 1765. Here he found matters in a widely different condition to that which had caused the E. I. Cy. so much well-founded apprehension. Meer Cossim had been expelled; the emperor had thrown himself upon the English for protection; and Shuja Dowlah was so reduced as to be on the eve of deprecating their wrath by a similar expedient of placing his person at their mercy. The majority of the reasons for which such extraordinary powers had been vested in Clive, in conjunction with a select committee of four persons devoted to his will, had therefore ceased to exist; but he persisted in retaining these powers, and with sufficient reason; for the task he had to perform, if conscientiously fulfilled, would have probably required their exercise. As it was, he excited a general storm of rage, without effecting any permanent good—at least so far as the civil department of the presidency was concerned. The general council, in all, included sixteen persons; though probably not half that number assembled at ordinary meetings. Among them was Mr. Johnstone, who had played so leading a part in the transactions of the last few years. He was a person possessed of advantages, in regard both of ability and connexions, which rendered him not ill calculated to do battle with Clive; and he scrupled not to retort the severe censures cast upon himself and his colleagues, by asserting that they had only followed the example given by the very man who now lamented, in the most bombastic language, the "lost fame of the British nation," and declared himself to have "come out with a mind superior to all corruption," and a fixed resolution to put down the exercise of that unworthy principle in others.*

The events of the next twenty months, though of considerable importance, can be but briefly narrated here. Immediately upon his arrival, Lord Clive, and the two members of the select committee who had accompanied him from England, without waiting for their destined colleagues, assumed the exercise of the whole powers of government, civil and military, after administering to themselves and their secretaries an oath of secrecy. Mr. Johnstone † made a desperate resistance to the new order of things, but was at length defeated and compelled to quit the service. The other members, for the most part, submitted, though with the worst possible grace; and the vacancies were supplied by Madras officials. The covenants forbidding the acceptance of presents were signed; then followed the prohibition of inland trade by the company's servants. This was a more difficult point to carry. Clive well knew that the salaries given by the E. I. Cy. were quite insufficient to maintain the political rank obtained by recent events.‡ Poverty and power, side by side with wealth and weakness, would, as he himself declared, offer to the stronger party temptations "which flesh and blood could not resist." With a full appreciation of this state of affairs, it was a plain duty to press upon the directors (as the clear-sighted and upright Sir Thomas Roe had done in the early part of the preceding century) § the necessity of allotting to each official a liberal income, which should hold out to all a reasonable prospect of obtaining a competency, by legitimate means, within such

the first-named had been ignominiously expelled the company, for signing the violent letter quoted at p. 294, but subsequently reinstated.

* These sentiments Lord Clive accompanies with an adjuration which too clearly illustrates the condition of his mind regarding a future state. "I do declare," he writes, "by that Great Being who is the searcher of all hearts, and to whom we must be accountable *if there must be an hereafter*, that I am come out with a mind superior to all corruption." Yet at this very time Clive scrupled not to employ his private knowledge of the state of affairs, and of the increased value of stock likely to result from the acceptance of the dewannee, to write home directions in cipher (so that, if falling into strange hands, no other person should benefit by the information), desiring that every shilling available, or that could be borrowed in his name, should be invested in E. I. stock "without loss of a minute." Mr. Rous (a director) and Mr. Walsh acted with promptitude, by proceeding forthwith, though on a Sunday, to obtain the key of the cipher, which it seems they very imperfectly understood.—(*See* Thornton's *India*, i., 492.)

† Johnstone and his colleagues, when vainly pressed to make over to the company the monies received from Nujeem-ad-Dowlah, replied, that when Clive surrendered the money he had obtained from the father, they would yield in turn the gifts of the son.

‡ The salary of a councillor was only £250; the rent of a very moderate house in Calcutta, £200.

§ "Absolutely prohibit the private trade," said he, "for your business will be better done. I know this is harsh. Men profess they come not for bare wages. But you will take away this plea if you give great wages, to their content; and then you know what you part from." No amount of legitimate emolument will, however, assuage the thirst for gain inherent in many clever, unprincipled men.

stated term of years as experience had proved could be borne by an average European constitution. But Clive, instead of strenuously urging a policy so honest and straightforward as this, took upon himself to form a fund for the senior officers of the presidency, from the governors downwards, by resolving, after consultation only with Mr. Sumner and Mr. Verelst, that a monopoly should be formed of the trade in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, to be carried on for their exclusive benefit, with the drawback of a duty to the company estimated at £100,000 per annum. Monopolies are odious things at best: this one was of a peculiarly obnoxious and oppressive character; and the directors wisely and liberally commanded its immediate abandonment. The arrangements of Clive could not, however, be so lightly set aside; and they continued in operation until 1768.

With regard to Shuja Dowlah, it was deemed expedient that he should be replaced in the government of Oude, although a specific promise had been made that, on payment of fifty lacs of rupees for the expenses of the war, real power over the dominions of his tyrannical vizier should be given to the emperor, in the event of the English being triumphant. But this pledge, which had been needlessly volunteered, was now violated; the vizier being deemed (and with reason) a better protection against Mahratta and Afghan invasion, on the north-western frontier, than his gentle master. In another matter the claims of Shah Alum were treated in an equally arbitrary manner. The arrangements concluded with him by the Calcutta government were now revised, or, in other words, set aside by Clive. The emperor was given to understand, that since it was inconvenient to put him in possession of the usurped dominions of Shuja Dowlah (commonly called the "nabob-vizier"), the districts of Corah and Allahabad (yielding jointly a revenue of twenty-eight lacs) must suffice for a royal demesne; and, at the same time, some large sums of money unquestionably due from the company to the indigent monarch, were withheld on the plea of inability to pay them.* Shah Alum remonstrated warmly, but to no purpose: he was compelled to cancel all past agreements, and bestow on the company complete possession of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, under the name of the "perpetual Dewannee," clogged only by a yearly tribute of twenty-six lacs of rupees. The formal confirmation of the English in their various scattered settlements throughout the nominal extent of the empire, was likewise obtained; nor was the jaghire of Lord Clive, with reversion to his employers, forgotten in the arrangement. As a precautionary measure against the French (who, by virtue of a recent European treaty, had been reinstated in their Bengal settlements, with the proviso of neither erecting fortifications nor maintaining troops), it was deemed expedient to obtain from the emperor a free grant of the five Northern Circars, over which Nizam Ali, the brother and successor (by usurpation and murder) of Salabut Jung, then exercised a very precarious authority. In 1760, the Nizam (as he is commonly called) had proffered these Circars to the Madras government in return for co-operation against the Mahrattas and Hyder Ali; but his overtures were rejected, because the forces required could not be spared. In 1766, an arrangement was brought about by dint of no small amount of bribery and intrigue, by which four of the Circars were surrendered, and the reversion of the fifth, or Guntoor Circar, which was held by a brother of the Nizam, Bassalut Jung, was promised to the company, on condition of the payment of a rent of nine lacs of rupees, together with a most imprudent pledge to furnish a body of troops whenever the Nizam might require their aid in the maintenance of his government. The imperial firmaun, of which the chief articles have been just recited, took away the scanty remains of power vested by the Bengal presidency in Nujeem-ad-Dowlah. The weak and dissolute character of this youth rendered him an easy tool; and when informed by Clive that every species of control was about to pass from him, and that a stipend of fifty-three lacs would be allotted for the family of Meer Jaffier, out of which a certain sum would be placed at his disposal, this worthy prince uttered a thankful ejaculation, adding, "I shall now have as many dancing-girls as I please."†

A leading feature in the second administration of Clive remains to be noted—one of the most important, as well as the most interesting in his remarkable career. The other "reforms" effected by him were nothing better than a change of evils; but, in checking the spirit of insubordination and rapacity which pervaded the whole Anglo-

* Thirty lacs deficit of annual tribute, besides jaghires or lands in Bengal now withdrawn, amounting to five lacs and a-half of rupees per ann.—(*Mill.*)

† Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive*, iii, 125.

Indian army, he served both the company and the state well and bravely. Clive was essentially a military genius:* he scrupled not to declare in after-times, that all he had in the world had been acquired as the leader of an army; and when questioned regarding the very exceptionable trading regulations instituted under his auspices, he declared, with regard to an article under notice, that "of cotton he knew no more than the pope of Rome." He might have pleaded equal ignorance of the state of the immense native population of Bengal. But the condition of the troops was a subject he would naturally study *con amore*. Dissension, luxury, and profligacy, attended with alarming mortality, had immediately resulted from the large booty divided at Geriah under the auspices of himself and Admiral Watson. Since then excessive and extortionate gain, under pretence of trading, had become the predominant evil; and the severity of Major Munro, though it might for a time check, by the influence of terror, the insubordination of the sepoys, or even that of the European rank and file, left untouched the root of the evil—namely, the eagerness of the officers in the pursuit of trade, at the expense of professional duty. Now, Clive was the last person in the world to expect men to be content with honourable poverty, when they might acquire wealth without the cost of toil, or the stigma of indelible disgrace attached to certain heinous crimes; and this circumstance, together with not unnatural partiality, induced him to take measures for the introduction of a better system among the military servants of the company, with far more gentleness than he had evinced in dealing with the civilians. The officers were to be compelled to renounce all trading pursuits: this was the first reform to be carried out by Clive; the second was the final and uncompensated withdrawal of an extra allowance, called *batta*, given since an early period, but now to be abolished, excepting at some particular stations where, on account of the dearness of articles necessary to Europeans, it was to be either wholly or partially continued. The allowance originally granted by the company had been doubled by Meer Jaffier, who, at the instigation of Clive, paid the additional sum out of his own pocket, besides the regular expense of the English troops engaged in his service, but ostensibly as a boon revocable at pleasure. His successor, Meer Cossim Ali, made over to the company the districts of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, in lieu of certain monthly payments; and although the revenues of these territories more than covered the cost of the army, including the *double batta*, the directors, considering the large profits of their servants and their own necessities, stringently ordered the discontinuance of this allowance. Their repeated injunctions, the civil government, overawed by the military, had never dared to enforce; and even Clive did not bring forward the question of double batta until the restoration of peace had enabled him to remodel the army by forming it into regiments and brigades, with an increased number of field-officers.† These improvements were effected without opposition, and the prohibition of officers receiving perquisites, or engaging in certain branches of trade, was compensated in Clive's plan by allowing them a liberal share in the monopoly of salt, betel-nut, and tobacco. The proportions to be received by the senior servants of the company, independent of their fixed salaries, according to the lowest calculation, were £7,000 sterling per annum to a councillor or colonel, £3,000 to a lieutenant-colonel, £2,000 to a major or factor. Some scanty amends for the shameless oppression of taxing the natives thus heavily, was made by placing the management of the trade in their hands instead of under the guidance of European agents; but even this measure was adopted from the purely selfish motive of saving expense.‡

* In Chatham's words, "a heaven-born general."

† Previous to the capture of Calcutta by Surajah Dowlah, the Bengal establishment consisted of one small company of artillery, about sixty European infantry (including officers), and 300 Portuguese half-caste, called topasses; out of the above, three captains, five lieutenants, and four ensigns perished in the Black-Hole. On the recapture of Calcutta, a battalion of sepoys was raised and officered from the detachments which had been sent from Madras to the relief of Fort William; and others were subsequently formed in like manner; until, at Plassy, in 1757, the British force comprised 3,000 sepoys. In 1760 there were sixty European officers, viz.—nineteen captains, twenty-six lieutenants, and fifteen ensigns. In 1765, Clive found the amount raised to four companies of artillery, a troop of hussars, about 1,200 regular cavalry, twenty-four companies of European infantry, and nineteen battalions or regiments of sepoys—in all, about 20,000 men—whom he divided into three brigades, each comprising one European regiment, one company of artillery, six regiments of sepoys, and one troop of native cavalry. The brigades were respectively stationed at Monghyr, Bankipoor (near Patna), and Allahabad.—(Strachey's *Bengal Mutiny*.)

‡ Even Clive admitted that by his arrangement the

As yet all had proceeded smoothly, so far as the military were concerned, and Clive, with his usual self-reliance, considering the time at length arrived when the double batta might be safely abolished, withdrew it at the close of the year 1765. The remonstrances of the officers were treated as the idle complaints of disappointed men, and several months passed without any apprehension arising of serious consequences, until towards the end of April a misunderstanding among the parties concerned suddenly revealed the existence of a powerful and organised combination,* formed by the majority of the leading commanders, aided and abetted by many influential civilians, to compel the restoration of the extra allowances. It was a great and formidable emergency, but "*Frangas non flectes*" had been ever the motto of Clive, and now, rejecting all temporising measures, or idea of a compromise, he came forward with a deep conviction of the danger with which the precedent of military dictation would be fraught, and a firm resolve to subdue the mutiny or perish in the attempt. And there was real danger in the case; for his imperious bearing, combined with the unpopular regulations he came to enforce, had rendered him an object of strong personal ill-feeling to many individuals of note; yet, when told of threats against his life, alleged to have been uttered by one of the officers, he treated the report as an unworthy calumny, declaring that the mutineers were "Englishmen, not assassins." The dauntless courage which had distinguished the youthful defender of Arcot again found ample scope for exertion: it was no longer the over-dressed baron of Plassy †—the successful candidate for power and pelf—the head of the then generally detested class of Anglo-Indian "nabobs,"—but plain Robert Clive, who now, in the full vigour of manhood, his heavy, overhanging brow expressing more forcibly than words a stern purpose, set forth, not in the palanquin of the governor, but, soldier-like, on horseback, to face the disaffected troops. There were still some few officers on whom reliance could be placed; others were summoned from Madras and Bombay: commissions were liberally scattered throughout the ranks; the services of civilians were used to supply vacancies; and increase of pay, for a fixed period, was promised to the common soldiers, whom the officers, to their credit, had made no attempt to corrupt. The danger was in some sort increased by a threatened incursion of the Mahrattas, under their chief minister, the peishwa Mahdoo Rao; yet, on the other hand, this very circumstance aroused in the breasts of many of the malcontents a feeling of shame at the thought of deserting their colours in the face of the foe. The Monghyr brigade, under Sir Robert Fletcher, was the one in which the determination to resign had been most general; and Clive, after a long harangue, perceiving indications of a disposition to resist his orders, took advantage of the steady obedience of the sepoys, by directing them to fire on the officers unless they dispersed immediately. A general submission followed; courts-martial were held, and many of the delinquents cashiered: among others Sir Robert Fletcher, the head of the Monghyr brigade, who, although active in subduing the confederacy, was found to have been gravely implicated in its formation. No blood was shed in these proceedings, and the result proved that such severity would

price of salt had been made too high for the natives, and the profit to the monopolists unreasonably large. —(Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive*, iii., 259.)

* From the month of December, 1765, consultations had been held and committees formed under the veil of Masonic lodges, and no less than 200 officers pledged themselves to resign their commissions on 1st of June, 1766, but agreed to proffer their services for another fortnight, by the expiration of which time it was expected the extensive defection would compel Clive to consent to the restoration of the double batta. In the event of capital punishment being decreed by courts-martial, they swore to prevent the execution of any comrade at the cost of life; and each one signed a penalty bond of £500 not to re-accept his commission if offered, unless the object of the confederacy were gained.

† Like most biographers, Sir John Malcolm and his coadjutors have endeavoured to set forth the character of their hero in the most favourable light, and by this means have drawn a picture which every impartial reader must feel to be incomplete and one-sided. The termination of the life of Clive by his own hand is not even hinted at; and there is much reason to believe the same partiality to have chiefly guided the selection of letters for publication. Nevertheless, a very amusing one has crept in, addressed by Clive to his intimate friend and agent, Orme the historian, filled with commissions as numerous and minute in detail as any ever received by a London lady of fashion from a country cousin. Among the items, all of which were to be "the best and finest to be got for love or money," were 200 shirts, with wristbands and ruffles, worked to order. The dress of Clive at the durbar (or Oriental levee) was a "fine scarlet coat with handsome gold lace," which one of his purveyors, Captain Latham, considered preferable to "the common wear of velvet." The thick-set figure of Clive, arrayed in a scarlet coat *lined with parchment that the cloth might not wrinkle*, must have presented a strange contrast to the graceful forms and picturesque attire of the Indian nobles.

have involved a needless sacrifice; but the merit of moderation does not rest with Clive, who declared that his endeavours were not wanting to get several of the mutinous ringleaders shot; but his efforts were neutralised by some wholesome doubts in the minds of the judges regarding the extent of the company's authority. In the words of Sir John Malcolm "a misconstruction of the mutiny act inclined the court-martial *to mercy*." It is a singular ending to the affair, that Sir Robert Fletcher, after this narrow escape, returned to India as commander-in-chief for the Madras presidency; while one John Petrie, sent home by Clive with a rope round his neck, came back to Bengal with a high civil appointment, through the influence of his friends the Johnstones. Soon after this dispersion of one of the most dangerous storms which ever menaced the power of the E. I. Company, the health of Clive failed rapidly, and though earnestly solicited to continue at least another year, and apparently not unwilling to do so, bodily infirmity prevailed, and he quitted Bengal for the third and last time in January, 1767. Shortly before his departure, the young nabob, Nujeem-ad-Dowlah, died of fever, and his brother Syef-ad-Dowlah was permitted to succeed him. In a political point of view the change was of less importance than would have been that of the chief of a factory, but it was advantageous to the company in a pecuniary sense, as affording an opportunity for reducing the stipend.*

* The conduct of Clive, in respect to pecuniary gain, during his second administration, is too important to be left unnoticed; yet the facts necessary to place it in a clear light, can be ill given within the compass of a note. It should be remembered, that by his agreement with the E. I. body, the famous jaghire was to be continued to him for ten years, and provided he should survive that period, was to become the property, not of Meer Jaffier, but of the company. Now jaghires, by the constitution of the Mogul government, in which they originated, were simply annuities, given for the most part expressly for the support of a military contingent. A jaghire was like an office of state, revocable at pleasure: so far from being hereditary, an omrah, or lord of the empire, could not even bequeath his savings without special permission; and we have seen that the Great Moguls—Aurungzebe for instance—never scrupled to exercise their claim as heirs to a deceased noble, leaving to the bereaved family a very limited maintenance as a matter of favour. Clive had solicited this jaghire simply to support his position as an omrah, and had no right whatever to expect its continuance for the purpose of building palaces and buying up rotten boroughs in England. The company might therefore well question the right of Meer Jaffier to bestow, or of their powerful servant to accept, as a perpetual jaghire the quit-rent paid by them for their territory in Bengal. But the question was altogether a perplexed one, inasmuch as Meer Jaffier's claims were wholly founded on the usurpation which had been accomplished by English instrumentality. Shah Alum was the only person who could have rightfully demanded a quit-rent from the company when bestowing on them the dewannee; but the truth was, that every advantage was taken of his necessitous position, regardless of the dictates of justice. The confirmation of the jaghire to Lord Clive, with reversion to the company in perpetuity, was exacted from the emperor; and in thus obtaining a boon for his employers, Clive was far from being uninfluenced by selfish motives; for, on coming to India, he was distinctly told that the strict observance of his pledge—of refraining from every description of irregular gain—should be acknowledged in a manner which must satisfy the expectations even of a man who, after a most extravagant course of expenditure, had still an income of £40,000 a-year. And when, on his return to England, the term of the jaghire was extended for ten years, or, in other words, £300,000 were guaranteed to him or his heirs, Clive had surely reason to admit that "no man had ever been more liberally rewarded." Nevertheless, his administration, even in a pecuniary point of view, had not been blameless. On arriving in India, it appeared that Meer Jaffier had bequeathed to Clive five lacs of rupees, which were in the hands of Munnee Begum, the mother of the reigning prince. Whether Meer Jaffier really left this sum either from friendship to Clive, or from a desire to propitiate him in favour of his favourite concubine and children, or whether they themselves offered a present in the only form in which he could have any excuse for accepting it, is not known; but it was no one's interest to examine into the affair, since Clive thought fit to set the matter at rest by employing the money as a fund greatly needed for the relief of the disabled officers and soldiers of the Bengal establishment, with their widows, and thus laid the foundation of the present establishment at Poplar. Even, however, in this case Clive took care of his personal interests, by inserting a clause in the deed providing that in case of the failure of his interest in the jaghire (then only guaranteed for ten years, of which a considerable portion had expired), the whole five lacs should revert to him. He moreover contrived to make the fund a weapon of political power, by threatening to exclude from it all persons whom he might think "undeserving in any respect soever."—(iii., 43.) With regard to the large sums of money *avowedly* received by him during his second administration, it certainly appears that he did not apply them to the increase of his fixed income, but systematically appropriated the overplus of such gains to the benefit of certain connections and friends (*i.e.*, his brother-in-law, Mr. Maskelyne; his physician, Mr. Ingham; and a Mr. Strachey, his secretary), "as a reward," he writes, in his grand-bashaw style, "for their services and constant attention upon my person."—(iii., 136.) On his arrival in India he at once embarked largely in the salt trade, and thereby realised in nine months a profit, including interest, of forty-five per cent.; his share in the monopoly of salt, established in defiance of the repeated orders of the company, was also greatly beyond that of any individual; and it is certain he employed these and other irregular gains for purely private purposes. Besides this, he sanctioned the unwarrantable conduct of many favoured officers in continuing to re-

It is hardly necessary to remark that the Bengal presidency did not assume a loftier tone of feeling in questions regarding religion or morality under the auspices of Lord Clive. The priestly office was not then deemed inconsistent with mercantile pursuits; and the saving of souls gave place to the engrossing cares of money-making. As to the general state of society, Clive's own account affords abundant evidence of the aptitude with which cadets and writers, fresh from public schools, or, it may be from the pure atmosphere of a quiet home, plunged headlong into a career of extravagance and notorious profligacy, of which the least revolting description would have made their mothers sicken with disgust. One walk about Calcutta would, it appears, suffice to show a stranger that the youngest writers lived in splendid style, which Lord Clive explains, by saying "that they ride upon fine prancing Arabian horses, and in palanquins and chaises; that they keep seraglios, make entertainments, and treat with champagne and claret;"—the certain result being, to become over head and ears in debt to the banyan, or native agent, who, for the sake of obtaining the cover afforded by the bare name of a servant of the powerful English company, supplied the youths with immense sums of money, and committed "such acts of violence and oppression as his interest prompts him to."* It may be remembered that Clive commenced his own Indian career by getting into debt; and there is reason to believe that for *all* the proceedings mentioned by him in the above quotation, the company's servants might have pleaded his lordship's conduct in extenuation of their own.†

After the departure of Clive, a select committee continued, by his advice, to preside over the affairs of Bengal, the chair of the governor being filled by Mr. Verelst until December, 1770. During the administration of this gentleman and his temporary successor, Mr. Cartier, no changes were made in the system of the "double government:" that is to say, of a sway carried on in the name of a nabob, but in reality by English officials. Mill forcibly describes the utter want of any efficient system, or of well-known and generally recognised laws, which formed the prevailing

ceive presents after they had been required to sign covenants enjoining their rejection. For instance, his staunch adherent, General Carnac, after his colleagues had executed the covenants, delayed a certain time, during which he received a present of 70,000 rupees from Bulwant Singh, the Hindoo rajah of Benares, who joined the English against Shuja Dowlah; and he appears to have afterwards obtained permission to appropriate a further sum of two lacs of rupees, given by the emperor, whose unquestioned poverty did not shield him from the extortions of British officers. It has been urged that Clive made atonement for the doubtful means by which he acquired his wealth by its liberal distribution; and the act chiefly insisted upon is the grant of an annuity of £500 a-year to General Lawrence, when he left India enfeebled by asthmatic complaints and the increasing infirmities of age, and returned in honourable poverty to his native land. Considering that Clive acknowledged that to the patronage and instructions of Lawrence he owed all his early success, the extent of the allowance was no very remarkable evidence of a munificent disposition. The dowries of three or four thousand pounds each to his five sisters, with an injunction "to marry as soon as possible, for they had no time to lose" (ii., 161), evince a strong desire to get them off his hands. The princely estates purchased by him, in various parts of the country, were undisguised manifestations of his ostentatious mode of life: among them may be named the noble property of Claremont (obtained from the Duchess of Newcastle), Walcot, Lord Chatham's former residence at Bath, and a house in Berkeley-square. No description of expense was spared to render these aristocratic dwellings fitting exponents of the grandeur of the Indian *millionnaire;* and the smaller accessories of picture galleries and pleasure-grounds did not hinder Clive from carefully following out his leading object—of obtaining parliamentary influence. Six or seven members were returned at his expense, and their efforts doubtless did much to mitigate, though they could not wholly avert, the storm which burst over his head in 1772. The decision of the committee employed in examining his past conduct pronounced, as was fitting, a sentence of mingled praise and condemnation. He had notoriously abused the powers entrusted to him by the nation and the company; but he had rendered to both important services. Such a decision was ill calculated to soothe the excited feelings of Clive, whose haughty nature had writhed under proceedings in which he, the Baron of Plassy, had been "examined like a sheep-stealer." The use of opium, to which he had been from early youth addicted, aggravated the disturbed state of his mind, without materially alleviating the sufferings of his physical frame; and he died by his own hand in Nov., 1774, having newly entered his fiftieth year.—(Malcolm's *Life.*)

* Clive's speech on East Indian Judicature Bill, March, 1722.—(Hansard's *Parl. Hist.*, 355.)

† The French translator of the *Siyar ul Mutakherin* (who was in the service of the Bengal presidency and well acquainted with Clive, to whom he occasionally acted as interpreter) explains a forcible denunciation by Gholam Hussein, of the conduct of certain persons who were tempted by the devil to bring disgrace on families, as an allusion to the violation of all decorum committed by Meer Jaffier, in giving to Clive "ten handsome women out of his seraglio—that is, out of Surajah Dowlah's." Had the donation been conferred on a good Mussulman, instead of a disbeliever in the Koran, the sin would, it seems, have been thereby greatly diminished.—(*Siyar ul Mutakherin*, i., 722.)

feature of this period. The native tribunals retained scarce the shadow of authority; the trade of the country was almost ruined by the oppressions committed on the people; and the monopoly of the inland traffic in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, when at length unwillingly relinquished by the English officials, did not prove the relief to the Bengalee merchants that might have been expected, owing to the heavy pressure of tyranny and extortion to which they were subjected. In fact, there were so many channels by which the natives could be wronged and the company plundered, that closing up one or two might change the direction of the flood, but could not diminish its volume. Clive was naturally unwilling to acknowledge how much of the task for which he had been munificently rewarded had been left unfulfilled; and it was not till after long and bitter experience that the E. I. Cy. learned to appreciate, at their proper value, his exaggerated account of the revenues* obtained through his aggressive policy. And here it may be well to pause and consider for a moment the nature of our position in Bengal, and, indeed, in the whole of the south of India. The insatiable ambition of Aurungzebe had urged him onwards without ceasing, until every Mohammedan kingdom in the Deccan had become absorbed in the Mogul empire. The impolicy of this procedure has been before remarked on. The tottering base forbade the extension of an already too weighty superstructure; but the emperor persevered to the last. Beejapoor and Golconda fell before him, and the governments established by their usurping dynasties were swept off by a conqueror who had time to destroy institutions, but not to replace them. The result was the rapid rise of the many-headed Mahratta power, and the equally rapid decay of Mogul supremacy, even while Aurungzebe, his sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons were all in arms together for its support. The death of the emperor, well nigh hunted down by the foes who from despising he had learned to hate, followed as it was by repeated wars of succession and intestine feuds, reduced his descendants, step by step, until their last representative, Shah Alum, became nothing better than the pageant of every successful party. The disastrous battle of Paniput (1761) left the Mahratta state thoroughly unhinged, and, together with internal strife, incapacitated its rulers for assuming that dominant position in India under which such men as Sevajee, Bajee Rao, or the first peishwa, Maharashtra, would doubtless have aspired. In fact, India in the middle of the eighteenth century, resembled, in a political point of view, a vast battle-field strewn with the fragments of ruined states, and affording on every side abundant evidence of a prolonged and severe conflict, from which even the victors had emerged irretrievably injured. In the Deccan this was especially the case; and the only relics of legitimate power rested with a few small Hindoo states (Tanjore, Mysoor, Coorg, &c.), whose physical position or insignificance had enabled them to retain independence amid the general crash of monarchies. The representatives of the E. I. Cy. in India understood the state of affairs, but very imperfectly: it appears that, in 1756, they did not even clearly know who Ballajee Bajee Rao (the actual ruler of the Mahratta state) might be; but at the same time, they had been too long anxious spectators of the proceedings of Aurungzebe and his successors, to be ignorant of the thoroughly disorganised state of the empire. The successful manœuvres of Dupleix and Bussy must have sufficed to remove any lingering doubt on the subject; while the jealousy of the two nations in Europe rendered it evident, that in the absence of a native power (Mussulman or Hindoo) sufficiently strong to compel their neutrality, a contest for supremacy must, sooner or later, take place between the French and English, especially as the former had all along assumed political pretensions ill at variance with the peaceful pursuits of trade. Without entering on the difficult question of the general proceedings of the English company, far

* In addressing the House of Commons, in 1772, Clive described Bengal as "a country containing fifteen millions of inhabitants, a revenue of £4,000,000, and trade in proportion." The extreme distress then existing he treated as a temporary effect of dissensions in the company at home, and misgovernment in India, dating of course from his departure; and he spoke of the venality that prevailed, equally among high and low, with a bold assumption of disinterestedness, declaring, "that in the richest country in the world, where the power of the English had become absolute, where no inferior approached his superior but with a present in his hand, where there was not an officer commanding H.M. fleet, nor an officer commanding H.M. army, nor a governor, nor a member of council, nor any other person, civil or military, in such a station as to have connection with the country government who had not received presents, it was not to be expected the inferior officers should be more scrupulous."—Almon's *Debates*, 1772.

less attempting to vindicate the special aggressions and tricky policy of Clive and his successors, it seems, nevertheless, of absolute necessity to bear in mind the hopeless complication of affairs through which Anglo-Indian statesmen had to grope their way at this critical period; nor do I feel any inconsistency, after employing the best years of my life in pleading—faintly and feebly, but most earnestly—the rights of native British subjects (made such by the sword), in avowing, in the present instance, my conviction, that having once taken a decided course by the deposition of Surajah Dowlah, it would have been better to have assumed at once all power, in name as in reality, over Bengal, and given the natives the benefits they were entitled to expect under a Christian government, instead of mocking their hopes by placing on the musnud a Mussulman usurper of infamous character,—deposing, reinstating, and after his death continuing the pretence in the person of his illegitimate son. Such an unworthy subterfuge could answer no good purpose; it could deceive no one—certainly not the European governments of Spain, Portugal, Holland, and France; for they were severally experienced actors in the theatre of oriental policy. The native population knew, to their cost, that all real authority was now vested in the English presidency; but its members were far too eagerly employed in gathering up spoil for themselves, to heed the cries of the poor in Bengal, or the remonstrances of the company in England. The consequence was, the "middle-men" reaped an abundant harvest, heedless of the ruinous effects of their negligence and venality alike on those they served and those they governed. The directors in London, buoyed up by the representations of Clive, and the flattering promises of their servants abroad, augmented their dividends, fully expecting to find this step justified by largely increasing remittances from India. On the contrary, the anarchy which prevailed, and the additional expenses of every department of government, with the abuses that crept in,* swallowed up the diminishing revenues; and though every ship brought home individuals who had amassed wealth as if by magic, yet heavy bills continued to be drawn on the company; the bullion sent for the China trade was wholly, or in part, appropriated; and the investments continued to diminish alike in quantity and quality. The British government had before set forth a claim to control both the revenues and territorial arrangements of India. The subject was warmly contested in parliament; and in 1767, a bill passed obliging the E. I. Cy. to pay the sum of £400,000 per annum into the public treasury,† during the five years for which alone their exclusive privileges were formally extended. In 1769, a new term of five years was granted, on the same condition as that above stated, with the additional stipulation of annually exporting British manufactures to the amount of £300,000 and upwards. The directors, in the following year (1770), declared a dividend at the rate of twelve per cent; but this improvident procedure was taken in the face of a failing revenue and an increasing debt. In the Carnatic, the ill-advised pledge of co-operation with the Nizam had brought the Madras presidency in collision with Hyder Ali; and in Bengal, affairs grew more and more involved, until the necessity for a change of policy became evident to save the country from ruin and the company from bankruptcy. Mr. Vansittart (the ex-governor), Mr. Scrafton, and Colonel Forde, were sent out in 1769, to investigate and arrange the business of the three presidencies: but this measure proved of no effect; for the *Aurora* frigate, in which they sailed, after doubling the Cape of Good Hope, was never more heard of, and probably foundered at sea.

The loss of Mr. Vansittart was a new disaster to the native population of Bengal, since he well knew the ruinous condition to which they had been reduced by the baneful influence of the monopolies so cruelly enforced by his countrymen; and notwithstanding the perverse proceedings of Clive, and his adherents in the E. I. House in associating with him as fellow-commissioner his sworn foe, Luke Scrafton, still some comprehensive measure might have been expected to have been devised by a man generally considered kind-hearted, to relieve the overwhelming misery in which he would have found the native population involved, had he been permitted to reach

* Clive, in allusion to the charges of contractors, commissioners, engineers, &c., said—"Everyman now who is permitted to make a bill, makes a fortune." During his own administration, he found soldiers charged for in the hospital-list, whose funeral expenses had been long paid.—(*Life*, iii., 137—288.)

† The E. I. Cy. themselves proposed to purchase the extension of their privileges by suffering the public to participate in the territorial acquisitions gained with the aid of the army and navy. The government interfered (ostensibly at least) to check the simultaneous increase of debt and dividend.

Calcutta in safety. The miseries of a land long a prey to oppression and misgovernment, had been brought to their climax by drought. The rice crops of December, 1768, and August, 1769, were both scanty, and the absence of the heavy periodical rains, usual in October, produced an almost total failure of the harvest earnestly desired in the following December. The inferior crops of grain and pulse ordinarily reaped between February and April, were dried to powder by the intense heat, and Bengal, formerly the granary of India, became the scene of one of the most awful famines on record. Not merely whole families, but even the inhabitants of entire villages were swept off by this devastating scourge.* The bark and leaves of trees were eagerly devoured by thousands of starving wretches, who therewith strove—too often in vain—to appease the gnawing pangs of hunger, happy if their sufferings did not goad them to seek relief by more unnatural and loathsome means; for the last horrors that marked the siege of the Holy City were not wanting here; the child fed on its dead parent, the mother on her offspring. The people thronged the towns in the hope of obtaining succour, the highways were strewed with the corpses of those who had perished by the way, and the streets of Moorshedabad and Calcutta were blocked up with the dying and the dead. Day after day the Hooghly rolled down a pestilential freight of mortality, depositing loathsome heaps near to the porticoes and gardens of the English residents. For a time a set of persons were regularly employed in removing the rapidly accumulating masses from the public thoroughfares; but the melancholy office proved fatal to all employed in it: exposure to the effluvia was certain death; and during the worst period, dogs, vultures, and jackals were the only scavengers. The hot, unwholesome air was filled with shrieks and lamentations, amidst which arose the voices of tender and delicate women, nurtured in all the refinements of oriental seclusion, who now came forth unveiled, and on their knees besought a handful of rice for themselves and their children.†

Large subscriptions were raised by the presidency, the native government, and individuals of all ranks and countries. In Moorshedabad alone, 7,000 persons were fed daily for several months; and fearful scenes, involving the destruction of large numbers of the weak and the aged, took place at these distributions, from the fierce struggles of the famished multitudes. Of the total amount of life destroyed by this calamity, no trustworthy estimate has ever been given.‡ Mr. Hastings—perhaps the best authority—supposes Bengal and Bahar to have lost no less than half their inhabitants: other writers state the depopulation at one-third; and even the lowest calculations place the loss at three million of human beings—or one-fifth the inhabitants of the three provinces (including Orissa.)

The question of how far the Bengal authorities were to blame for this calamity, was warmly discussed in England. Their accusers went the length of attributing it wholly to a monopoly of rice by them; but this was so far from being the case, that, with the exception of the necessary measure of storing a sufficient quantity (60,000 maunds) for the use of the army, all trading in grain was strictly forbidden by an order of council in September, 1769. If, as was asserted, certain functionaries did—as is very possible, in defiance of prohibitions, enunciated but not enforced§—make enormous profits of hoards previously accumulated, these were but exceptional cases; and it may be added (without any attempt to exculpate those who, in the face of misery so extreme, could bargain coolly for exorbitant gains), that the reason for regret was

* The anonymous but well-informed author of *English Transactions in the East Indies*, published at Cambridge in 1776, states, that the duty laid by Clive on salt was thirty-five per cent.; the previous tax, even under the monopolies established by Mohammedan nabobs, having been only two-and-a-half. He adds, that the five gentlemen who signed resolutions regarding trading monopolies in India, to levy taxes upon necessaries of more than one-third their value, instead of the fortieth penny with which they were before charged, were all, on their return to England, chosen as members of parliament to co-operate in arranging the national assessments.—(143.)

† *Vide Siyar ul Mutakherin*, ii., 438. Hamilton's *Gazetteer*, i., 214. Macaulay's *Clive*, 83.

‡ Gleig's *Life of Warren Hastings*, i., 309. Malcolm's *Clive*, iii., 253. Grant's *Sketch*, 319.

§ The author of *English Transactions*, recently quoted, concurs with many writers of the period in asserting, that some of the company's agents, finding themselves conveniently situated for the collection of rice in stores, did buy up large quantities, which they so managed as to increase immensely the selling price to the people, for their private gain (p. 145); and Dr. Moodie, in his *Transactions in India* (published anonymously in London in 1776, but of which a copy bearing his name, with many MS. additions, is in the possession of the E. I. Cy.), mentions the case of a needy English functionary at the court of the nabob, who made £60.000 in a few months.

not that some few persons had had the forethought to make provision for the day of want, but that a policy of evident necessity should have been neglected by the rulers of a population mainly dependent for subsistence on so precarious a staple as rice. The true cause of complaint against the Bengal presidency—and it is a heavy one—rests on the systematic oppression and utter misgovernment which their own records reveal as having existed, despite the orders of the directors in England. These again, deceived by the gross exaggerations of Clive, looked upon Bengal as a fountain fed by unseen springs, from which wealth, to an immense extent, might be perpetually drawn, without the return of any considerable proportion to the country from whence it was derived. Clive, during his second administration, had promised the company a net income from Bengal of £2,000,000 per annum, exclusive of all civil or military disbursements; and he declared in parliament, in 1772, that India continued to yield "a clear produce to the public, *and to individuals,* of between two and three million sterling per annum."* It is certain that the Bengal investment of 1771, amounting in goods alone to £768,500, was "wholly purchased with the revenues of the country, and without importing a single ounce of silver"†—a fact which abundantly confirms the declaration of Hastings,—that the sufferings of the people, during the famine, were increased by the violent measures adopted to keep up the revenues, especially by an assessment termed na-jay, "a tax (in a word) upon the survivors, to make up the deficiencies of the dead."‡ Besides this, when the immense and absolutely incalculable amount of specie exported, from the time of the deposition of Surajah Dowlah to the epoch of the famine, is considered in connexion with the notorious deficiency of the circulating medium, and the abuses and erroneous policy connected with the coinage,§ it is easy to understand how fearfully scarcity of money must have aggravated the evils of failing harvests; and how, when rice rose from a standard of price (already permanently augmented under British supremacy to four, six, and even ten times the usual rate), it became of little importance to the penniless multitudes whether it might or might not be purchased for a certain sum, when all they had in the world fell short of the market value of a single meal. In England, the rates of labour are always more or less influenced by the price of provisions; but when the Bengal merchants endeavoured to raise the manufacturing standard, their attempts were soon forcibly put down by the local authorities, who well knew that Indian goods, purchased at a premium consistent even with a Bengalee's humble notion of a "fair day's wages for a fair day's work," would not, when sold in the European markets, indemnify the company for prime cost, for

* Malcolm's *Life of Clive,* iii., 287.

† Verelst's *State of Bengal,* see pp. 81—85.

‡ Gleig's *Life of Warren Hastings,* i., 310.

§ A cotemporary English writer, reviewing the evidence given before parliament in 1772, remarks, that from 1757 to 1771, it is acknowledged or proved, that the E. I. Cy. and their servants received between twenty-nine and thirty millions sterling from Indian princes and their subjects, besides a sum not known, arising from trading monopolies.—(Parker's *Evidence,* 281.) Of the amount above stated, the company received nearly twenty-four million, and their servants upwards of five-and-a-half as presents, which were, however, but one form of what Clive termed the "long track of frauds under the customary disguise of perquisites," which annually brought lacs to junior servants whose salaries were mere pittances.—(*Life of Clive,* iii., 84; *Life of Hastings,* i., 300.) No estimate could be formed of the fortunes thus accumulated, because the prohibition of the directors to send remittances home, exceeding a certain limited amount, by bills drawn on them in England, led Clive and the whole body of officials who, at a humble distance, followed in his footsteps, to invest their wealth in the purchase of diamonds, or to transmit vast sums through the medium of the Dutch and French companies, by which means these inferior settlements had money in abundance, while the investments at Calcutta were often procured by loans, of which eight per cent. was the lowest interest taken for a long series of years. Among the charges brought against Clive, when examined before parliament in 1772, were frauds in the exchange and the gold coinage. According to Ferishta, no silver coin was used in India as late as A.D. 1311; and Colonel Briggs, in commenting on this passage, remarks, that up to a very late period, the chief current coin in the south of India was a small gold fanam, worth about sixpence.—(i., 375.) Since then, however, gold having been entirely superseded by silver, measures were instituted to bring the former again into circulation; and on the new coinage Clive received a heavy per-centage, as governor. The ill-fated bankers—Juggut Seit and his brother—had introduced a tax on the silver currency during the short reign of Surajah Dowlah, which the English very improperly adopted. It consisted in issuing coins called sicca rupees, every year, at five times their actual value, and insisting on the revenues being paid in this coin only, during the period of its arbitrary value—that is, during the year of coinage. In three years it sank to the actual value of the silver; but its possessor, on payment of three per cent., might have it recoined into a new sicca rupee of the original exaggerated value. *Vide* Dow's account of this ingenious method of yearly "robbing the public of three per cent. upon the greater part of their current specie."—(*History of Hindoostan,* i., *Introduction,* p. cxlvii.)

duties and other expenses, exclusive of the profit, which is the originating motive of all commercial associations. Now, it is a well-known fact, that many men who, in their private capacity, would sooner face ruin than inflict it on the innocent, will, as members of a senate or corporation (under the influence of a vague notion of state-necessity or the good of proprietors, whose interests it is their acknowledged duty to consult), institute proceedings of a character utterly opposed to the simple principles of action which guide them in the daily intercourse of domestic life. Flagrant wrong they shrink from with unaffected disgust; but still there are few men who do not, with strange inconsistency, manifest by their practice that public affairs require a constant sacrifice of integrity to expediency, which once admitted as justifiable in their private career, must inevitably destroy the mutual confidence which forms the basis of that distinguishing national characteristic—an English home. The ignorance of the E. I. Cy. of the actual state of affairs (in great measure the result of the newness of their position), was doubtless the leading cause of their suffering the continuance of many unquestionably faulty practices, from the difficulty of providing efficient substitutes. The course of events was well fitted to teach them the great lesson—that there is no course so dangerous to rulers as a persistance in tyranny and misgovernment. The misery of the mass, aggravated by the shameless extortions of English functionaries, necessitated a large increase of military expenses:* taxes were literally enforced at the point of the bayonet; "bur-jaut," or the compulsory sale of articles at less than their actual cost, became a notorious practice; and, simultaneous with these iniquitous proceedings in India, were the pecuniary involvements of the company in London; and, what was yet more disgraceful, the fierce strife between the proprietors and directors, and again between both these and his majesty's ministers.

While the sums obtained from Meer Jaffier and Cossim Ali were in process of payment, the affairs of the company went on smoothly enough: annual supplies were furnished for the China trade, and likewise for the Madras presidency (which was always in difficulties, notwithstanding the various sums obtained from Mohammed Ali, the nabob of Arcot), while five lacs or more were yearly drawn by the Bombay presidency.† The dividend of the E. I. Cy., from Christmas, 1766, to Midsummer, 1772, averaged eleven per cent. per annum; during the last-named year it had reached twelve-and-a-half per cent., and this notwithstanding the stipulated payment to government of £400,000, in return for the continuance of the charter. Meantime the bonded debt of Bengal increased from £612,628, in 1771, to £1,700,000, in 1772; and the company, though most unwillingly, were obliged to throw themselves upon the mercy of the ministry (of which the Duke of Grafton and Lord North were at the head), and confess their utter inability to furnish their annual quota; and further, their necessity of soliciting from the Bank of England a loan of above a million sterling to carry on the commercial transactions of the ensuing season.

The government, thus directly appealed to, had ample grounds for instituting an inquiry into the condition of an association which, notwithstanding its immense trading and territorial revenues, had again become reduced to the verge of bankruptcy. It was argued, that the bitter complaints of venality and mismanagement, freely reciprocated by the directors and the servants of the company, were, on both sides, founded in truth. Moreover, the representations made on behalf of Mohammed Ali by his agents, particularly Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Macpherson, had considerable effect, not only generally in producing an unfavourable opinion of the dealings of the E. I. Cy. with Indian princes, but specially by inducing the sending to Arcot of a royal ambassador, Sir John Lindsay, and subsequently of Sir Robert Harland, between both of whom and the local government the most open hostility existed. These proceedings have had too little permanent effect to need being detailed at length, but they illustrate the state of feeling which led to the parliamentary investigations of 1772, and resulted in the first direct connexion of the ministry with the management of East Indian affairs, by the measure commonly known as the *Regulating Act* of 1773. A loan was granted to the company of £1,400,000 in exchequer bills,‡ and various

* Dow asserts, that "seven entire battalions were added to our military establishment to enforce the collections."—(*Hindoostan*, i., cxxxix.)

† *Original Papers*, sent from India and published in England by Governor Vansittart.—(ii., 74.)

‡ The conditions of the loan were, that the sur-

distinct provisions were made to amend the constitution of that body, both at home and abroad, and to ameliorate the condition of the native population newly brought under their sway. A governor-general (Warren Hastings) was nominated to preside over Bengal, and to some extent control the presidencies of Madras, Bombay, and Bencoolen (in Sumatra); the number of counsellors was reduced to four; and these, together with the governor-general, were appointed for five years:* the old Mayor's Court at Calcutta was set aside, and a Supreme Court of judicature, composed of a chief justice and three puisne judges (all English barristers) established in its place, and invested with civil, criminal, admiralty, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction over all British subjects† resident in the three provinces (Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa); but the governor-general and members of council were exempted, unless indicted for treason or felony. Europeans were strictly forbidden to enter into the inland traffic in salt, betel-nut, tobacco, and rice; and the governors, counsellors, judges, and revenue-collectors, were rigidly prohibited all trade whatever. Not only the covenanted servants of the company, but also the civil and military officers of the crown, were forbidden to receive presents from the natives; and the maximum of the legal rate of interest in Bengal was fixed at twelve per cent. per annum. Specific punishments were affixed to the violation of the above enactments, on conviction before the Supreme Court.

The majority of these regulations were of a nature which, from the political character of the English constitution, could be enforced against British subjects only by the express authority of their national rulers.‡ The privity of the Crown thus of necessity established in the affairs of the company, was further secured by a proviso, that all financial and political advices transmitted from India, should, within fourteen days after their arrival, be communicated to the administration by the Court of Directors;§ and any ordinance of the governor-general in council might be disallowed by the Crown, provided its veto were pronounced within two years after the enactment of the obnoxious measure.

The state of Bengal, at the period at which we have now arrived, has been sufficiently shown in the foregoing pages. The only events still unnoticed with regard to the Calcutta Presidency, are the death of the nabob, Syef-ad-Dowlah, of small-pox; the accession of his brother, Mobarik-ad-Dowlah, a boy of ten years old; and the departure of Shah Alum from Allahabad to take possession of his own capital of Delhi. After the retreat of the Doorani invader, the government of this city had been assumed by Nujeeb-oo-Dowla (the Rohilla chief frequently alluded to in previous pages), and, together with such authority, territorial and judicial, as yet remained

plus of the clear revenue of the company should be paid half-yearly into the exchequer, till the liquidation of the debt; that in the interim, their annual dividend should not exceed six per cent.; and that until the reduction of their total bond-debt to £1,500,000, the dividend should not exceed seven per cent.—(13 George III., c. 64.) Among the alterations made by this enactment in the internal arrangements of the association, was a decree for the annual election of six directors for the term of four years; the interval of a year to be then suffered to elapse before the same person could be again eligible; whereas the directors had been previously annually chosen for a single year, at the close of which they might be at once re-elected. The qualification for a vote was raised from £500 to £1,000 stock, and regulations were framed to prevent the collusive transfer of stock for electioneering purposes.

* The salary of the governor-general was fixed at £25,000 per ann.; the counsellors, £10,000 each; chief justice, £8,000; puisne judges, £6,000 each; to be received in lieu of all fees or perquisites.

† Notwithstanding the absolute nullity of any power in the youth on whom the title of nabob had been last conferred, the natives of Bengal were not yet viewed as British subjects; and by the *Regulating Act*, could not be sued in the Supreme Court, (except upon any contract in writing, where the object in dispute exceeded 500 rupees in value), unless they were themselves willing to abide by the decision of that tribunal. This protective clause was set forth only in the directions for civil proceedings, and (probably from inadvertence) not repealed in those which regarded the penal court. The omission enabled the chief justice to adjudge the celebrated Nuncomar to death for forgery, at the suit of a native.

‡ The preamble to the act states it to have been a necessary measure, because several powers and authorities previously vested in the E. I. body had "been found, by experience, not to have sufficient force and efficacy to prevent various abuses which have prevailed in the government and affairs of the said company, as well at home as in India, to the manifest injury of the public credit, and of the commercial interests of the said company."

§ The regulations and ordinances decreed by the governor-general in council, were invalid unless duly registered and published in the Supreme Court of judicature. Appeals against any of them might be laid before the king in council by any person in India or in England, if lodged within sixty days after the publication of the act complained of, either at the Supreme Court or the E. I. House, where notices of all such measures were to be affixed.

connected therewith, was exercised by him in the name of the young prince, Jewan Bukht, the eldest son of Shah Alum, who had been left behind at the period of his father's flight in 1758. The encroachments of the Jat Rajah, Sooraj Mull, into whose hands Agra had fallen after the battle of Paniput, in 1761, resulted in a regular conflict between him and Nujeeb-oo-Dowla, in 1764. The rajah was killed at the very commencement of hostilities; and the endeavour of his son and successor, Jowher Sing, to prosecute the war by the assistance of the Mahratta chieftain, Mulhar Rao Holcar, proved ineffectual. In 1769, the peishwa's army crossed the Chumbul, and after desolating Rajast'han and levying arrears of chout from the Rajpoot princes, they proceeded to overrun the country of the Jats, which at this time extended from Agra to the borders of Delhi on the north-west, and near to Etawa on the south-east, and afforded a revenue of nearly £250,000. The Mahrattas gained a decided victory near Bhurtpoor, and made peace with the Jats on condition of receiving a sum of about £75,000. They then encamped for the monsoon, intending at its expiration to enter Rohilcund, and revenge on the leading chiefs the part played by them in concert with the Afghan victor at the bloody field of Paniput. Nujeeb-oo-Dowla took advantage of the interval to negotiate a treaty on behalf of himself and the Rohillas in general; and his overtures were favourably received, on account of the mutual need each party had of the other to obtain an object desirable in the sight of both, the withdrawal of the emperor from the immediate influence of the English, and his re-establishment in Delhi. The arrangement was marred by the death of Nujeeb-oo-Dowla, at the close of 1770. His son, Zabita Khan, who appears to have inherited the ambition, unchecked by the loyalty or prudence of his father, assumed the charge of affairs, and showed no inclination to procure the return of his liege lord. In the following year, Rohilcund was overrun by the Mahrattas; the strong fortress of Etawa fell into their hands; Delhi was seized by them, and Zabita Khan fled to Seharunpoor, the capital of his own patrimony in Rohilcund. The prince, Jewan Bukht, was treated with marked respect, and the emperor given to understand, that if he did not think fit to accept the repeated invitations made to him to return to his capital, his son would be formally placed on the throne. In an evil hour, Shah Alum yielded to a natural desire of taking possession of the scanty remains of imperial power which formed his ill-omened inheritance. The darkest hour he had hitherto encountered had afforded him experience of the fidelity of a Mahratta general;* nor does there seem to have been any sufficient reason for his anticipating the mercenary and unprincipled conduct which he eventually received at their hands, which, however, never equalled in treachery the proceedings of his professed friend and nominal servant, but most grasping and relentless foe, Shuja Dowlah, the cherished ally of the English. In fact, the insidious counsels and pecuniary aid furnished by this notable schemer, were mainly instrumental in resolving Shah Alum to quit Allahabad, which he did after receiving from the Bengal presidency a strong assurance "of the readiness with which the company would receive and protect him, should any reverse of fortune compel him once more to return to his provinces."† The commander-in-chief (Sir Robert Barker) and Shuja Dowlah attended the royal march to the frontier of the Corah district, and then took leave with every demonstration of respect and good-will; the latter declaring that nothing but the predominant influence of the Mahrattas at court prevented his proceeding thither and devoting himself to the performance of the duties of the vizierat. Shah Alum reached Delhi in December, 1771, and entered its ancient gates amid the acclamations of the populace. Happily, his enjoyment of this gleam of prosperity was unmarred by a knowledge of the almost unexampled miseries which awaited him during the chief part of the ensuing six-and-twenty years. Could but a passing glimpse of coming sorrows have been foreshadowed to him, the lowliest hut in Bengal would have seemed a blessed refuge from the agonies of mind and body he and his innocent family were doomed to endure within the stately walls of their ancestral home.

* Etal Rao lay encamped on the banks of the Jumna, when the emperor (then heir-apparent) fled from Delhi. He received the fugitive with the utmost kindness,—swore on the holy waters of the Ganges not to betray him; and more than redeemed his pledge, in spite of threats and bribes, by guarding the prince for six months, and then escorting him to a place of safety.—(Francklin's *Shah Alum.*)

† Official Letter from Bengal, 31st August, 1771. Auber's *British Power in India*, i., 287

The Bombay Presidency, so far as its finances were concerned, continued to be a heavy tax on the E. I. Cy., the net revenue not sufficing to defray a third of its civil and military expenditure.*

In the Madras Presidency, events had taken place which the superior importance and interest of Bengal affairs have prevented from being noticed in chronological succession. Reference has been made to the ill-feeling which sprang up between the E. I. Cy. and Mohammed Ali (the nabob of their own nomination.) The cause was twofold—first, the English expected to find the province, of which Arcot was the capital, a mine of wealth, and hoped to derive from the nabob, when firmly established there, considerable pecuniary advantage. They soon discovered their mistake as to the amount of funds thus obtainable, and still more with regard to the expenditure of life and treasure to be incurred in establishing the power of a man who, though of very inferior capacity, was inordinately ambitious, and yet distrustful—not perhaps without cause—of the allies, by whose assistance alone his present position could be maintained, or his views of aggrandisement carried out. The chief points in the long-continued hostilities, undertaken by the presidency to enforce his very questionable claims to sovereignty or tribute, may be briefly noted, nor can the painful admission in justice be withheld—that many expeditions dispatched under the auspices of Mr. (afterwards Lord) Pigot, whatever their ostensible motive, were really prompted by a desire to replenish a treasury exhausted by military expenses, especially, by the long war with the French, which commenced in 1746, and terminated with the reduction of Pondicherry in 1761. The miseries of the native population must have been too great to admit of much increased exaction. Since its first invasion by Aurungzebe,† the Carnatic had been, almost without interruption, the scene of rapine and disorganisation; imperial agents, usurping nabobs, and chout-collecting Mahrattas had claimed revenues, and exacted contributions, as each found opportunity; and the commanders of districts and forts maintained their often ill-gotten authority, by resisting or complying with the demands made upon them, according to the urgency of the case. But the great load of suffering fell ever on the unarmed and inoffensive peasantry, whose daily sustenance was to be procured by daily work. This suffering was not of a character peculiar to the epoch now under consideration: it would seem that, from time immemorial, the working classes of Hindoostan had practically experienced the scourge of war; for every one of the multifarious languages of the peninsula has a word answering to the Canarese term *Wulsa*, which, happily, cannot be explained in any European tongue without considerable circumlocution. The Wulsa denotes the entire population of a district, who, upon the approach of a hostile army, habitually bury their most cumbrous effects, quit their beloved homes, and all of them, even to the child that can just walk alone, laden with grain, depart to seek shelter (if, happily, it may be found) among some neighbouring community blessed with peace. More frequently the pathless woods and barren hills afford their sole refuge, until the withdrawal of the enemy enables them to return to cultivate anew the devastated fields. Such exile must be always painful and anxious: during its continuance the weak and aged die of fatigue; if long protracted, the strong too often perish by the more dreadful pangs of hunger. Colonel Wilks affirms, that the Wulsa never departed on the approach of a British army, when unaccompanied by Indian allies;‡ but this is poor comfort regarding the measures taken on behalf of Mohammed Ali, since there is no reason to suppose his troops more scrupulous than their fellows, or less feared by the unhappy peasantry. The fort and district of Vellore were captured for him, in 1761, from Murtezza Ali,§ with the assistance of the English, after a three months' siege; but the treasure taken there ill repaid the cost of the conquest. The latter part of 1763, and nearly the whole of the following twelve-

* In the *Report of Select Committee*, June, 1784, the net revenue of Bombay for the year ending April, 1774, is stated at £109,163; civil and military charges, £347,387: leaving a deficiency of £238,224.

† During the nineteen years preceding the death of Aurungzebe, in 1707, his favourite general, Zulfeccar Khan, was employed in the Carnatic in ceaseless and destructive hostilities; and it is recorded that nineteen actions were fought, and 3,000 miles marched by this officer in six months only. Famine and pestilence—the direct consequences of prolonged and systematic devastation—followed, and even exceeded in their ravages the scourge of war. The terrible sufferings of the people, during this melancholy period, are affectingly described in many of the memoirs comprised in the valuable Mackenzie collection.

‡ Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, i., 309.

§ *See* previous pages, especially Note †, p. 252.

months, were taken up in a struggle with Mohammed Esoof, a brave and skilful officer, who had long and faithfully served the English as commandant of sepoys. He had been placed in command of Madura, as renter; but the unproductive condition of the country rendered it, he declared, impossible to pay the stipulated sum. The excuse is believed to have been perfectly true; but it was treated as a mere cloak to cover an incipient attempt at independence. An army marched upon Madura, and Esoof, fairly driven into resistance, commenced a desperate contest, which occasioned heavy loss of life on the side of the English, and the expenditure of a million sterling, before hostilities terminated by the seizure and betrayal of his person into the hands of Mohammed Ali, by whom he was condemned to die the death of a rebel, and actually executed as such.

His betrayer was a man named Marchand, who had joined him among a body of French troops sent to his aid by the Mahratta rajah of Tanjore, from whom a heavy sum had recently been extorted on the plea of arrears of tribute due to the general government of the Carnatic. The acquisition of the Northern Circars, in 1766, and the treaty made by Lord Clive with Nizam Ali, has been noticed, as also the impolicy of engaging to hold a body of troops in readiness to do the will of so belligerent and unscrupulous a leader. It was not long before the fulfilment of this pledge was insisted on, and the immediate consequence proved the commencement of a long and disastrous series of wars with Hyder Ali. Since his sudden separation from the French, in 1760, his road to eminence had been short and sanguinary. Force and fraud, used indifferently, according to the nature of the obstacle to be overcome, had raised Hyder to the supreme authority in Mysoor; and a skilful admixture of the same ingredients, enabled him gradually to acquire possession of many portions of Malabar and Canara, until then exempt from Moslem usurpation. The strife at one period existing between Nizam Ali and his elder brother, Bassalut Jung, induced the latter to make an attempt at independence, in prosecution of which he marched, in 1761, against Sera,* a province seized by the Mahrattas, and separated by them from the government of the Deccan, of which it had previously formed a part. The resources of Bassalut Jung proving quite insufficient for the projected enterprise, he gladly entered into an arrangement with Hyder Ali; and, on receiving five lacs of rupees, made over his intention of conquering Sera to that chief, on whom he conferred the title of nabob, together with the designation of Khan Bahadur—"the heroic lord." Sera was speedily subdued, and its reduction was followed, in 1763, by the seizure, on a most shameless pretext, of Bednore,† a territory situated on the loftiest crest of the Ghauts, 5,000 feet above the level of the sea, abounding in magnificent forests, and fertilized by copious rains, which produce harvests of remarkable abundance. The sequestered position of this little kingdom, had hitherto preserved it from Mohammedan invasion, and enabled successive rulers to accumulate

* The districts of Great and Little Balipoor were included in the province of Sera: the former was held as a jaghire by Abbas Kooli Khan, the persecutor of Hyder in childhood. Bassalut Jung wished to exclude this territory from that over which he assumed the right of investing Hyder with authority,—(a right, says Wilks, which could only be inferred from the act of granting); but the latter declared the arrangement at an end, if any interference were attempted with the gratification of his long-smouldering revenge. Abbas Kooli Khan fled to Madras, leaving his family in the hands of his bitter foe; but Hyder showed himself in a strangely favourable light; for in remembrance of kindness bestowed on him in childhood by the mother of the fugitive, he treated the captives with lenity and honour. This conduct did not, however, embolden Abbas Kooli to quit the protection of the English, or throw himself on his mercy; and, some years later (in 1769), when Hyder presented himself at the gates of Madras, he embarked in a crazy vessel, and did not venture to land until the hostile force had reascended the mountain-passes.—(Wilks' *Mysoor*, i., 440.)

† The last actual rajah of Bednore died in 1755, leaving an adopted heir, of about seventeen years of age, under the guardianship of his widow. The youth animadverted with severity on the conduct of the ranee, with regard to a person named Nimbeia, and the result was his own assassination by a *jetti* or athlete, who watched an opportunity to dislocate his neck while employed in shampooing him in the bath. The guilty ranee selected an infant to fill the vacant thone; but, about five years after, a pretender started up, claiming to be the rightful heir, and describing himself as having escaped the intended doom by means of a humane artifice practised by the athlete. Hyder readily availed himself of the pretext for invading Bednore, though he probably never entertained the least belief of the truth of the story; and the whole army treated the adventurer with the utmost derision, styling him the "Rajah of the resurrection." So soon as Bednore was captured, Hyder, setting aside all conditions or stipulations previously entered into, sent the ranee and her paramour, with his own *protégé*, to a common prison in the hill-fort of Mudgherry, whence they were liberated on the capture of the place by the Mahrattas in 1767. The ranee died directly after her release.

much treasure. The mountain capital (eight miles in circumference) fell an easy prey to the Mysoorean chief; "and the booty realised may," says Colonel Wilks, "without the risk of exaggeration, be estimated at twelve million sterling, and was, through life, habitually spoken of by Hyder as the foundation of all his subsequent greatness."* The subjugation of the country was not, however, accomplished without imminent danger to the life of the invader.†

Hyder now assumed the style of an independent sovereign, and struck coins in his own name. Having completed the necessary arrangements for the occupation of the lesser districts included in his new dominions (which comprehended two places often named in the history of early European proceedings on this coast,—Onore and Mangalore), he next seized the neighbouring territories of Soonda and Savanoor, and then rapidly extended his northern frontier almost to the banks of the Kistnah. Here, at length, his daring encroachments were arrested by Mahdoo Rao, the young and energetic Mahratta peishwa, who (taking advantage of the accommodation with Nizam Ali, which had succeeded the partial destruction of Poonah by the latter in 1763) crossed the Kistnah, in 1764, with a force greatly outnumbering that of Hyder. A prolonged contest ensued, in which the advantage being greatly on the side of the Mahrattas, and the army of Hyder much reduced, he procured the retreat of the peishwa, in 1765, by various territorial concessions, in addition to the payment of thirty-two lacs of rupees. When relieved from this formidable foe, he forthwith commenced preparations for the conquest of Malabar, which he succeeded in effecting after an irregular war of some months' duration with the proud and liberty-loving Nairs, or military cast; for the disunion of the various petty principalities neutralised the effects of the valour of their subjects, and prevented any combined resistance being offered. Cananore,‡ Cochin, Karical—all fell, more or less com-

* *History of Mysoor*, i., 452. Mill says—"More likely it was not a third of the sum" (iii., 469); but native testimonies and the reports of the French mercenaries in the service of Hyder, with other circumstances, tend to confirm the opinion of Wilks. In a life of Hyder Ali, written by the French leader of his European troops, whose initials (M.M.D.L.T.) are alone given, it is stated that two heaps of gold, coined and in ingots, and of jewels, set and unset, were piled up until they surpassed the height of a man on horseback. They were then weighed with a corn measure. Hyder gave a substantial proof of the extent of his ill-gotten booty, by bestowing on every soldier in his service a gratuity equal to half a year's pay.—(*History of Ayder Ali Khan, Nabob Bahader;* translated from the French: Dublin, 1774.)

† The ministers of the late dynasty entered into an extensive conspiracy for his assassination and the recovery of the capital. Some vague suspicions induced Hyder to cause inquiry to be made by his most confidential civil servants. The persons so employed were, strangely enough, all concerned in the plot. They performed their commission with apparent zeal, and read the result to the dreaded despot as he lay on a couch shivering with ague. His keen perceptions were undimmed by bodily infirmity; but affecting to be duped by the garbled statements made by the commissioners, he detained them in consultation until he felt able to rise. Then, entering the durbar, or hall of audience, he examined and cross-examined witnesses until the mystery was quite unravelled. The commissioners were executed in his presence, many unhappy nobles of Bednore arrested, and, before the close of the day, 300 of the leading confederates were hanging at the different public ways of the city. Hyder, we are told, retired to rest with perfect equanimity, and rose on the following morning visibly benefited by the stimulating effect of his late exertions. Peace of mind had, however, fled from him; and, notwithstanding the terrible perfection which his inquisitorial and sanguinary police system subsequently attained, the dagger of the assassin was an image never absent from his sleeping or waking thoughts, save when banished by the stupor of complete intoxication, which became to him a nightly necessity. One of his most intimate associates relates, that after having watched over him during a short interval of convulsive sleep, snatched in his tent during a campaign, Hyder exclaimed on awaking—"The state of a yogee (religious mendicant) is more delightful than my envied monarchy: awake, they see no conspirators; asleep, they dream of no assassins."—(Wilks' *Mysoor*, i., 143.)

‡ The Dutch possessions on the Malabar coast had been materially lessened during the interval between the last mention made of them in 1740 (p. 245), and the invasion of Hyder Ali in 1766. The expensive trading establishments maintained there proved a heavy drain on the finances of the company, which Stavorinus, on the authority of Governor Mossel, alleges to have been occasioned by the continual disputes and wars in which they had been engaged with the native princes, "and not a little by the infidelity and peculation of the servants who have been employed here." Mossel declares, "it would have been well for the Dutch company had the ocean swallowed up the coast of Malabar an hundred years ago." Under these circumstances, the best thing was to get rid of such unfortunate acquisitions. Cranganore was sold to the rajah of Travancore; and Cananore, in 1770, for the sum of 100,000 rupees, to a recently established potentate, styled by Stavorinus the Sultan of Angediva or Anchediva, a little rocky isle, two miles from the coast of North Canara. This chief belonged by birth to the mixed class, the offspring of intercourse (after the Malabar custom) between native women and Arabian immigrants: they bore the significant appellation of Moplah or *Mapilla* (the children of their mothers); but were mostly believers in the Koran. Ali Rajah, the purchaser of Cananore, had risen by trade to wealth, and thence to political importance: he took

pletely, into the power of Hyder; and Maan Veeram Raj, the Zamorin, or Tamuri rajah of Calicut, disgusted by the faithlessness of his unprincipled opponent, and terrified by the cruel and humiliating tortures inflicted on his ministers to extort money, set fire to the house in which he was confined, and perished in the flames.* Shortly after this event, Hyder was recalled to Seringapatam by the alarming intelligence that the English and Mohammed Ali had united with the Nizam in a confederacy for the reduction of his dangerous ascendancy. Hyder was a complete master of every description of intrigue. He succeeded, by dint of bribery, in withdrawing Nizam Ali from the alliance into which the English had unwisely entered, and the very corps which had accompanied the Nizam into the dominions of Hyder, sustained in its retreat an attack from their united forces.† Madras was imperilled by the unlooked-for appearance of 5,000 horse, under the nominal command of Tippoo, the eldest son of Hyder Ali, then a youth of seventeen. The president and council were at their garden-houses without the town; and had the attention of the invaders been less absorbed in the accumulation of plunder, they might have seized as their prize the whole of these functionaries, and dictated at leisure the terms of general peace and individual ransom. But they delayed until news arrived of a decisive victory gained by Colonel Smith, at Trincomalee,‡ over Hyder and Nizam Ali, which being closely followed by other advantages on the side of the English (including the successful defence of Amboor),§ brought the campaign to an end. Hyder retreated within his own frontier, and the Nizam concluded a peace with the English in February, 1768, by which he agreed to receive seven lacs per annum for six years, as temporary tribute for the Circars, instead of the perpetual subsidy of nine lacs per annum previously promised. Hyder was himself equally solicitous of forming a treaty with the Madras presidency. He did not scruple to avow his inability to oppose at once both them and the Mahrattas; and he candidly avowed that disinclination to make common cause with the latter people, was the leading incentive to his repeated overtures for alliance with the English. His offers were,

an early opportunity of propitiating the favour of Hyder, at the expense of the high-born Hindoo princes in his vicinity. When Stavorinus himself visited India, in 1775-'8, the Dutch possessions on the Malabar coast nominally extended a distance of about thirty-two leagues; but, excepting the little island of Paponetty, and a few insignificant villages on the shore, the company had "no other actual property in the soil than in that upon which their fortifications are constructed."—(Stavorinus' *Voyages*, iii., chapters xiii. and xiv.)

* Several of the personal attendants of the Zamorin being accidentally excluded when the doors were fastened, threw themselves into the flames, and perished with their master. This catastrophe had no effect in softening the heart of Hyder, or inducing him to show compassion to the ministers. The Nairs, rendered desperate by his cruelty, rose against him repeatedly, and were, if captured, either beheaded or hanged, until the idea struck their persecutor of preserving them to populate certain other portions of his dominions. The experiment proved fatal to the majority of the unhappy beings upon whom it was tried: of 15,000 who were subjected to this forced emigration, only 200 survived the fatigue and hardships of the way and the change of climate, which Indians in general—and particularly the natives of Malabar—can ill bear under every possible circumstance of alleviation.—(Wilks' *Mysoor*, i., 477.)

† Either from generosity or policy, five English companies, attached to the Nizam as a guard of honour, were suffered by him to depart and join the force under Colonel Smith three days before the commencement of open hostilities by the new allies.

‡ Hyder prevailed on the Nizam to give the order to retreat, and was himself clearly perceived by the English issuing directions for that purpose, in the midst of a select body of infantry, whose scarlet dresses, with lances eighteen feet long, of bamboo, strengthened by bands of polished silver, rendered them no less picturesque in appearance than formidable in reality. The retreat was, for the moment, delayed by a singular incident. Nizam Ali invariably carried his favourite wives in his train, even to the field of battle. On the present occasion, directions were given to the drivers of the elephants on which they were seated, to decamp forthwith,—an undignified procedure, which was firmly opposed by the fair occupant of one of the howdahs. "This elephant," she exclaimed, "has not been instructed so to turn; he follows the imperial standard:" and though the English shot fell thick around, the lady waited till the standard passed. A considerable body of cavalry, roused to action by the sense of shame inspired by this feminine display of chivalry, made a partial charge upon the enemy.—(Wilks' *Mysoor*, ii., 38.)

§ The assault lasted twenty-six days, at the expiration of which time, the besieged were relieved by the approach of the British army. In honour of the steady courage there manifested, the 1st battalion of the 10th regiment bear "the rock of Amboor" on their colours. Hyder had a narrow escape during this enterprise; for while examining the fortifications, under cover of a rock which sheltered him completely from the direct fire of the fort, a cannon-shot rebounded from a neighbouring height, and cut in two his only companion, leaving him unhurt. The Mysoorean court were, according to Colonel Wilks, the most unscientific in all India; and being ignorant of the simple principle by which a ball would rebound amid the rocks which limited its influence, until its force was spent, they attributed the fate of Khakee Shah to a miracle of vengeance, wrought to punish his recent offence of taking a false oath on a false Koran, to aid Hyder in deceiving and entrapping his ancient and much-injured patron, Nunjeraj.—(Wilks.)

however, haughtily rejected. Driven to desperation, he put forth all his powers, ravaged the Carnatic, penetrated to Trichinopoly, laid waste the provinces of Madura and Tinnevelly, and finally, after drawing the English army, by a series of artful movements, to a considerable distance from Madras, he selected a body of 6,000 cavalry, marched 120 miles in three days, and suddenly appeared on the Mount of Saint Thomas, in the immediate vicinity of the English capital. The presidency were struck with consternation. The fort might undoubtedly have held out till the arrival of the army under Colonel Smith, but the open town with its riches, the adjacent country, and the garden-houses of the officials, would have been ravaged and destroyed; moreover, the exhausted state of the treasury afforded little encouragement to maintain hostilities with a foe whose peculiar tactics enabled him to procure abundant supplies for his troops in a hostile country, and to surround his enemies with devastation and scarcity in the heart of their own domains.* A treaty was concluded with him in April, 1769, of which the principal conditions† were a mutual restoration of conquests and a pledge of alliance, defensive but not offensive. The distinction involved in the latter proviso was, as might have been foreseen, of little avail; for the foes against whom Hyder especially desired the co-operation of the English troops, were the Mahrattas, who periodically invaded his territories; and on the expected approach of Mahdoo Rao, he urgently appealed to the presidency for the promised aid, which they withheld on the plea of complicated political relations, and thus excited, with too just cause, the vindictive passions of their ally. The military abilities of the peishwa were of no common order: and he approached with the determination of materially circumscribing the power of a rival whose proceedings and projects, after long undervaluing, he began to appreciate correctly. Seizing one by one the conquests‡ of Hyder,

* Hyder, throughout his whole career, displayed a peculiarly teachable spirit in every proceeding relative to his grand object in life—the art of war. Kunde Rao, a Brahmin, early instructed him in Mahratta tactics; and by their joint endeavours a system of plunder was organised, which Sevajee himself might have admired. The Beder peons (described by Colonel Wilks as "faithful thieves") and the Pindarries (a description of horse who receive no pay, but live on the devastation of the enemy's country), were among the most effective of Hyder's troops. The general arrangement seems to have been, that the army, besides their direct pay, should receive one-half the booty realised; the remainder to be appropriated by their leader; and the whole proceeding was conducted by a series of checks, which rendered the embezzlement of spoil almost impossible. Moveable property of every description, obtained either from enemies or (if practicable without exciting suspicion) by simple theft from allies, was the object of these marauders;—from convoys of grain, cattle, or fire-arms, down to the clothes, turbans, and earrings of travellers or villagers, whether men, women, or children. Kunde Rao at length became disgusted by the uncontrolled ambition and covetousness of Hyder. Unwilling to see the ancient Hindoo institutions of Mysoor swept off by an avowed disbeliever in all religion, he went over to the side of the unfortunate rajah, and was, as before stated, in the hour of defeat delivered up to his fierce and relentless foe, who retained him two years exposed in an iron cage in the most public thoroughfare of Bangalore; and even when death at length released the wretched captive, left his bones to whiten there in memory of his fate. (*See* Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, i., 434, the French *Life of Ayder*, and Dr. Moodie's *Transactions in India from* 1756 *to* 1783, for an account of this almost unexampled act of barbarity.) In his later career, Hyder declared, that the English were his chief tutors in military stratagems; and for Colonel Smith he expressed particular respect, calling him his preceptor in the science of war, and having his picture suspended in the palace of Seringapatam.

† Other clauses provided, that the company were to be allowed to build a fort at Onore, and to have the sole right of purchasing pepper in the dominions of Hyder Ali; payment to be made to him in guns, saltpetre, lead, gunpowder, and ready money. The directors strongly reprobated the supply of offensive implements to so dangerous a potentate, and likewise the cannon afterwards sold to him, and the shipping built by his orders,—remarking, that such a procedure could not conduce to the welfare of the presidency, although it might suit the views of individuals.

‡ The battle of Chercoolee, which occurred while the Mysooreans were retreating to Seringapatam, was attended by some incidents singularly illustrative of the character of Hyder, who, though well able to be courtly on occasion, was habitually fierce in his anger and coarse in his mirth, and in either case equally unaccustomed to place any restraint on his tongue or hand. When under the influence of intoxication, his natural ferocity occasionally broke out in the most unbridled excesses; but he rarely drank deeply, except alone and at night. On the eve of this disastrous battle, the alarms of war prevented him from sleeping off the effects of his usual potation; and in a state of stupid inebriety he sent repeated messages desiring the presence of Tippoo, which owing to the darkness and confusion, were not delivered until daybreak. When Tippoo at length appeared, his father, in a paroxysm of rage, abused him in the foulest language, and snatching a large cane from the hand of an attendant, inflicted on the heir-apparent a literally severe beating. Burning with anger, and smarting with pain, the youth, when suffered to retire, hastened to the head of his division, and dashed his sword and turban on the ground, exclaiming, "My father may fight his own battle; for I swear by Allah and the Prophet, that I draw no sword to-day." Then throwing aside his outer garment of cloth of gold, he tied a coloured handkerchief round his head, and assumed the guise of one

he marched onward until the Mysoor state shrank into narrower limits than it had occupied under the native government at the beginning of the century. The authority of the usurper tottered; and the Hindoo rajah, thinking the conjuncture of affairs favourable to the assertion of his claims, strove to open a communication with the Mahratta general; but the proceeding being detected, the unhappy prince was immediately strangled while in the bath. Still Hyder cared not, at this crisis, openly to seat himself on the ivory throne of Mysoor: double governments were in fashion throughout India, and the brother of the late rajah was proclaimed his successor. He did not long survive this perilous distinction; and Hyder, with unblushing effrontery, affected to choose from the children of the royal lineage, for the next pageant, a boy of sense and spirit—qualities which would necessarily unfit him to be the tool of the deadly foe of his family.* The retreat of the Mahrattas was secured on more favourable terms than could have been expected, by reason of the fast-failing health of the peishwa, who, in the same year (1772), died of consumption. He left no child, and his widow, to whom he had been devotedly attached, burnt herself with his body. Maharashtra is described as having greatly improved under his sway, and as being, in proportion to its fertility, probably more thriving than any other part of India, notwithstanding the inherent defects of its administrative system, and the corruption which Madhoo Rao restrained, but could not eradicate. His death, says Grant Duff, "occasioned no immediate commotion: like his own disease, it was at first scarcely perceptible; but the root which invigorated the already scathed and wide-extending tree, was cut off from the stem; and the plains of Paniput were not more fatal to the Mahratta empire, than the early death of this excellent prince."†

The above sketch illustrates, so far as the limits of this work will permit, the position of the three presidencies and of the leading neighbouring states, at the period when great and rapid changes were about to be effected in the whole scope and tenor of Anglo-Indian policy. The princes of Rajast'han were engaged in holding their own against the marauding Jats and Mahrattas, under Holcar and Sindia,‡ who, for their own ends, thought fit to interfere in a disputed suc-

who had renounced the world. After the ensuing complete victory of the Mahrattas, Tippoo was advised by his faithful friend, Seyed Mohammed (who related the adventure to Colonel Wilks), to make his way to Seringapatam as a travelling mendicant; and they contrived to reach the capital that night, to the great relief of Hyder, who believing his son lost, had refused to enter the city, and was awaiting further intelligence in a small mosque, probably unable to bring himself to encounter the burst of anger and sorrow to which his wife, the mother of Tippoo, who had great influence with him, would give vent on learning the circumstances which he knew, and the issue he feared.—(*Mysoor*, ii., 146.)

* Hyder assembled the children in the royal hall of audience, which he had previously caused to be strewn with fruits, sweetmeats, flowers, books, coin, and toys of all description: each took what struck his fancy; one boy seized a brilliant little dagger, and soon afterwards a lime with the unoccupied hand. "That is the rajah," said Hyder; "his first care is military protection; his second, to realise the produce of his dominions."—(*Idem.* ii., 163.)

† *History of the Mahrattas*, ii., 237. The actual revenue of the Mahratta state, at this period (including the jaghires of Holcar, Sindia, Janojee Bhonslay, and Dummajee Guicowar, together with tribute, fees, fines, and extra revenue of every description), amounted to about seven million sterling per ann., including Mahdoo Rao's personal estate, which seldom exceeded £30,000 per ann. He was, however, possessed of twenty-four lacs of private property, which he bequeathed to the state, and which indeed was much needed. At the time of his accession, a large outstanding debt existed; and although at his death, reckoning sums due, the value of stores and other property, a nominal balance existed, yet the treasury itself was empty. The ordinary army of the peishwa comprehended 50,000 good horse; and calculating the contingent which Guicowar and Bhonslay were bound to furnish at from ten to fifteen thousand, Holcar and Sindia's army at 30,000, and allowing 3,000 for the Puars of Dhar, his total force at command must have amounted to about 100,000 fine cavalry, exclusive of Pindarries. No wonder that Hyder Ali should have been ever solicitous to shun contact with, and form alliances against, such a force under such a leader. By official records, it appears that of 449 officers under Mahdoo Rao, ninety-three were Brahmins, eight Rajpoots, 308 Mahrattas, and forty Mohammedans.—(*Idem.*, p. 270.)

‡ Holcar and Sindia both acquired valuable territorial possessions (or rather the mortgage of them) in Mewar, which, like most of the Rajpoot principalities, was about this time a prey to internal miseries,—its fields, mines, and looms all unworked, and hordes of "pilfering Mahrattas, savage Rohillas, and adventurous Franks" let loose to do their wicked will in its once fruitful valleys. Oudipoor had nearly fallen before Sindia, but was bravely and successfully defended by Umra Chund, the chief minister of Rana Ursi, who, in 1770, succeeded in compelling Sindia to accept a ransom, and raise the siege. This excellent minister fell a victim to court intrigues; but his death, says Tod, "yielded a flattering comment on his life: he left not funds sufficient to cover the funeral expenses, and is, and will probably continue, the sole instance on record in Indian history, of a minister having his obsequies defrayed by subscription among his fellow-citizens." They yet love to descant upon his virtues; and "an act of vigour and integrity is still designated *Umra-chunda*—evincing, that if virtue has few imitators in this country, she is not without ardent admirers."

cession to the throne of Amber or Jeypoor. Pretexts, more or less plausible, were put forth by other Mahratta leaders for the same course of invasion and plunder. The state of the Rohillas will be more particularly mentioned in a subsequent page. The far-distant Seiks had gradually increased in number and power, and could now furnish 80,000 men fit to bear arms. They possessed all the fertile country of the Punjaub between Sirhind and Attoc.

Administration of Warren Hastings.—This celebrated governor superseded Mr. Cartier in the Bengal presidency in April, 1772. He had accompanied Mr. Vansittart to England in 1764, and was at that time in the enjoyment of a moderate independence, and a reputation for ability and disinterestedness of no common order. Presidents and counsellors, commanders military and naval—in a word, the whole body of European officials, of any rank in the service—are recorded as having received costly presents from the native princes. In this list the name of Warren Hastings is alone wanting; and as it is certain his position in the court of Meer Cossim must have afforded more than average opportunities for the accumulation of wealth in a similar manner, the exception tends to prove that the love of money formed no part of his "sultan-like and splendid character."* On the contrary, he was generous even to prodigality; by which means, a brief sojourn in England, surrounded by family claims, reduced his finances to a condition little above that in which they had been fifteen years before; when, through the influence of a distant relative in the E. I. direction, the impoverished scion of a noble house had been dispatched, at the age of seventeen, as a writer to Calcutta.† There, as we have seen, he had risen from the lowest grade of office to a seat at the council-board, aided by general talent and application to business, but especially by the then rare advantage of acquaintance with the Persian language—the medium through which official correspondence in India was mainly conducted. The evidence given by him during the inquiry instituted by parliament in 1766, regarding the system of government adopted by the E. I. Cy., afforded a fair opportunity for the exposition of his views on a subject of which he was well calculated, both by experience and ability, to form a correct opinion; and although the hostility of the Clive party in the India House, prevented—happily for Hastings—his being suffered to accompany his former chief, Mr. Vansittart, in the projected mission to Bengal, no objection was made to his appointment to the station of second in council at Madras, whither he proceeded in 1769. Here his measures

* Bishop Heber's *Journal* (London, 1828), i., 330.

† The pedigree of the young writer can, it is affirmed, be traced back to the fierce sea-king, long the terror of both coasts of the British channel, whose subjugation called forth all the valour and perseverance of the great Alfred; and in tracing the political career of the Indian governor, one is tempted to think that not a few of the piratical propensities of Hastings the Dane, were inherited by his remote descendant. The more immediate ancestors of Warren Hastings were lords of the manor of Daylesford, in Worcestershire, and retained considerable wealth up to the time of the civil war in which King Charles I. lost his crown and life, and their existing representative all his possessions, except the old manor house, which being from poverty unable to retain, they sold in the following generation to a London merchant. To regain the ancient home of his family was the aspiration of Warren Hastings, while still a child of seven years old; and the hope which first dawned on his mind as he lay on the bank of the rivulet flowing through the lands of Daylesford to join the Isis, never passed away, but cheered him amid every phase of his chequered career, from the time when he learned his daily tasks on the wooden bench of the village school, or laboured at a higher description of study at the next school to which he was sent, where he was well taught, but so scantily fed, that he always attributed to that circumstance his stunted growth and emaciated appearance. From Newington Butts he was transferred to Westminster school, where Churchill, Colman, Lloyd, Cumberland, Cowper, *and Impey*, were fellow-students. His comrades liked and admired the even-tempered boy, who was the best of boatmen and swimmers; and so high were his scholarly acquirements, that upon the sudden death of the uncle, who had placed him at Westminster, Dr. Nicholl, then head-master, offered to bear the expense of sending his favourite pupil to Oxford. But the distant relative on whom the responsibility of the decision devolved, persisted in sending the youth to India, and he was shipped off accordingly. Some seven years after, when about four-and-twenty, he married the widow of a military officer. She soon fell a victim to the climate, leaving Hastings one child, who was sent to England for health and education. The death of this son, to whom he was fondly attached, was the first intelligence received by the bereaved father on his arrival in 1764, and it rendered him more than commonly indifferent to the management of his pecuniary affairs. On leaving India, the chief part of his savings remained vested there, the high rate of interest being probably the inducement; but great advantages of this description are usually of a precarious character, and Hastings lost both principal and interest. This calamity did not hinder him from providing liberally for an aunt, for an only and beloved sister, like himself, the offspring of an early and ill-starred marriage, and for other pensioners, although his own Indian equipment had to be purchased with borrowed money.

were especially directed to improve the investments on which the dividends of the company mainly depended, and these exertions were instrumental in procuring his promotion to the station of governor of the Bengal presidency.*

Affairs there had reached the last stage of disorganisation. Seven years had elapsed, since the acquisition of the dewannee, without the establishment of any efficient system for the government of the people, and the result was the total absence of "justice or law, or adequate protection to person or property anywhere in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, except at Calcutta; the boys of the service being sovereigns of the country, under the unmeaning title of supervisors, collectors of the revenue, administrators of justice, and rulers, heavy rulers, of the people." These youths—whom Hastings elsewhere describes as "most of them the agents of their own banyans (native managers), and they are devils"—occupied more lucrative positions than the governor himself, obtaining from one to three lacs a-year; but they were a dangerous class to meddle with, being "generally sons, cousins, or élèves of directors."† The new governor was not the man to risk provoking a powerful opposition to his administration by their recall, but contented himself with some indirect and partial attempts to retrench their power, and pave the way for its gradual withdrawal.

Meanwhile, the measures dictated by the Court of Directors were to be carried out, and the task was one of much greater delicacy and importance than persons imperfectly acquainted with the constitution of Indian society could possibly conceive. The company were extremely dissatisfied with the amount of revenues levied by the native officials, and were well disposed to attribute to their mismanagement and venality the ruinous condition both of their own finances and of the trade of the country. This frame of mind procured a ready reception to the charges brought before them through irregular channels, by means of the long purse and restless intrigues of Nuncomar, against Mohammed Reza Khan, who, it was alleged, had been guilty of extensive embezzlements of revenue, and likewise of an illicit monopoly of rice during the recent famine. Hastings was consequently directed to put in immediate execution the resolve of the company—"to stand forth as dewan, and to take upon themselves the entire care of the revenues;" and, likewise, to institute a public examination into the conduct of the ex-dewan. These instructions were addressed by the secret committee of the company, not to the council, but privately to the governor, and were received by him in the evening of the tenth day after his accession to office. On the following morning, orders were dispatched to Moorshedabad for the seizure of Mohammed Reza Khan, which was effected with the utmost secrecy in the silence of midnight. The Mussulman, with characteristic composure, upon being unexpectedly made a prisoner, attempted neither resistance nor expostulation, but bent his head and submitted to the will of God. It was considered necessary by the presidency to subject to a like arrest and examination the brave Hindoo chief, Shitabroy, whose distinguished services had been rewarded by a similar appointment in Bahar to that given to Mohammed Reza Khan in Bengal, although the directors had given no order on the subject, nor was any accusation whatever on record against him. The inquiry into the conduct of these ex-officials and their subordinates was delayed for some months, on the plea of giving time for the

* Among the fellow-passengers of Hastings, during his voyage, was a German baron named Imhoff, who, in the hope of finding remunerative employment as a portrait painter, was proceeding to India, accompanied by his wife, a very beautiful and accomplished woman, a native of Archangel, and their children. The result of some months of constant intercourse between two persons of high intellectual acquirements, and feelings stronger than their principles, may be conjectured. Hastings was taken dangerously ill; the lady nursed him (according to the Rev. Mr. Gleig) "with a sister's care;" and before the vessel reached Madras, it was arranged that a divorce should be sued for in the Franconia courts by the baroness, who, during the long years which might and did elapse pending the decision of the judges, was to continue to live with the baron. This arrangement was actually carried out· the Imhoffs followed Hastings from Madras to Calcutta; and when the marriage was at length formally dissolved, the baron returned to his native country with wealth to purchase and maintain the position of a landed proprietor, leaving the governor-general of India to marry the divorced lady, and adopt her two sons. Whether from ignorance of these facts, or a politic desire to overlook the antecedents of the union of a distinguished public servant, it appears that Queen Charlotte welcomed Mrs. Hastings with especial affability to a court remarkable for its high standard of female character. It is but justice to state, that Mr. and Mrs. Hastings remained devotedly attached to each other; and that the affectionate attentions of her son and daughter-in-law, Sir Charles and Lady Imhoff, were the solace of Hastings under the many self-sought sorrows of his old age.

† *Life of Warren Hastings*, pp. 147, 235, 269.

deposition of complaints. In the meanwhile, the *Khalsa*, or government revenue establishment, was transferred from Moorshedabad to Calcutta; the office of naib-dewan was abolished both for Bengal and Bahar; the British council formed into a board of revenue; and a native functionary or assistant dewan, under the old Hindoo title of roy-royan,* appointed to act in the Khalsa, to receive the accounts in the Bengal language, and make reports. The great obstacle to an equitable and satisfactory arrangement of the revenues, was the utter ignorance of the law-makers regarding the tenure of land; but Hastings, influenced by the necessity of a speedy decision, and considering it better "to resolve without debate, than to debate without resolving,"† cut the Gordian knot by determining to let the lands in farm for a period of five years.‡ In many instances, the hereditary Hindoo rulers of districts had sunk into the condition of tributaries, and in that character had been forcibly included by their Moslem conquerors in the large class of zemindars or middle-men, by whom the village authorities of the old system of numerous independent municipalities were gradually supplanted in Bengal. By the present regulations, when the zemindars, and other middlemen of ancient standing, offered for the lands, or rather land-rents, which they had been accustomed to manage, terms which were deemed reasonable, they were preferred; when their proposals were considered inadequate, a pension was allotted for their subsistence, and the lands put up for sale—a proceeding which, of necessity, involved the repeated commission of glaring injustice and impolicy; for many men who had nothing to lose were installed, to the expulsion of previous zemindars, who only offered what they could realise with ease to their tenants (for so these must be called, for want of a proper term to express a false position) and remuneration to themselves. To the ryots, or actual cultivators, leases or titles were given, enumerating all the claims to which they were subject, and prohibiting, under penalties, every additional exaction. These arrangements, however fair-seeming in theory, were founded on incorrect premises, and proved alike injurious to the interests of the company and the welfare of the people.§ Regarding the administration of justice, Hastings exerted himself with praiseworthy zeal. Aware of the intention of the home government to take this portion of Indian affairs under their especial consideration, he feared, not without reason, that their deliberations might issue in an endeavour to transplant to India the complicated system of jurisprudence long the acknowledged and lamented curse of lawyer-ridden England. In the hope of mitigating, if not averting this evil, he caused digests of the Hindoo and Mohammedan codes to be prepared under his supervision, and forwarded them to Lord Mansfield and other legal functionaries, with an earnest entreaty that they might be diligently studied; and in such changes as the altered state of affairs immediately necessitated, he was careful, by following the plain principles of experience and common observation, to adapt all new enactments to the manners and understanding of the people, and the exigencies of the country, adhering as closely as possible to ancient usages and institutions.||

There was justice as well as policy in this procedure; and it is only to be regretted that it was not carried out with sufficient exactitude. All attempts to force a code of laws, however excellent, upon people unfitted by antecedent circumstances to receive the boon, have proved abortive: a heathen nation must be educated—and that often very gradually—in the principles of truth and justice brought to light by the Gospel, before they can rightly appreciate the practical character of these virtues. The thief will not cease to steal, the perjuror to forswear, or the corrupt judge abstain from bribery at mere human bidding; a stronger lever is requisite to raise the tone of society, and produce a radical change in its

* The roy-royan had before been the chief officer under the naib-dewan, having the immediate charge of crown lands, and the superintendence of the exchequer.—(Auber's *British Power in India*, i., 369.)

† Gleig's *Life of Warren Hastings*, i., 301.

‡ Under Mohammed Reza Khan's management, the system followed was the ruinous one introduced by Mohammedan nabobs, of farming out the lands annually.—(Dow's *Hindoostan*, vol. i., p. cxxxv.)

§ No European was permitted, directly or indirectly, to hold lands in any part of the country.

|| Halhed's *Digest of Hindoo Laws* was drawn up in Sanscrit by certain pundits (Hindoo doctors of law), translated from Sanscrit to Persian, and thence to English. The Mohammedan code, such as it is, has but one legitimate source—the Koran; nevertheless, an immense mass had been written on the subject, of which a digest called *the Hedaya*, filling four large folio volumes, was framed by order of Aurungzebe; and of this work a *précis* was now executed under the supervision of Hastings. The Brahmins would accept nothing for themselves but bare subsistence during their two years' labour. Promises were made of endowments for their colleges,

whole spirit, before public virtue could flourish in a moral atmosphere so deeply vitiated as that of Bengal. After centuries of oppression and venality, the new rulers felt that their safest policy was to commence a course of gradual amelioration, rather than of abrupt changes—abolishing only punishments openly at variance with the common dictates of humanity, such as torture and mutilation. Stipendiary English magistrates were appointed to act with native colleagues; civil and criminal tribunals were established in each district, under the check of two supreme courts of appeal—the Suddur Dewannee Adawlut, and the Nizamut Suddur Adawlut. In these arrangements one great error was, however, committed, in overlooking, or wilfully setting aside, the system of *punchayets,* or Indian juries, which had, from time immemorial, been the favourite and almost unexceptionable method of deciding civil disputes.

The immediate difficulties of the presidency at this period were, how to raise funds wherewith to provide the investments, which were expected to be regularly furnished from the revenues; and to obtain relief from a bond-debt, varying from a crore* to a crore and a-half of rupees, the interest of which alone formed an item of ten lacs in the yearly disbursements. In a pecuniary point of view, the cessation of the enormous salary of nearly £100,000, paid to Mohammed Reza Khan, was an advantage. He had filled, during the preceding seven years, the double office of naib-subah (properly subahdar) and naib-dewan; that is to say, he had been entrusted with the exercise of all the higher powers of government, judicial and financial (comprehended in the nizamut), and likewise with the charge of the education and management of the household affairs of Mubarik-ad-Dowlah; the expenditure of the yearly stipend of £320,000 having been entrusted exclusively to him. Hastings now resolved on reducing the nabob's allowance by one-half—a diminution which, together with the stoppage of the salaries of Mohammed Reza Khan and Shitabroy, effected, it is asserted, a clear yearly saving of fifty-seven lacs of rupees, equivalent, at the then rate of money, to between six and seven hundred thousand pounds. The youth and inexperience of Mubarik-ad-Dowlah rendered it necessary to nominate a new superintendent for his establishment; and the selection made was so strange, that it gave rise to much subsequent criticism, as to the real motive for choosing a female, and yet setting aside the mother of the prince. Hastings thought fit to appoint to the post of *gouvernante* Munnee Begum—a person who, previous to her entrance into the seraglio of Meer Jaffier, had been a dancing-girl, but who was now possessed of great wealth; the ostensible reason for the choice being "the awe" with which she was regarded by the nabob, and the improbability of her forming any plots against the English rulers. There were, of necessity, many affairs which eastern customs forbade to be transacted by a woman; and the coadjutor chosen for her was Rajah Goordass, the son of Nuncomar, who, because he inherited neither the ability nor the guile of his father, would, Hastings alleged, prove a safe instrument of conferring favour on the latter, and inducing him to make every effort for the establishment of the guilt of Mohammed Reza Khan. The Hindoo, however, needed no incentive to stimulate his deep-rooted animosity against his Mussulman rival; yet, with all his ingenuity, he failed to establish the justice of the charges of embezzlement and monopoly† brought against the ex-dewan, or to prevent his acquittal, after prolonged examination before a committee, over which the governor presided. The innocence, and more than that, the excellent conduct, of Shitabroy, and the great exertions made by him to mitigate the sufferings of the people during the famine, were clearly proved at an early stage of the inquiry. A formal apology was made for the restraint to which he had been subjected; and a *sirpah,* or costly state

but not performed.—(*Hastings,* iii., 158.)——* A crore of rupees, according to the existing standard, amounted to much above a million sterling.

† The charge of oppressing the people, and applying the most cruel coercion to delinquent renters, was certainly not disproved. Dow, who was in Bengal during the early part of the administration of Mohammed Reza Khan, declares that, on the plea of their inability to fulfil their contracts being a pretence, many of the zemindars were bound to stakes and whipped with such unrelenting barbarity, that "not a few of them expired in agonies under the lash;" and many of the ryots, reduced to despair, fled the country.—(*Hindoostan,* i., cxxxvi.) These statements derive corroboration from the reasons given by the directors for ordering the trial of the dewan. In the same communication, allusion is made to the repeated accusations brought against the agents of English officials, "not barely for monopolising grain, but for compelling the poor ryots to sell even the seed requisite for the next harvest."—(Letter to Bengal, 1771.) *See* Dr. Moodie's *Transactions in India* for important information regarding the conduct of Mohammed Reza Khan during the famine.

dress, with jewels, and an elephant richly caparisoned, were presented, to adorn his triumphant return to Patna, to fill the office of roy-royan—the highest to which a native functionary could, by the recent regulations, be appointed. No small degree of humiliation was therefore blended with these marks of returning favour, which, even if unalloyed, would probably have arrived too late to repair past wrongs. Above a twelvemonth's detention in the uncongenial climate of Calcutta, aggravated by the workings of a proud spirit subjected to unmerited indignity, inflicted a mortal injury on the health of the brave chief, who died shortly after his acquittal. The appointment of roy-royan was, in testimony of his worth, transferred to his son Callian Sing, to whom the English, by the oddest assumption in the world, thought fit "to confirm the title of Maha Rajah."* But the recent changes, notwithstanding the diminution of expenditure with which they were attended, did not furnish ready money to cover the current outlay of the civil and military services of the presidency, which had risen to an enormous height; much less to meet the demands of the company at home. Hastings was deeply impressed with the exigencies of the case; and although the Court of Directors—however strongly they urged the adoption of measures to procure relief from the bond-debt by which their movements were fettered—uniformly stated, in the most forcible language, their desire for the merciful government of the people over whom they had assumed sway, and urged the adoption of an honest and straightforward policy on all occasions, yet their representative, on looking round him, and perceiving the difficulties attendant on the strict fulfilment of the various duties enjoined, thought it best, whatever else he slighted, to obey the leading injunction of getting money, comforting himself with the belief that his employers would gladly receive the fruits of his success, without caring to question the manner in which they had been acquired. In this resolution he was, no doubt, strengthened by the exceptional instance in which, deviating from their usual tone of instruction, they suggested the policy of taking a shameful advantage of the condition of the emperor, by withholding from him the annual subsidy of about £300,000, guaranteed by them in return for the perpetual grant of the dewannee.† So flagrant an inconsistency was quite enough to inspire Warren Hastings with a general distrust of the sincerity and good faith of his employers, and to incite him to grasp at immediate and unjust gains, rather than frankly set forth the actual position of affairs, and trust to the common sense and humanity of the company to give him time to develope the resources of the country, invigorate its wasted trade, cheer the drooping spirits of its industrious population; and, by these legitimate means, together with reformatory measures for the reduction of the illicit gains of European officials, to restore the commerce and revenue of Bengal to a healthy and flourishing condition.

But such a course of conduct required an amount of sturdy independence—or, better far, of stanch religious principle—rarely manifested by public men of any age or country. Warren Hastings, gifted as he was in many respects, had no pretensions of this nature. A long series of years spent in the company's service, had rendered their interest a primary consideration with him. Though lavish in his expenditure, he had, as has been before shown, no avarice in his composition. "He was far too enlightened a man to look upon a great empire merely as a buccaneer would look on a galleon."‡ The love of power and fame burned strong within him; and in taking possession of the highest appointment in the gift of the E. I. Cy., he expressed his disgust at the possibility of the government of Bengal continuing "to be a mere chair for a triennial succession of indigent adventurers to sit and hatch private fortunes in;"§ and urged the advisability of being entrusted

* Letter from Bengal, Nov., 1773. The ancient title of Maha Rajah (the great king), borne by the highest Indian potentates before the Christian era, was not, it appears, usurped by Hindoos in modern times until the later Mogul emperors took upon themselves to confer titles, which their own usurpations had rendered unmeaning, and which by Hindoo laws could be obtained only by inheritance. Under the English, "Maha Rajahs" became very frequent; and Nuncomar held this title, which descended to his son Goordass. I have been unable to trace the origin of this celebrated man, or to find the authority upon which Macaulay speaks of him as the "head of the Brahmins of Bengal."—(*Essay on Hastings*, 36.)

† As early as Nov., 1768, the select committee, in a letter to Bengal, began to speculate on finding a plea for breaking faith with the emperor; remarking, among other contingencies—"If he flings himself into the hands of the Mahrattas, or any other power, we are disengaged from him; and it may open a fair opportunity of withholding the twenty-six lacs we now pay him."—(Thornton's *British India*, ii., 37.)

‡ Macaulay's *Essay on Warren Hastings*, p. 10.

§ Gleig's *Life of Hastings*, i., 377.

with sufficient authority to carry into execution, without check or hindrance, the ambitious schemes which filled his mind, and to the fulfilment of which he was ready to devote his life. The constitution of the presidency was a subject of grave complaint with him; for, saving a certain prestige attached to the chair, and the single privilege of a casting vote, the governor had no superiority over any other member of the board, except the invidious description of exclusive authority, occasionally conferred by private communications, as in the case of Mohammed Reza Khan.

A change was at hand, but by no means such as Hastings desired; in the meanwhile, during the continuance of the old system, the majority of the councillors sided with him, and enabled him to pursue his own policy, despite the opposition and remonstrances offered by the minority on various occasions, especially with regard to his summary method of dealing with the emperor. The removal of this unfortunate prince from the immediate sphere of British protection, was asserted to be sufficient justification not only for the withdrawal of the yearly subsidy (to which the faith of the company had been unconditionally pledged),* but even for the repudiation of the arrears which Shah Alum had been previously assured were only temporarily kept back by reason of the pecuniary difficulties occasioned by the famine. Nor was this all: the emperor, while at the mercy of the arrogant Mahrattas, was compelled to sign *sunnuds*, or grants, making over to them Allahabad and Corah. The governor left by him in charge of these districts, knowing that the order for their relinquishment had been forcibly extorted, asked leave to place them under British protection. Hastings agreed with the Mogul officer in the impropriety of obeying a mandate issued under compulsion; but that same mandate was not the less set forth by him as conveying a formal renunciation, on the part of Shah Alum, of these districts, which were forthwith formally resumed in the name of the company; and as their distance from Calcutta rendered them too expensive possessions to be retained without an addition of military force quite disproportioned to the revenue derivable therefrom, they were openly sold to the man who had once before obtained them by treachery and murder, and who (p. 287), after his defeat by the English, had spared neither intrigue nor bribery for their regainment.† It was an act quite unworthy the representative of a great English association, to let the paltry sum of fifty lacs induce him to sacrifice the last remnants of dominion to which the unfortunate emperor had been taught to look as a refuge from the worst evils that could befall him, to the ambition of his faithless and ungrateful servant. Sir Robert Barker remonstrated earnestly against this procedure, which was arranged after repeated private conferences at Benares, held between Shuja Dowlah and Mr. Hastings, during nearly three weeks of close intercourse. He declared it to be a flagrant breach of the treaty of Allahabad of 1765, by which the dewannee of Bengal was granted to the company; and said that the emperor might, and probably would, if opportunity offered, bestow the sunnuds on a rival nation. Hastings treated the possibility with scorn; declaring, "the sword which gave us the dominion of Bengal, must be the instrument of its preservation:" if lost, he added—"the next proprietor will derive his right and possession from the same natural charter." Even had the imperial grants been worth no more than the parchment they were written on, the company would have been unjustifiable in withholding the purchase-money they had pledged themselves to give: but the truth was, the sunnuds had a real, though not very definite value, of which Hastings was fully aware, though he now chose to ridicule them as much as his predecessor Clive had exaggerated their importance; and for precisely the same reason—of temporary expediency.‡ It is difficult for the

* The very sunnuds which form the title-deeds of the company, distinctly set forth the annual payment of twenty-six lacs to the emperor, Shah Alum, as a first charge on the revenues of Bengal.

† Col. Smith attested that, in 1768, Shuja Dowlah came to him, expressed his desire to possess Allahabad and Corah, and "proffered four lacs of rupees in ready money, and to swear secrecy on the Koran, if he would aid in its accomplishment." The same officer bore witness, that the emperor sensibly felt the conduct of the vizier, and had declared, with emotion, that it seemed as if he "did not wish him to have an habitation of his own on the face of the earth."—(Auber's *India*, i., 191–'2.)

‡ In 1784, when arguing in favour of aiding, instead of oppressing the emperor, Hastings writes, that he demanded assistance from the English on the right of gratitude; asserting, "that when the French and Hyder earnestly solicited his grants of the Carnatic, and offered large sums to obtain them, he constantly and steadily refused them. We know, by undoubted evidence, that this is true." These firmauns had therefore a marketable value very different to that of "waste paper."—(*Life*, iii., 192.)

English reader to appreciate the feelings which, in the minds of the Indian population, lent a peculiar degree of legality to grants unquestionably issued by the Great Mogul. The powerful and arrogant ruler of Oude ventured not on assuming the style of a sovereign: he knew the temper of neighbouring communities, and possibly of his subjects, too well to attempt this innovation; and his successor earnestly solicited, and at length with difficulty obtained from Shah Alum the title of vizier, or first subject of an empire which had little more than nominal existence, while he was himself undisputed master of an independent state as large as Ireland.

The sale of Allahabad and Corah was only one portion of the treaty of Benares. The counterpart was an arrangement for the hire of the British force to Shuja Dowlah, in the novel and degrading character of mercenary troops; and this, notwithstanding the repeated orders of the directors to refrain from all participation in aggressive warfare, and the recent (July, 1772) and unanimous declaration of the council, when called upon to assist their ally against the invasions of the Mahrattas—"that no object or consideration should tempt or compel them to pass the political line which they had laid down for their operations with the vizier, which were to be defensive only;" adding, that "not a single sepoy was to pass the frontiers of his territories."*

The people against whom Hastings agreed to co-operate, in violation alike of the orders of his employers and the resolutions of his colleagues, were the Rohilla rulers of the country lying N.W. of Oude and E. of the Ganges. The establishment of this military colony had been, as we have seen, forcibly effected during the decline of the empire, partly by the retention of lands as hereditary property, which had been originally granted on the ordinary jaghire tenure, but chiefly by the aggressions of Ali Mohammed Khan,† the adventurous leader of an ever-increasing body of Afghans, whose title was avowedly that of the sword. Successive rulers of the Oude province—themselves usurpers of equally short standing—had made various attempts to subdue Rohilcund, and annex it to their own dominions, but without any permanent result. The country was, at the present time, divided into numerous petty principalities, under independent chiefs or sirdars, all of whom derived their origin from the same stock, being of one tribe—that of Ali Mohammed Khan. The very nature of their power rendered their union improbable for any other purpose except temporary coalition against an invading force; but in that event—if all were true to the common cause—they could, it was estimated, bring into the field 80,000 effective horse and foot. Still it was less their number than their bravery, dexterity with the sword, and skill in the use of war-rockets, that had heretofore enabled them to hold their ground against the imperial troops, the rulers of Oude, and their worst foes—the Mahrattas. Against the latter they had fought with relentless fury on the plains of Paniput; and though, for a time, the prudence of Nujeeb-oo-Dowla had averted the threatened vengeance, the danger was delayed, not dissipated. The open hostility displayed by his son, Zabita Khan, to Shah Alum, and the evident preparations made by him for war at Seharunpoor, were followed by the invasion of his territories by the imperial troops, under a brave commander named Nujeeb Khan, in conjunction with the Mahrattas; but the latter contrived to reap all the benefit of the enterprise.

Shuja Dowlah did not view without uneasiness the prospect of the subjugation of Rohilcund by the Mahrattas. To have a territory he had long coveted seized and occupied by the most dangerous people all India could furnish for neighbours, was a calamity to be averted at any hazard; and he gladly entered into an alliance with the Rohillas, in 1773, to which the English became a party, to make common cause against the invaders. The leading Rohilla chief, Hafiz Rehmet, whose territories formed the western boundary of Oude,‡ though compelled by dire necessity to consent to co-operate with the nabob-vizier, as the sole means of defence against an immediate and overpowering foe, was so distrustful of his ultimate designs, that he positively refused to take the field against the Mahrattas until

* Auber's *British Power in India*, i., 385.

† Ali Mohammed is said to have been the son of a Hindoo *aheer* or shepherd, adopted in infancy by a Rohilla chief, and treated in all respects as his own child.—(*Siyar ul Mutakherin*, iii., 20.)

‡ The possessions of Hafiz Rehmet Khan joined the western limits of Oude, and were situated entirely on the north side of the Ganges, except Etawa and one or two straggling districts. Those of Zabita Khan commenced on the Jumna, about fourteen miles from Delhi, and were bounded by Sirhind on the west; and those of Ahmed Khan Bungush, bordered on the Corah country—Furruckabad being the capital.—(Auber's *India*, vol. i., 189.)

assured by Sir Robert Barker, on the faith of the English, that no ungenerous advantage should be taken of his absence from his own frontier by their mutual ally. This temporary and precarious confederacy of powers, strong only if heartily united, did not prevent the hostile force from crossing the Ganges and committing great ravages in Rohilcund; but their withdrawal was at length purchased by a bond for forty lacs, given by Hafiz Rehmet, on behalf of himself and his fellow-chiefs, to Shuja Dowlah, who became guarantee for the gradual payment of the money to the Mahrattas. The succeeding events are very confusedly, and even contradictorily, related by different writers. The native, and apparently least inconsistent version, is given in the narrative of the son of Hafiz Rehmet, who states that the Mahratta leaders, Holcar and Sindia, subsequently negotiated with his father to join them against Shuja Dowlah, offering, as an inducement, to surrender to him the bond given on his behalf, and a share of such conquests as might be made in Oude. The Rohilla chief, whom all authorities concur in describing as of upright and honourable character, refused to listen to this proposition, and warned his ally of the intended attack, which, however, the Mahrattas were prevented by intestine strife from carrying into execution. The ever-treacherous and ungrateful vizier, relieved from this danger, immediately demanded the payment of the bond which he held simply as a guarantee against loss, for the benefit, not of the Mahrattas, but of himself and the English; and he had the art to persuade the latter people that the deed in question had actually been drawn up for the express purpose of providing for the expenses incurred in resisting the common foe. Hafiz Rehmet, however disgusted by this shameless demand, was not in a condition to offer effectual resistance, having lost many of his bravest commanders in the recent hostilities. He therefore forwarded his own share of the required sum, and entreated his fellow-chiefs to follow his example; but they refused to submit to such extortion; and after many ineffectual attempts at compromise, he reluctantly prepared for the inevitable conflict, observing, "that as he must die some time, he could not fall in a better cause."*

Shuja Dowlah, notwithstanding the pains he had taken to win over some of the minor sirdars or governors, the indefensible character of the country, and the vast numerical superiority of his own troops, was little disposed to confront, without extraneous assistance, the small but hardy Afghan bands, who were resolved to struggle, even unto death, in defence of their hearths and homes in the fair valleys of Rohilcund. There were soldiers in India whose steady disciplined valour might be depended upon when fighting as hired mercenaries against such combatants as these. A single English battalion was to native armies as the steel to the bamboo: with this addition they became all-powerful; without it, the death of a favourite leader, the outburst of a thunder-storm, a few wounded and ungovernable elephants, or a hundred other possible and probable contingencies, might change in an instant the shout of victory and the eager advance, into the yell of defeat and the headlong flight, amidst which even the commanders would lack presence of mind to issue any better orders than the very watchword of panic—chellao! chellao! (get on! get on!)† The deceitful representations made by Shuja Dowlah regarding the reason for which he had been intrusted with the Rohilla bond, was intended to give the English a plausible pretext to aid him in punishing an alleged breach of treaty. At the same time, he was too well acquainted with the wants and difficulties of the Calcutta presidency, and with the character of the governor, to feel any necessity for circumlocution in intimating his desire of seizing Rohilcund, and his readiness to pay a large sum for the assistance of a British force in the accomplishment of the projected usurpation.

Neither regard for the honour of his nation, nor the dignity of his own position as the representative of a great commercial body, nor even for the private reputation which he often declared "it had been the study of his life to maintain unblemished," withheld Hastings from receiving this proposition with favour, and even encouraging it by dwelling on the advantages to be derived by the projector from its execution. The result was the insertion of a clause in

* *Life of Hafiz Rehmet*, English abridgment, published by Oriental Translation Fund, pp. 112—113. Also Sir Robert Barker's evidence in 1781. Thornton's *British Empire in India*, ii., 44.

† *Vide* Colonel Wilks' graphic narrative of the battles of Hyder Ali, especially of his defeat by the Mahrattas at Chercoolee, and flight to Seringapatam. —(*History of Mysoor*, ii., 144.)

the treaty of Benares, by which the English governor agreed to furnish troops to assist the ruler of Oude in "the reduction" or expulsion of their late allies the Rohillas, for a gratuity of forty lacs of rupees, to be paid when the "extermination" should be completed, the vizier to bear the whole charge (computed at 210,000 rupees a month) of the British force employed in the expedition.*

In the spring of 1774, the second of the three brigades into which the Bengal army was divided—viz., that of Allahabad,† joined the forces of Shuja Dowlah, and the combined troops entered the Rohilla country. The English commander was possibly already prejudiced against Hastings, on account of the determination manifested by the latter to keep the military under the complete control of the civil authority; but this circumstance was not needed to deepen the natural disgust excited by being employed in an undertaking deservedly stigmatised as "infamous." The conduct of the nabob-vizier was, from first to last, as bad as cruelty, cowardice, and rapacity could make it. The Rohillas, astounded by the approach of English troops, anxiously strove to make terms of peace; but the demand of the invader for *two crore* of rupees, evinced his uncompromising resolve to proceed to extremities. Hafiz Rehmet took post near the city of Bareilly, with an army of 40,000 men. The English commenced the attack by a cannonade of two hours and a-half, the rapidity and persistance of which defeated the frequent attempts of the enemy to charge; at length, after Hafiz Rehmet‡ and one of his sons, with several chiefs of note, had been killed whilst rallying their dispirited followers, the rest turned and fled. Shuja Dowlah had heretofore remained a quiet spectator of the fight, surrounded by his cavalry and a large body of artillery; but the fortune of the day being decided, his troops made up for their past inactivity by pursuing, slaughtering, and pillaging the fugitives and the abandoned camp, "while the company's troops, in regular order in their ranks, most justly observed," (says their commander), "we have the honour of the day, and these banditti the profit." Then followed a fearful destruction of villages, the whole country being overspread with flames for three days after the battle. Colonel Champion vainly besought Shuja Dowlah to give orders for the cessation of these atrocities; and he also appealed to Hastings§ to plead the cause of the unhappy family of Hafiz Rehmet; but the answer was, that such interference would probably aggravate the sufferings it was designed to alleviate: and this rebuff was accompanied by an intimation that it was the business of Colonel Champion to fight and not to diplomatise, and that it was especially incumbent on him to refrain from any line of conduct which should afford the nabob-vizier a pretext for refusing to pay the forty lacs—literally, the price of blood.

Thus sharply admonished, Colonel Champion was compelled to abide by the "great political maxim," till then utterly disregarded in Anglo-Indian policy,—"that no power which supports another as the mere second in a war, has the smallest right to assume a prominent place in the negotiations which are to conclude that war."||

Shuja Dowlah was therefore suffered to finish the affair entirely to his own satisfaction; which he did by following up the slaughter of about 2,000 Rohillas on the field of battle, with the expulsion of 18,000

* Hastings avowed himself "glad of any occasion to employ the E. I. Cy's forces, which saves so much of their pay and expenses" (*Life*, i., 359); and regrets being unable to derive "some advantage from the distractions of the Mahratta state."—(i., 397.)

† The Allahabad brigade, established by Clive, drew from Fort William no less than two million sterling in five years. The sum of 30,000 rupees per month, paid according to agreement by Shuja Dowlah, during that period, was scarcely felt as a relief, for the officers in command contrived to reap the chief benefit therefrom.—(Gleig's *Life of Warren Hastings*, i., 343.)

‡ The old warrior, conspicuous from his long white beard, stately bearing, and noble charger, when all was lost, was seen to gallop forward to perish (to our shame) on English bayonets.—(Heber, i., 434.)

§ Warren Hastings remarked, that Colonel Champion had little reason to express indignation regarding the destruction of the villages; and he quoted a letter written by this officer during the war with the vizier, in 1764, in which he declared, that according to his instructions he had been ravaging the enemy's country, and had "destroyed upwards of 1,000 villages." This barbarous system was unhappily employed, without scruple, by European commanders; and Clive especially, as a favourite measure, subsidised bands of Mahrattas for the express purpose of spreading devastation round the French settlements and encampments. Orme's work contains irrefragable testimony of the desolating hostilities of even Europeans, practised at the expense of the wretched peasantry, who beheld every art of a boasted civilisation employed in strife and bloodshed, and their fields not only ravaged by rival invaders with fire and the sword, but even the mounds reared with unwearied labour thrown down, and the waters let loose to destroy the cultivations previously irrigated with unavailing toil.

|| *Life of Hastings*, i., 439.

of their countrymen, who, with their wives and children,* were driven forth to beg, steal, or starve. The Hindoo peasantry, who formed the mass of the population, were unfavourably affected by the change. It was at first attempted to show that they had experienced a great benefit by being delivered from the "grinding tyranny" of the Rohillas; but other and more trustworthy accounts, describe the case differently, and assert that these people, unlike their race in general, encouraged agriculture, while in another point they shared the Afghan characteristic—of freedom from any passion for the accumulation of wealth. The population over whom they had usurped sway, being left in the undisturbed possession of their religion and customs, were therefore probably better situated under the immediate sway of these independent chiefs, than beneath the delegated despotism of the Mogul emperors.† Their expulsion was, however, not quite complete; for one chief, Fyzoolla Khan, continued to resist the power of the usurper, and took post with the remains of the army on the skirts of the mountains near Pattir Ghur. After some ineffectual attempts to dislodge him, the vizier found his own troops becoming so discontented from arrears of pay, that he was glad to bring hostilities to a close, by entering into an agreement with Fyzoolla Khan, who agreed to surrender half the treasure which he had contrived to carry off, on condition of receiving a grant of Rampoor and certain dependent districts in Rohilcund, yielding a revenue of above £150,000 per annum.

This arrangement was, however, hurried to a conclusion more by a consideration of the failing health of the vizier, than even from the discontent of the troops. The cause of his rapid decline was ostensibly attributed to a cancerous disease; but the Mussulman historian of these times alludes to a current report—that it was the direct consequence of a wound inflicted by the hand of the daughter of Hafiz Rehmet, who, when the murderer of her father filled up the measure of his crimes by an attempt to dishonour her, stabbed him with a small dagger she had concealed for the purpose. The unhappy girl was immediately put to death; but the wound she had inflicted, though slight, proved mortal, the dagger having been previously poisoned by her mother. Such is the story told by Gholam Hussein and his translator. The former denies, the latter affirms, its truth, and adduces certain circumstances—such as the friendship of the author for the sons of Hafiz Rehmet, his alliance with the English, and other causes, for a desire to pass slightingly over so painful a matter.‡ This at least is certain,—that Shuja Dowlah, immediately after the accomplishment of his much-desired object, the possession of Rohilcund, was seized by mortal sickness, while yet strong in the full energy of middle life; that he lingered through many months of intense bodily anguish, and then died, leaving his usurped dominions to a youth whose addiction to the most hateful forms of sensuality rendered him an object of general contempt.

The Rohilla war was the last transaction of importance which marked the career of Hastings as governor under the old system. Among the other measures of this epoch, was one of a quite unexceptionable character—the removal of a tax on marriage. He likewise exerted himself vigorously for the suppression of gangs of thieves and plunderers, who, under the name of *decoits*, committed terrible ravages in Bengal. Troops of *senassies*, or religious mendicants, (the pilgrim-gipsies of Hindoostan), did great mischief under the cloak of fanatical zeal. The truth was, that during the late season of anarchy, crime of all descriptions had been greatly augmented; and many who had first laid violent hands on food, at the instigation of ravening hunger, continued as a trade what they had yielded to as a momentary temptation. The measures adopted for suppressing gang-robbery were, however, of a character so flagrantly unjust, that no Christian governor could be justified in adopting, far less in initiating them. Each convicted criminal was to be executed in his native village, of which every member was to pay a fine according to his substance; and the family of the transgressor were to become slaves of the state, to be disposed of at the discretion of government. These iniquitous regulations were enacted, notwithstanding the avowed knowledge of the presidency, that the custom of selling slaves was alike repugnant to the doctrines of the Koran and the Shastras. Moreover, it was at this very time found necessary to take measures to check the kidnapping of chil-

* Stated by Colonel Champion at 100,000 souls.

† Hafiz Rehmet is said to have been "an excellent sovereign" (Heber, i., 434), and Fyzoolla Khan "a liberal landlord."—(*Report on Rohilcund* 1808.)

‡ *Siyar ul Mutakherin*, iii., 268.

dren, and carrying them out of the country in Dutch and French vessels,—a practice which "had greatly increased since the establishment of the English government."*

Hastings Governor-general. — The great change in the constitution of the Bengal presidency, decreed by the Regulating Act of 1772–'3, was unwelcome intelligence to the governor, who justly considered the actual though ill-defined supremacy vested in the Calcutta presidency, with the high-sounding but empty title given to its head, poor compensation for having his movements fettered by four coadjutors, each one scarcely less powerful than himself. The erection of a Supreme Court of judicature, to be conducted by Englishmen after the national method, he knew to be an innovation likely to produce considerable dissatisfaction in the minds of the natives; and the result proved his surmise correct: but no small part of the blame attaches to the individuals of whom it was composed, their ignorance of the customs of the people they came to judge being aggravated by a haughty indifference to the deep-rooted and undeviating adherence to ceremonial observances and the rights of sex and caste, which form so prominent a feature in the manners of the whole native population, both Hindoo and Mohammedan. Hastings, indeed, consoled himself for the dangerous character of the new legal courts, because the chief justice, Sir Elijah Impey, his old schoolfellow at Westminster, was the best man that could have been chosen for the office "in all England."† Most authorities have formed a very different estimate of the same person; and Macaulay has not hesitated to declare, that "no other such judge has dishonoured the English ermine since Jefferies drank himself to death in the Tower."‡

Towards the new councillors—General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. (afterwards Sir Philip) Francis§—Hastings was not favourably disposed. They knew this, and came prepared to resent any semblance of disrespect. The occasion offered itself before they set foot in Calcutta: the salute from Fort William consisted of seventeen, instead of twenty-one, discharges; and the expected guard of honour did not await their landing. The governor-general understood the effect of these apparent trifles on the minds of the natives of all ranks, and had calculated the degree of respect absolutely necessary to be shown to his colleagues: so, at least, they reasoned; and within six days after their arrival in October, 1774, a struggle commenced, which rendered the council-chamber of Calcutta a scene of stormy debate for the space of four years.

Mr. Barwell, the fourth member nominated by the Regulating Act, was an experienced Indian official. He had not always been on good terms with Hastings; but he now steadily, though with little effect, adhered to him against the new-comers. Hastings himself possessed a remarkable degree of self-control,|| and rarely suffered the violence of Clavering, the pertinacity of Monson—or, worse than all, the sharp tongue and ready pen of Francis—to drive him from the 'vantage ground of equanimity, or tempt him to lay aside the quiet tone of guarded cynicism, to which the eloquent enthusiasm of his earlier and purer life had long since given place.

The Benares treaty and the Rohilla war were the first subjects of discussion. On the plea of keeping faith with the political agent¶ placed by him at the court of Shuja Dowlah, Hastings refused to produce the correspondence; and this circumstance, combined with other manifestations of a desire to crush or evade inquiry into matters in which he was personally concerned, gave rise to many grave imputations on his character. The Rohilla war was deservedly denounced by the majority as a shameful expedient to raise money; but, unhappily, party feeling against Hastings alloyed their zeal, and ensured defeat by its own violence. In diplomacy, all three combined were no match for him, as they soon learned with bitter mortification. The clause in their instructions which directed examination to be made into past oppressions, was ample war-

* *Revenue Consultations* of April and May, 1774; and official letters from Bengal of this date, quoted in Auber's *British Power in India*, i., 432.

† *Life of Hastings*, i., 471.

‡ *Essay on Warren Hastings*, p. 50.

§ Pronounced very decidedly by Macaulay to be the author of the *Letters of Junius*.—(*Idem*, p. 30.) The strongest argument on the other side, is the steady denial of Francis himself, which he reiterated so late as 1817—that is, the year before his death, at the advanced age of eighty-eight.

|| In the council-chamber at Calcutta hangs a portrait of Hastings, bearing the legend—"*Mens æqua in arduis*;" and no better comment need be desired to accompany the semblance of the pale face, slight frame, singularly developed brow, penetrating eye, and thin, firmly-closed lips of the man of whom it has been said, "hatred itself could deny no title to glory—*except virtue*."—(Macaulay's *Essay on Warren Hastings*, p. 92.)

¶ The Mr. Middleton mentioned under such suspicious circumstances in the next page.

rant for the inquiries instituted by them into various complaints urged by natives of rank against the governor.* No doubt, many of these were well founded; for it is not likely that a person, so indifferent to the common rules of honesty and humanity in all matters of foreign policy, would be scrupulously just in his internal arrangements. But the most puzzling point in the quarrels of this epoch, is the repeated accusation brought against him of venality—urged with a degree of vehemence which may be illustrated by a single extract from the official records, in which the "gentlemen of the majority" (as Hastings sarcastically called them) complain, in plain terms, of the "formidable combination of reciprocal interest" which he had established, "by accepting unwarrantable advantages himself, and conniving at those which were received by the company's servants."† To this heavy charge is added:—"In the late proceedings of the revenue board, there is no species of peculation from which the honourable governor-general has thought it right to abstain."‡

It has been before stated, that Hastings was not avaricious—far from it: he had neither taste nor talent for the accumulation of wealth, and appears to have habitually mismanaged his pecuniary affairs. For that very reason, the high salary attached to his office proved insufficient to cover his ill-regulated expenditure: and this circumstance may account for his having availed himself of means to recruit his own exchequer, closely resembling in character those simultaneously employed by him on behalf of the company.

Many specific accusations were urged against him. Among others, the extraordinary appointment of Munnee Begum as guardian to the nabob, was now distinctly stated to have been purchased by her in the first instance, and subsequently retained by bribery; and it was alleged in corroboration, that in the examination of her receipts and disbursements, a large sum remained unaccounted for. She was placed under restraint, and on being closely questioned as to the cause of the defalcation, she pleaded having given three lacs of rupees to the governor-general and his immediate retainer, Mr. Middleton.§ The receipt of this sum was not denied; but Hastings vindicated his own share in the transaction, by asserting that the lac-and-a-half taken by him had been used as "entertainment money," to cover the extraordinary outlay necessitated by his visit to Moorshedabad, over and above the charge of upwards of 30,000 rupees made by him on the Calcutta treasury for travelling expenses; together with a large additional sum for his companions and attendants.

This explanation is quite insufficient as regards the exaggerated scale of expenditure adopted by the governor-general during his absence from Calcutta; far less can it justify so large a deduction from the income of the nabob, immediately after his allowance had been cut down to the lowest point. The result of the investigation was the removal of Munnee Begum from office, and her supersession by Rajah Goordass, the son of Nuncomar, by whom the accusation of collusion between the begum and the governor had been preferred. The appointment was the act of the majority, conferred—not, of course, for the sake of Goordass, who was deemed incapable of doing much good or harm—but as a strong mark of the feelings entertained by them to his father; although, at this very time, as Hastings savagely declared, "the old gentleman was in gaol, and in a fair way to be hanged."‖

* Among these was the ranee of Burdwan, the relict of the late rajah, Tillook Chund, whose ancestors had governed their rightful heritage as a zemindarree during the whole period of Mohammedan rule. The ranee complained that she had been set aside from the government during the minority of her son, a boy of nine years old, to make room for a corrupt agent. Another accusation brought against Hastings was that of unduly favouring his native steward, named Cantoo Baboo (a former servant of Clive's), who had been not only allowed to farm lands to the value of £150,000 per annum, but also to hold two government contracts, one in his own name, and the other in that of his son, a boy of ten or twelve years of age, amounting to a still higher sum.—(Dr. Moodie's *Transactions in India*, p. 241.)

† The majority steadily refused even the customary presents or *nuzzurs* (of comparatively small value, offered by the natives of rank), as a dangerous practice; and commented severely on the reasons adduced by Hastings for receiving and paying them into the company's treasury, and by Barwell for receiving and retaining them.—(*Letter from Bengal*, October, 1774.)

‡ *Consultations of Bengal Council*, May, 1775.

§ Of the lac-and-a-half of rupees (which, by the existing standard, considerably exceeded £15,000 in value) no account was ever rendered, or defence set up, by Mr. Middleton.—(Mill's *India*, iii., 633.)

‖ The concentrated bitterness of this expression appears in a striking light when contrasted with the singular moderation of Hastings at the time of the trial of Mohammed Reza Khan, on the charges of wholesale plunder and sanguinary oppression. He then remarked on the little chance of capital punishment being inflicted, let the trial end how it would; giving as a reason—"On ne pend pas des gens qui ont un million dans leur poche."—(*Life*, i., 264.)

The means by which the most dangerous and deadly foe ever encountered by Hastings was dashed to the ground at the very moment when his hand was uplifted to strike, are of a nature which must ever leave some degree of uncertainty as to the degree of culpability attributable to the chief actors.*

The antecedent circumstances require to be rightly understood before any clear conception can be formed on a matter which created no ordinary degree of interest in the mind of the English public, and afforded to Burke a fitting theme for some of the most thrilling passages in his eloquent speeches, in the long subsequent impeachment of Hastings. It will be remembered that Nuncomar, previous to his appointment as naib-dewan to Meer Jaffier, had been detained at Calcutta by order of the directors, on the ground of being a dangerous intriguer, whose liberty might endanger the safety of the state; and this conclusion was arrived at mainly through evidence brought forward by Hastings, who conducted the examination, and was known to entertain a very unfavourable opinion of Nuncomar. At the period of the trial of Mohammed Reza Khan, the governor-general took great credit for the manner in which, notwithstanding his private feelings, he had entered freely into all the complaints brought forward by the Brahmin ex-dewan against his Mussulman successor. He even showed Nuncomar considerable personal attention until the termination of the affair, when the accusations not being established, were pronounced malicious and libellous. Nuncomar felt that he had been used as a mere tool; and, stung to the soul by the disgrace in which his ambitious schemes had terminated, he retired into temporary obscurity, and eagerly waited an opportunity of revenge.

The dissensions which took place in the council, speedily afforded the desired opportunity; and just four months after the establishment of the new government, Nuncomar presented a memorial to the council, which contained a formal statement of bribes, to a great extent, received by the governor-general from Mohammed Reza Khan, as the price of bringing the inquiry into his conduct to a favourable termination. Francis read the paper aloud: a stormy altercation followed. Hastings, for once, lost all temper; called his accuser the basest of mankind; indignantly denied the right of the councillors to sit in judgment on their superior; and, upon the request of Nuncomar to be heard in person being granted by the majority, he left the room, followed by Barwell. General Clavering took the vacant chair,—Nuncomar was called in, and, in addition to the previous charges, he alleged that two crore and a-half of rupees had been paid by Munnee Begum to Hastings, and that he had himself purchased his son's appointment, as her colleague in office, with another crore.

Hastings felt the ground giving way beneath his feet. The arrangement (to use the most lenient epithet) between him and Munnee Begum, regarding the "entertainment money," would, if other testimony were wanting, suffice to prove that he had not scrupled to obtain, in a more or less surreptitious manner, large sums in addition to the regular salary (£25,000 per annum), and allowances attached to his position of governor-general. The probability was a strong one, that the various and specific charges which the vindictive Brahmin was prepared to maintain at the hazard of his life, would contain at least sufficient truth to enable the adversaries of Hastings to triumph over him, by the ruin of the reputation he had, from early youth, spent laborious days and anxious nights in acquiring. To lose this was to lose all: he had no extraneous influence with the crown, the ministers, in parliament, or even with the company, sufficient to prop up his claims to the high position which credit for personal disinterestedness, still more than for great and varied talents, had obtained for him. With a mind depressed by gloomy apprehension, he prepared for the worst; and, to avoid the last disgrace of dismissal, placed in the hands of two confidential agents† in London his formal resignation, to be tendered to the directors in the event of a crisis arriving which should render this humiliating step of evident expediency. Meanwhile he met his foes with his usual undaunted mien, and carried the war into the enemy's country, by instituting proceedings in the Supreme Court against Nuncomar and two kinsmen, named Fowke, in

* One of the most moderate and unprejudiced authorities on this subject truly remarks, that "opinions may, indeed, differ as to the extent of Hastings' culpability; but he must be a warm partisan, indeed, who will go to the length of declaring that the hands of the governor-general were altogether clean."—(Thornton's *British India*, ii., 71.)

† Col. Macleane and Mr. Graham.

the company's service, for an alleged conspiracy to force a native, named Camul-oo-deen, to write a petition reflecting falsely and injuriously on himself and certain of his adherents, including his banyan Cantoo Baboo, on whom he was known to have conferred undue privileges. Clavering, Monson, and Francis, after hearing the evidence adduced at an examination before the judges, placed on record their conviction that the charge was a fabrication, and had no foundation whatever in truth. Within a few days from this time a more serious offence was alleged against Nuncomar—he was arrested on a charge of forging a bond five years before, and thrown into the common gaol. The ostensible prosecutor was a native of inconsiderable station; but Hastings was then, and is still, considered to have been the real mover in the business. The majority manifested their convictions in the most conspicuous manner: they dispatched urgent and repeated messages to the judges, demanding that Nuncomar should be held to bail; but to no purpose. The assizes commenced; a true bill was found; Nuncomar was brought before Sir Elijah Impey, and after a protracted examination, involving much contradictory swearing, was pronounced guilty by a jury of Englishmen, and condemned to death.

The animus of the whole affair could not be mistaken: all classes were infected by a fever of excitement; and Clavering, it is said, swore that Nuncomar should be rescued, even at the foot of the gallows. Impey behaved throughout the trial with overbearing violence, and not only refused to grant a reprieve until the pleasure of the home authorities should be known, but even censured the counsel of Nuncomar, in open court, for his laudable attempt to prevail on the foreman of the jury to join in recommending his client to mercy.* Hastings, who might, had he chosen, have set his character in the fairest light by procuring the respite of his accuser, remained perfectly quiescent, and thereby confirmed the general conviction that he dared not encounter the charges of Nuncomar.

The sufficiency of the evidence by which the act of forgery was established, is a question of secondary importance when compared with the palpable injustice of inflicting capital punishment for a venial offence on a person over whom the judges had but a very questionable claim to exercise any jurisdiction at all.† Forgery in India was the very easiest and commonest description of swindling—a practice which it was as needful, and quite as difficult, for men of business to be on their guard against in every-day life, as for a lounger in the streets of London to take care of the handkerchief in his great-coat pocket. The English law, which made it a capital offence, was just one of those the introduction of which into Bengal would have been most vehemently deprecated by Hastings, had he not been personally interested in its enforcement. The natives, both Mussulman and Hindoo, were astounded at the unprecedented severity of the sentence; many of them, doubtless, remembered the notorious forgery of Clive, and the fate of Omichund: and now an aged man, a Brahmin of high caste, was sentenced to a public and terrible doom for an act, a little more selfish in its immediate motive, but certainly far less dreadful in its effects. The offence which had not barred an Englishman's path to a peerage, was now to doom a Hindoo to the gallows. And yet not so; the ostensible reason deceived no one; and even the warmest partisans of Hastings could not but view Nuncomar rather as the determined opponent of the governor-general, about to pay with life the forfeit of defeat, than as a common felon, condemned to die for a petty crime. The Mussulmans were mostly disposed to view with exultation the fate of the inveterate foe of Mohammed Reza Khan; but the Hindoos waited in an agony of shame and doubt the dawn of the day which was to witness the

* Thornton's *British India*, ii., 84. Burke publicly accused Hastings of having "murdered Nuncomar, through the hands of Impey." Macaulay views the matter more leniently as regards Hastings; but deems the main point at issue quite clear to everyone, "idiots and biographers excepted," and considers any lingering doubt on the subject quite set aside by the strong language in which Impey was subsequently described by Hastings as the man "to whose support I was at one time indebted for the safety of my fortune, honour, and reputation."—(ii., 265.) But this evidence is not unexceptionable, since it is very possible that these words referred to the important decision of the judges, at a subsequent crisis in the career of Hastings, when his resignation was declared invalid, and Clavering reluctantly compelled to relinquish his claim to the position of governor-general.

† Inasmuch as Nuncomar was not a voluntary inhabitant of Calcutta at the time when the offence was said to have been committed, but a prisoner brought and detained there by constraint, under the circumstances referred to in the preceding page.

ignominious end of a Brahmin who, by their laws, could, for the darkest crime ever pictured by the imagination of man, only be punished with loss of caste. The fatal morning of the 5th of August arrived, and Nuncomar stepped into his palanquin with the dignified serenity so often displayed by his countrymen when brought face to face with a violent death, and was borne through countless multitudes, who beheld the melancholy procession with an amazement which swallowed up every other feeling. Calmly mounting the scaffold, the old man sent a last message to the three councillors who would, he knew, have saved him if possible, commending to their care his son, Rajah Goordass. He then gave the signal to the executioner. The drop fell, and a loud and terrible cry arose from the assembled populace, which immediately dispersed—hundreds of Hindoos rushing from the polluted spot to cleanse themselves in the sacred waters of the Hooghly.

The majority in council, thus publicly defeated, sympathised deeply with the fate of this victim to political strife; and the older English officials could not but remember for how many years Nuncomar had played a part, of selfish intrigue it is true, but still an important and conspicuous part in Anglo-Indian history; for his co-operation had been gained at a time when governors and members of council, then mere commercial factors, paid assiduous homage to native functionaries.* The feelings of Hastings may be conjectured from an expression which escaped him many years later, that he had never been the personal enemy of any man but Nuncomar,† "whom from my soul I detested even when I was compelled to countenance him." He likewise foresaw the effect the fate of his fallen foe would produce in the minds of the natives. To contest with a fortunate man, was, in their sight, especially in that of the Mohammedan population, like fighting against God himself—as futile, and, in some sort, as impious. As to the power of the majority in council, its prestige was gone for ever; although, how the right of making war and peace, levying taxes, and nominating officials, came to be vested in one set of men, and the exclusive irresponsible infliction of capital punishments in another, was a question quite beyond the comprehension of the Bengalees. The governor-general felt relieved from the danger of any more native appeals, pecuniary or otherwise;‡ and whilst the air was yet filled with weeping and lamentation, he sat down to write a long and critical letter to Dr. Johnson about the *Tour to the Hebrides*, Jones' *Persian Grammar*, and the history, traditions, arts, and natural productions of India. From this time he renounced all idea of resigning his position, and repeatedly declared, in both official and private communications, that nothing short of death or recall should hinder him from seeing the result of the struggle with his colleagues. That result may be told in his own words—"his adversaries sickened, died, and fled,"§ leaving him

* Nuncomar was governor of Hooghly in 1756. He was induced by the English to take part with them against his master, Surajah Dowlah, whose orders of affording aid to the French when besieged in Chandernagore he disobeyed, to serve his secret allies, to whom on several occasions he rendered considerable service, and in so doing incurred the suspicions of the nabob, and was dismissed from office. His subsequent career has been shown in previous pages; its termination adds another name to the list of remarkable deaths which awaited the chief actors in the conspiracy that was carried into execution on the field of Plassy. At the division of spoil which took place in the house of the Seit brothers, nine persons were present. Of these, three (the Seits and Roy-dullub) were murdered by Meer Cossim Ali; the fourth (Clive) died by his own hand; the fifth (Meeran) perished by lightning; the sixth (Scrafton) was lost at sea; the seventh (Omichund) died an idiot; the eighth (Meer Jaffier) went to his grave groaning under every suffering which pecuniary difficulties, domestic sorrows, and bodily diseases, resulting from debauchery, could inflict. Of the death of Mr. Watts I have seen no record. Gassitee Begum, and several confederates not present on the occasion above referred to, were put to death at various times. Meer Cossim himself died poor and in obscurity.

† *Life*, iii., 338. This speech needs qualification; for Hastings, on his own showing, entertained for Francis, Clavering, and many minor functionaries, a feeling for which it would be difficult to find any other name than personal enmity. One gentleman, appointed by the majority to supersede a favourite nominee of his own as resident at Oude, he speaks of as "that wretch Bristowe;" and entreats his old friend Mr. Sulivan (the ancient opponent of Clive, and the chairman of the Court of Directors) to help rid him "from so unworthy an antagonist," declaring that he would not employ him, though his life itself should be the forfeit of refusal.—(ii., 336.)

‡ Francis, when examined before parliament in 1788, declared, that the effect of the execution of Nuncomar, defeated the inquiries entered into regarding the conduct of Hastings; "that it impressed a general terror on the natives with respect to preferring accusations against men in great power;" and that he and his coadjutors were unwilling to expose them to what appeared to him and his fellow-councillors, as well as to the Bengalees, a manifest danger.—(Mill, iii., 641.)

§ *Life of Hastings*, iii., 305.

the undisputed master of the field. The first to fail was Colonel Monson, who, after two months' sickness, fell a victim to the depressing influence of climate, and the wear and tear of faction. The casting vote of Hastings, joined to the undeviating support of Barwell, restored his complete ascendancy in council, which he exercised by reversing all the measures of his adversaries, displacing their nominees to make way for officials of his own appointment, and by reverting to his previous plans of conquest and dominion, of which the leading principle was the formation of subsidiary alliances with the native princes, especially of Oude and Berar, —a policy which, in skilful hands would, he foresaw, act as a powerful lever wherewith to raise England to a position of paramount authority in India. But once again his ambitious career was destined to receive a severe though temporary check. The accounts sent home by the Clavering party, furnished both the government and the directors of the E. I. Cy. with strong arguments for his immediate recall. With the proprietors he had been, and always continued to be, a special favourite, and they vehemently opposed the measure. Still there seemed so little chance of his continuance in office, save for a limited time, and on the most precarious and unsatisfactory tenure, that his agents and friends, after much discussion, thought themselves warranted in endeavouring to effect a compromise, by tendering his voluntary resignation in return for a private guarantee on the part of government for certain honours and advantages not clearly stated. The resignation was proffered and accepted, but it appears that the conditions annexed to it were not fulfilled; for the negotiators sent Hastings word, by the same ship that brought an order for the occupation of the chair by General Clavering (pending the arrival of the newly-appointed governor-general, Mr. Wheler), that they hoped he would not abide by the pledge given on his behalf, since the stipulations made at the same time had been already flagrantly violated.*

On receipt of this varied intelligence, Hastings was, or affected to be, at a loss how to act; but the violence of General Clavering in attempting the forcible assumption of the reins of government, afforded him an inducement or a pretext to repudiate the proceedings of his representatives in London, and declare that his instructions had been mistaken; that he had not, and would not resign. Clavering insisted that the resignation which had been tendered and accepted in England, could not be revoked in India: he therefore proceeded, with the support of Francis, to take the oaths of office, issue proclamations as governor-general, hold a council, and formally demand the surrender of the keys of the fort and the treasury. But Hastings had the advantage of that possession which an old adage pronounces to be "nine-tenths of the law:" he warned the officers of the garrison at Fort William, and of all the neighbouring stations, to obey no orders but his at their peril, and altogether assumed so daring an attitude, that his adversaries shrank from the alternative of civil war, and consented to abide by the decision of the judges. The notorious partiality of the chief justice left little doubt of the issue; but apart from any such bias, the decree was sufficiently well-grounded. The right of Clavering rested on the resignation of Hastings, and Hastings would not resign. In such a case the most reasonable course was to let things remain as they were, pending the decision of the home authorities. The defeated party, and especially Francis, behaved with unexpected moderation; but the victor, not contented with his triumph, strove to prevent Clavering from reassuming his place in the council, on the ground that it had been formally vacated, and could not be reoccupied except with the combined sanction of the ministers and directors. This absurd proposition Hastings maintained with all the special pleading of which he was an unrivalled master; but the judges could not, for very shame, support him, and Clavering was suffered to resume his former position. These proceedings occurred in June, 1777. They had a most injurious effect on the health of the high-principled but hasty-tempered general; so much so, that Hastings'

* *See* Letters of Macleane and Stewart.—(*Life*, ii., 95.) The "gross breach" of agreement so loudly complained of, was the investment of General Clavering with the order of the Bath. This same "red ribbon" created as much spleen and envy among the English functionaries, as the privilege of carrying a fish on their banners did among the ancient Mogul nobility; and a strange evidence of the consequence, attributed to the intriguing nabob of Arcot at the English court, was afforded by the knightly insignia being sent to him, with authority to invest therewith General Coote, and the royal ambassador, Sir John Lindsay.—(Auber's *India*, i., 306.) The greatest wonder is, that the honest and plain-spoken general did not flatly refuse to receive the honour by the hand of one he so thoroughly despised.

prophecy that he would soon die of vexation, was realised in the following August.* Mr. Wheler, on his arrival in November, was compelled to content himself with the rank of a councillor, instead of the high office he had expected to fill. National difficulties fast following one another, engaged the whole attention of English politicians; and war with America, conjoined to the hostility of France, Spain, and Holland, with the armed neutrality of the Baltic, and growing discontent in Ireland, left the ministry† little inclination to begin reforms in India, which must commence with the removal of a man whose experience, energy, and self-reliance might be depended upon in the most perilous emergency for the defence of British interests in India; although, in less critical times, his aggressive policy necessitated an amount of counter-action quite inconsistent with the unchecked authority he so ardently desired to obtain, and which, for many reasons, it seemed advisable to vest in the governor-general. These considerations procured for Hastings a temporary confirmation in office after the expiration of the term originally fixed by the Regulating Act. In 1779, a new parliamentary decree announced that the £1,400,000 borrowed of the public, having been repaid by the company, and their bond-debt reduced to £1,500,000, they were authorised to declare a dividend of eight per cent. The raising of the dividend seems to have been an ill-omened measure; for once again it was followed by an increase of pecuniary distress, which not even the inventive brain and strong arm of the governor-general could find means to dissipate, although the departure of Francis freed him from the restraining presence of a severe and prejudiced, though public-spirited censor. Before their final separation, a partial and temporary reconciliation took place, effected under peculiar circumstances, through the mediation of Mr. Barwell, who, having amassed an ample fortune, returned to enjoy it in England in 1780. Unanimity in the council was indeed of the first necessity to meet a great and instant danger—namely, the alarming excitement occasioned among the native population by the persevering attempts of the Supreme Court to extend its jurisdiction over the whole of the company's territory, and to exert a controlling power even over the council itself. Macaulay has drawn a picture of this period in language too vivid and graphic to be condensed, and which has a peculiar value as proceeding from the pen of one who himself filled the position of councillor in the Bengal presidency, in an expressly legal capacity. In enumerating the evils attending the new tribunal, he states that it had "collected round itself,"—

"A banditti of bailiffs' followers compared with whom the retainers of the worst English spunging-houses, in the worst times, might be considered as upright and tender-hearted. Many natives highly considered among their countrymen were seized, hurried up to Calcutta, flung into the common gaol, not for any crime even suspected, not for any debt that had been proved, but merely as a precaution till their cause should come to trial. There were instances in which men of the most venerable dignity, persecuted without a cause by extortioners, died of rage and shame in the gripe of the vile alguazils of Impey. The harems of noble Mohammedans, sanctuaries respected in the east by governments which respected nothing else, were burst open by gangs of bailiffs. The Mussulmans, braver, and less accustomed to submission than the Hindoos, sometimes stood on their defence; and there were instances in which they shed their blood in the doorway, while defending, sword in hand, the sacred apartments of their women. Nay, it seemed as if the faint-hearted Bengalee, who had crouched at the feet of Surajah Dowlah—who had been mute during the administration of Vansittart, would at length find courage in despair. No Mahratta invasion had ever spread through the province such dismay as this inroad of English lawyers. All the injustice of former oppressors, Asiatic and European, appeared as a blessing when compared with the justice of a Supreme Court." * * * "The lapse of sixty years, the virtue and wisdom of many eminent magistrates who have during that time administered justice in the Supreme Court, have not effaced from the minds of the people of Bengal the recollection of those evil days."—(*Essay*, p. 49.)

The power of the Supreme Court continued to increase, until it seemed as if every other function of government would be swept away in the vortex created by its ever-growing circles. Not satisfied with treating with the utmost contempt the magistrates and judges of the highest respectability in the country, the "black agents," as the chief justice con-

* It was about this period that the news of the much-desired divorce arrived, which enabled the Baroness Imhoff to become Mrs. Hastings. The Mussulman chronicler, in relating the splendid festivities with which the marriage was celebrated, asserts that the governor-general, vexed at the absence of Clavering, went himself to his house, and at length brought him in triumph to pay homage to the bride. The fatigue and excitement, perhaps, accelerated a crisis, for the general died a few days later.—(*Syar ul Mutakherin*, ii., 477.)

† The dissolution of the Rockingham ministry, by the sudden death of its chief, in 1782, was one of the circumstances which prevented Hastings' recall.

temptuously termed them,* he at length fairly ventured upon a distinct assumption of dominant authority in Bengal, by summoning the governor-general and council individually to defend themselves against a suit for trespass committed by them in their official capacity. Hastings could bear much from his "respectable friend, Sir Elijah Impey;" but there were limits even to his tolerance; and Francis, who had long vehemently remonstrated against the tyranny of the Supreme Court, willingly shared the responsibility of releasing various persons wrongfully imprisoned by the judges, and of preparing to resist the outrageous proceedings of the sheriff's officers, if necessary, by the sword. But before matters had proceeded to the last extremity, a compromise was effected between the governor-general and chief justice, by means of an offer which the former had clearly no right to make, and the latter no shadow of excuse for accepting. It will be remembered, that before the Regulating Act came into operation in India, a court of appeal had been projected, under the title of *Sudder Dewannee Adawlut*, to consist of the governor-general and council in person; but this arrangement had not been carried out, because the intended members feared to find their decisions set aside by the overweening authority assumed by the "king's judges," as the officers of the Supreme Court delighted to style themselves, in contradistinction to the company's servants. It was precisely this independence (in itself so just and necessary, though misused in unworthy and indiscreet hands) that Hastings desired to destroy; and he did so, for the time at least, most effectually, by offering Impey, in addition to the office already held by him, that of chief justice of the Sudder Dewannee Adawlut, with a salary and fixed emoluments amounting to nearly £8,000 a-year, to be held during the pleasure of the governor-general and council. Francis and Wheler united in opposing this arrangement, and stated, in plain terms, that the idea of establishing peace upon the ground of adverse claims still unrelaxed, and which nothing even appeared to reconcile but the lucrative office given to the chief justice, could be maintained only upon suppositions highly dishonourable to the public justice and to the executive administration of Bengal. This view of the case was perfectly just. Even as far as the rival functionaries (executive and judicial) were concerned, it could produce only a temporary pacification, while its worst effect was—as a parliamentary committee afterwards affirmed —that it gave the governor-general an ascendancy by which he was "enabled to do things, under the name and appearance of a legal court, which he would not presume to do in his own person."† The measure was carried by Hastings and Coote,‡ in defiance of Francis and Wheler; and the chief justice entered on his double functions, and the receipt of his double salary, with much alacrity, but considerably diminished arrogance, and continued to give undeviating allegiance to his patron, until news arrived of an act of parliament, passed in 1782, for the limitation of the powers of the Supreme Court of judicature; accompanied by the recall of Impey, to answer before the House of Commons the charge of having "accepted an office not agreeable to the true intent and meaning of the act 13 Geo. III."

The ascendancy of Hastings afforded some relief to the natives against wanton outrage, and the subsequent restraint laid on Anglo-Indian jurisdiction, contributed to their further relief. But the terrible prestige given by the unwarrantable proceedings of these times could not easily pass away. Moreover, even when its first terrors had been set aside, the labyrinth of innumerable and inexplicable forms, aggravated by the difficulties of a foreign language, in which a native found himself surrounded when brought within the mysterious circle of an English court of law, was calculated to deepen rather than remove the prejudices of persons who might be impelled by suffering to seek relief from present injury or redress for past wrongs, by a course of litigation which experience could scarcely fail to prove so tardy and expensive in its progress, as frequently to neutralise the benefit of an upright and unprejudiced decision. I can speak from personal experience of the fear entertained, by both Mussulmans and Hindoos, of being by any hook or handle involved in the harassing intricacies of a lawsuit; and even to the present day, many natives from the interior habitually fix their abodes on the safe side of the Mahratta ditch—the boundary of chancery and other civil branches of the Supreme Court.

The uncompromising opposition of Francis

* Letter of Impey to Lord Weymouth.—(Mill.)

† Report of Committee, 1781.

‡ Sir E. Coote, who had taken the place of Barwell, seconded Hastings, though with doubt and hesitation.

to the scheme of Hastings, together with differences on points of foreign policy, terminated in the renewal, and even increase, of former ill-feeling. The governor-general recorded, in an official minute, his disbelief in the "promises of candour" made by his opponent, and declared his public, like his private conduct, "void of truth and honour." Francis, whose health and spirits had been for some time visibly failing, and who, in the words of his opponent, had lost all self-control, and needed to be dealt with like "a passionate woman,"* could ill bear this unmerited taunt. After the council had risen, he placed a challenge in the hands of Hastings. It had been expected, and was immediately accepted. The example had been previously given by General Clavering (the commander-in-chief) and Mr. Barwell; and now the governor-general of India and the senior councillor, with remarkable disregard for the interests of their employers at a very critical period (not to speak of higher principles, which were quite out of the question), proceeded to edify an assemblage of women and children, by fighting a duel, as the Mussulman chronicler has it, "according to the established custom of the nation."† At the first exchange of shots, Francis fell, severely but not mortally wounded. He recovered slowly, and resumed his seat at the council board; until, wearied with the unequal contest, he threw up his position and returned to England at the close of 1782, leaving to Hastings the undisputed supremacy. Wheler had gradually been relaxing in his opposition. After the departure of his unbending colleague, he sided almost invariably with the governor-general, who spared no efforts to conciliate him by every possible means, especially by "providing handsomely for all his friends."‡ Yet, however great the triumph of Hastings, and undisguised his delight at the successful termination of a six years' conflict, abundant cause for anxiety remained, on every side, to lower the exulting tone he might have otherwise assumed. The ministers of the crown and the directors of the company suffered his retention of the highest office in India simply as a measure of temporary expediency; and even his stanch friends, the proprietors, failed not to give occasional and qualified censure to the unscrupulous deeds of the man on whose abilities and experience they relied for the fulfilment of those financial expectations which he had made it his great object to realise. But the very uncertainty of his position tended to encourage his innate propensity for temporising measures, and induced him to purchase golden opinions from his fellow-officials by conniving at innumerable illicit proceedings, for the interest of individuals, to the manifest injury of the revenues of the company and the prosperity of the provinces. Reforms are generally most unpopular where most needed; and Hastings, after forming plans for a large reduction of expenditure, set them aside until, as he remarked, he should be more certain of his own fate; "for I will not," he adds, "create enemies in order to ease the burdens of my successors."§ This very natural feeling, though somewhat inconsistent with the excessive zeal expressed by the writer for the pecuniary interests of the company, is quite in accordance with the unscrupulous manner in which he dealt with native princes—treating their rights and claims as valid or invalid, as substantial or mere empty-seeming, just as it suited his immediate object.‖ Such habitual double-dealing, however convenient the weapons it might afford for an immediate emergency, could not fail to render his publicly-recorded opinions a tissue of the most flagrant contradictions; and it tended materially to produce the evils which he endeavoured to prove had resulted solely from the opposition made to his measures by the ex-majority. Those evils are thus enumerated by his own pen:—"An exhausted treasury; an accumulating debt; a system charged with expensive establishments, and precluded, by the multitude of dependents and the curse of patron-

* *Life of Hastings*, ii., 384.

† *Siyar ul Mutakherin*, ii., 518.

‡ Wheler's support was not, however, quite undeviating; and his despotic chief complained of his attachment to "the lees of Mr. Francis, and his practice of *a strange policy* of hearing whatever any man has to say, and especially against public measures."—(*Life of Hastings*, ii., 384.)

§ *Idem*, iii., 31.

‖ He himself acknowledged how little he allowed an "expression dictated by the impulse of present emergency," to impose upon him "the obligation of a fixed principle." And one of his ablest and not least partial advocates, in the present day, admits that his determination to hold "his post and his purposes" in defiance of the directors, led him "to devise arguments and assign motives intended to meet the exigency of the moment, and, therefore, sometimes as much at variance with themselves as were the arguments of those by whom he was so vehemently and invariably opposed."—(Professor Wilson's Note on Mill's *India*, iv., 30.)

age, from reformation; a government debilitated by the various habits of inveterate licentiousness; a country oppressed by private rapacity, and deprived of its vital resources by the enormous quantities of current specie annually exported in the remittance of private fortunes, in supplies sent to China, Fort St. George, to Bombay, and lately to the army at Surat, and by an impoverished commerce; the support of Bombay, with all its new conquests; the charge of preserving Fort St. George, and recovering the Carnatic from the hands of a victorious enemy; the entire maintenance of both presidencies; and lastly, a war, either actual or depending, in every quarter and with every power of Hindostan."*

Before proceeding to describe the manner in which Hastings, now alône at the helm, steered his way through this troubled sea of dangers and difficulties, and likewise through personal trials of his own seeking, it is necessary to narrate, as briefly as possible, the leading events which, since his promotion to the station of governor-general in 1772, had taken place in the minor or sister presidencies of Bombay and Madras.

Bombay, 1772 to 1780.—The possession of the little island of Salsette and the fort of Bassein had long been earnestly coveted by the E. I. Cy., and in 1768, they strongly urged on their Indian representatives the additional security to Bombay to be derived from the annexation of these places; which, however, they desired to see effected "rather by purchase than war." Under the strong government of Madhoo Rao, the latter experiment would have been sufficiently hazardous; and the result of negotiations opened in 1772, clearly proved the small chance that existed of a voluntary surrender of territories no less valued by the one party than desired by the other. The death of the Mahratta peishwa produced dissensions in the state which, by destroying unity of interest even in Poona itself, offered to the English a prospect of obtaining, in the character of mediators or partisans, the concessions vainly sought for by more legitimate means. Madhoo Rao, always patriotic and unselfish, had diligently striven to avert the calamities by which his early death was likely to be attended. Perceiving his end approaching, he caused his uncle Ragoba to be released from confinement, and in the most affecting and impressive manner entreated him to guard and guide the person and counsels of his brother and successor Narrain Rao, a youth of seventeen. Ragoba appeared kindly disposed to the nephew thus committed to his charge, and the new peishwa was formally invested by the pageant-rajah with the insignia of office. But before long, dissensions arose between the chief ministers of Narrain (Sukaram Bappoo, Nana Furnuvees, and others, appointed by Madhoo Rao) and Ragoba, the result of which was his confinement to certain apartments in the palace. While smarting under the check thus given to his ill-regulated ambition, Ragoba, stimulated by the evil counsels of his tale-bearing wife, Anundee Bye, was induced to gratify the jealous hatred entertained by her against Gopika Bye, the mother of Madhoo and Narrain, by giving a written sanction for the seizure of the young peishwa, which she wickedly converted into an order for his assassination, by changing the word *dhurawè* (to seize) into *marawè* (to kill.) A domestic, who had been publicly flogged by order of the destined victim, was a chief mover in the plot, which was carried out by working on the discontent of a body of unpaid infantry. They had been extremely turbulent during the afternoon of the 30th of August, 1773, and in the night the ringleader, Somer Sing, entered the palace by an unfinished doorway newly opened to make an entrance distinct from that of the portion inhabited by Ragoba. Narrain Rao, on starting from sleep, fled, pursued by Somer Sing, to his uncle's apartments, and flung himself into his arms for protection. Ragoba interfered, but Somer Sing exclaimed—"I have not gone so far to ensure my own destruction; let him go, or you shall die with him." Ragoba was too deeply compromised to give way to remorse: he disengaged himself from the grasp of his nephew, and got out on the terrace. Narrain Rao strove to follow him, but was seized by the leg and flung to the ground by the vengeful servant before named. At this moment one of the personal attendants of the peishwa entered, unarmed, and flew to his rescue; but his fidelity cost him his life, for both master and servant were dispatched by the swords of the assassins.† The unfortunate Narrain Rao appears to have manifested a degree of indecision and timidity, on this trying occasion, remarkable in one of his caste and nation; but these failings were probably not radical defects, but rather incidental

* *Life of Hastings*, ii., 329.

† Grant Duff's *Mahrattas*, ii., 249.

to an unformed character.* A searching investigation was instituted into the affair by Ram Shastree, the celebrated judge, whose integrity and ability had reflected so much honour on the administration of his beloved disciple Madhoo Rao. To him Ragoba confessed his partial participation in the crime, and asked what atonement he could make. "The sacrifice of your own life," replied the uncompromising judge; "for neither you nor your government can prosper; and, for my own part, I will neither accept of employment, nor enter Poona whilst you preside there."† He kept his word, and retired to a sequestered village, from whence he witnessed the fulfilment of his prediction; for Ragoba's "ill-luck" became proverbial, and communicated itself, in a greater or less degree, to every enterprise in which he was concerned. At the onset, the total absence of a rival claimant enabled him to obtain, without difficulty, the confirmation of the rajah of Sattara to his assumption of the rank of peishwa; but his title was subsequently rendered invalid by the posthumous birth of a son, the rightful heir to Narrain Rao. Considerable doubt was thrown upon the legitimacy of the child by the means adopted by the ministers (Nana Furnavees, Sukaram Bappoo, and others), to provide a male substitute, in the event of their influence being endangered by the birth of a girl; but, as the case happened, the manœuvre only served to endanger their own cause, and afford Ragoba a pretext for resisting the claims of the son of his murdered nephew, who was proclaimed peishwa when only forty days old. The English authorities appear to have been quite misled by the representations which accompanied his appeal for their assistance; and even when compelled to recognise the utter futility of attempting to establish his supremacy in defiance of the general feeling of the Mahratta nation, they seem never to have rightly understood the nature of his claims, or the basis on which they rested. The cession of Bassein and Salsette, with the payment of a large sum of money, formed the leading stipulations on the part of the Bombay authorities; but as Ragoba was very unwilling to consent to any sacrifice of territory, they took advantage of the plea afforded by an inclination manifested by the Portuguese to regain their ancient possessions, to forcibly occupy them with British troops, protesting, nevertheless, that they held them only on behalf of Ragoba, until he should himself settle the arrangements of the pending treaty. The part taken by Sindia and Holcar, in siding with the ministers, left him no choice but to comply with the demands of the English; and, in return for his concessions,‡ 2,500 men were landed at Cambay, under Colonel Keating, in the early part of the year 1775, to aid his own mob-like assemblage of about 20,000 men. The campaign was successful, though attended with considerable loss of life;§ but preparations for the renewal of hostilities, at the close of the monsoon, were suddenly arrested by the interference of the Bengal presidency. The Bombay authorities were sharply reprimanded for disregarding the recent regu-

* Madhoo Rao, whose generous nature rose superior to the unworthy considerations which induced the Mogul emperors to treat their near relatives as dangerous rivals, and confine them from infancy to state prisons, delighted in cherishing and drawing public attention to the good qualities of his intended successor. The Mahrattas relate, that the brothers were witnessing an elephant-fight from a small hill in the environs of Poona, when one of the animals becoming excited, rushed furiously towards the spot where they were seated. The companions and attendants of the peishwa, forgetting all courtly etiquette, took to their heels, and Narrain jumped up to run off with the rest. "Brother," said Madhoo Rao, "what will the ukbars [*native newspapers*] say of you?" The boy instantly resumed his seat, and retained it until the danger, which became imminent, had been averted by the bravery of a bystander, who, drawing his dagger, sprang in front of the peishwa and turned the animal aside by wounding it in the trunk.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, ii., 251.)

† *History of Mahrattas*, ii., 249. An interesting feature in the intercourse of Madhoo Rao and Ram Shastree, is related by Duff. The peishwa devoted himself, at one period, to the practice of "Jhep" or religious meditation, to a degree which interfered with his public duties. Ram Shastree told him, that if he were inclined to revert to the condition of devout and austere poverty, which by the Hindoo doctrine was the especial duty of a Brahmin, he would gladly do the same; but if, on the contrary, Madhoo intended to follow the example of his predecessors, and retain the position of an earthly potentate, the duties incumbent on the assumed office ought to be his first consideration. "The musnud, or a life of self-denial in the holy city of Benares,—which you will," said the honest Mentor; "I will abide with you in either station." Happily for Maharashtra, Madhoo Rao remained its ruler, and Ram Shastree its leading judge,—an unimpeachable one, for he had no thirst for power, and all his habits were consistent with his characteristic rule—to keep nothing more in his house than sufficed for the day's consumption.

‡ Ragoba, or Rugonath Rao, having no other funds, deposited with the company, jewels valued at upwards of six lacs. These gems were, about twenty-eight years later, freely presented to Bajee Rao on his restoration to the office of peishwa, in 1813.

§ In the small detachment of Colonel Keating, 222 persons perished, including eleven officers.

lations, which placed the control in matters of foreign policy in the hands of the governor-general and the supreme council; and, besides being blamed for insubordination, they were informed that an envoy (Colonel Upton) would be sent direct from Bengal to conclude a treaty of peace. This latter proceeding could not fail to irritate the Bombay officials, and to lower their authority, and, indeed, that of the English in general, in the eyes of the Mahratta ministers, than whom no men living were better able to appreciate the weakness arising from divided counsels. The consequence was, that after a negotiation conducted, on the part of the Mahrattas, with more than characteristic procrastination, Nana Furnavees and the ministers of the infant peishwa, concluded a treaty at Poorunder, by which Colonel Upton promised that the English should relinquish the cause of Ragoba, and guarantee the disbandment of his army on certain stipulations quite contrary to the views of that individual. Of Salsette Island they were to retain possession, but to relinquish certain cessions in Guzerat, made by the Mahratta chief Futteh Sing Guicowar. No sooner had this humiliating agreement been entered into than the home despatches arrived, highly applauding the conduct of the Bombay authorities, and bidding them, in any and every case, retain all their late acquisitions, especially Bassein, if it were included in the number; which was not the case. The mandate came late, but its effects were soon manifested in a partial breach of faith, by continued though guarded favour shown to Ragoba, and a decided inclination to break with the Poona ministry. Nana Furnavees, a politician of much ability and more cunning, strove to prevent the renewal of hostilities, by affecting to encourage the pretensions of a French adventurer, named St. Lubin, who, after imposing upon the Madras government in the character of an agent of the court of Versailles, had returned to France, and by exaggerated representations of the influence acquired by him at Poona, had induced the minister of marine to intrust him with a sort of clandestine commission, as an experiment for ascertaining if any footing might be gained (the port of Choul being especially desired.)

No one had less inclination to suffer the introduction of French power into Maharashtra than Nana Furnavees; and by the little favour shown to the avowed agent of another European state (Austria), then at Poona, it seems that he considered St. Lubin as a mere impostor, and encouraged him simply as a means of alarming the English government by an affected alliance with France. These proceedings served, on the contrary, to incite immediate operations before the anticipated arrival of French auxiliaries at Poona. Even Hastings was dissatisfied with the treaty of Poorunder; and notwithstanding the censure bestowed on the previous "unwarrantable" interference of the local authorities, they were now directed "to assist in tranquillising the dissensions of the Mahratta state." Ostensibly for the promotion of this object, Colonel Leslie was dispatched, with a strong detachment, to march across the centre of India, from Bengal to the western coast. The Bombay presidency, delighted with this indirect admission of the advisability of their former measures, determined not to wait the arrival of reinforcements, but to make war at once, upon the strength of their own resources; and Mr. Carnac, who had the lead in council, was himself placed at the head of a committee, to aid in the direction of military operations. In fact, despite the oddity of making war under the superintendence of civilians, the infirm health and inexperience in Indian warfare of Colonel Egerton, the officer on whom the command devolved by right of seniority, rendered such a step of absolute necessity to the carrying out, with any prospect of success, the wild plan of advancing with a force (including a few straggling horse under Ragoba) of less than 4,500 men, to attack the ministerial party in their own capital. So bold a design imperatively needed rapidity in execution; yet, after crossing the Ghaut (mountain-pass), the army, without any reason for such ill-timed tardiness, advanced only eight miles in eleven days. The enemy had fully prepared for their reception; and the deliberate progress of the English was but slightly opposed, until, at about sixteen miles from Poona, they found themselves face to face with the Mahratta host. Mr. Carnac and Colonel Cockburn (who had taken the lead, in consequence of the sickness of Colonel Egerton) seem to have been panic-struck by the imminent danger which they had wantonly incurred, and they immediately issued orders for a silent midnight retreat. In vain the junior officers and Ragoba, whose military experience was treated with undeserved contempt, urged that, from the

well-known tactics of the enemy, such an attempt, made in defiance of clouds of trained cavalry, was more perilous than the boldest advance. And so the event proved; for the first retrograde movement of the English gave the signal for attack to the whole hostile force. The bravery and skill of Captain Hartley, the officer in command of the rear-guard,* together with his extraordinary influence with the native troops, conduced materially to save the invading army from total destruction. After several furious charges, the enemy desisted, without having made a serious impression on any part of the line. But the loss of 300 men, including fifteen officers, had so completely dispirited the military leaders, that they now, in continued opposition to the arguments and entreaties of Hartley and others, declared advance and retreat alike impossible, and that nothing remained but to make peace with the Mahrattas on any terms,—in other words, to confess themselves caught in their own trap, and consent to such a ransom as their captors might dictate. They were even prepared to give up Ragoba to his foes, the ministers; but he, aware of the ungenerous intention, made private terms of surrender with Sindia. The almost independent power of this chief, and the jealousy existing between him and the Poona authorities, enabled the English, by a direct application to him, to obtain more favourable terms than might otherwise have been conceded; but despite the moderation of the victors, the Convention of Wurgaum formed a fitting ending to one of the few disgraceful campaigns recorded in the annals of the Anglo-Indian army. Every point in dispute was yielded; all acquisitions made since the death of Madhoo Rao (of course including Salsette) were to be relinquished, as also the revenue raised by the company in Broach,† and even in Surat, which the Mahrattas had never possessed. Hostages (Mr. Farmer and Lieutenant Stewart) were left with Sindia for the performance of the treaty: nevertheless, the first act of the committee by whom the whole affair had been so terribly mismanaged, on descending the Ghaut in safety, was to countermand the order dispatched in agreement with the recent convention forbidding the advance of the troops from Bengal.‡

The presidency were indignant beyond measure at this discreditable conclusion of their attempt to show Calcutta what Bombay could do. Hastings was, on his part, no less irritated by a series of rashly-planned and ill-executed measures, which nothing but "success, that grand apology for statesmen's blunders,"§ could excuse. His own long-cherished hopes of taking advantage of the dissensions of the Mahratta state proved equally fruitless. A mistaken idea of the connexion of Moodajee Bhonslay, the ruler of Berar, with the house of Sevajee, led Hastings to stimulate Moodajee to assert his supposed claim to the raj, or sovereignty, upon the death of Ram Rajah in 1777, and the appointment, under the name of Shao Maharaj, of a distant relative, adopted as his son, and heir to his gilded captivity by the deceased prince. The effort proved fruitless, for Moodajee retained a lively recollection of kindness received from the grandfather of the infant peishwa, and despite the promptings of ambition, was reluctant to interfere with the power of that family. These kindly feelings, one of the Hindoo guardians of the child (either Nana Furnavees or Sukaram Bappoo) had taken pains to cherish, by placing his infant charge in the arms of young Raghoo, the son of Moodajee, and styling him the protector of the peishwa. Hastings himself remarks that acts of this description establish in the minds of the Mahrattas "obligations of the most solemn kind," and afford "evidence of a generous principle, so little known in our political system."|| The powerful minister, Nana Furnavees, was, however, actuated by less generous principles, his chief object being to use the little peishwa as an instrument for his own aggrandisement and that of his family, to whom he designed to transmit his paramount authority over the puppet minister of a puppet rajah. These designs were not likely to escape the notice of his colleagues in office, and dissensions arose, of which Sindia took full advantage

* Sindia loudly extolled the conduct of the rear-guard, which he compared "to a red wall, no sooner beat down than it was built up again."—(Duff.)

† A petty Mogul nabob held Broach, in subordination to the Mahrattas until 1772, when it was captured by a British force under General Wedderburne, who was killed in the assault.

‡ The hostages were, nevertheless, generously released by Sindia, who did not even demand the parole of Lieutenant Stewart not to fight against him, but, on the contrary, said—"Resume your place in the army; your sword is your subsistence."—(Wilks.)

§ Duff's *Mahrattas*, ii., 379.

|| *Life of Hastings*, ii., 361.

for the establishment and increase of his own power, by interfering as much as possible in the garb of a mediator.* Under the pressure of external hostilities, internal disputes invariably gave way to co-operation for mutual defence; and such was the immediate effect produced by the repudiation by the governor-general of the Convention of Wurgaum, which he declared invalid, inasmuch as the English committee had far exceeded the powers vested in them. This was actually the case; and Mr. Farmer had informed Sindia that they had no power to enter on any treaty without the sanction of the supreme government. The Mahratta chief treated this excuse as a mere pretence to avoid giving an inconvenient pledge, and scornfully asked, if their authority was so limited, by whose order they had ventured to break the treaty concluded by Colonel Upton? The question was unanswerable; the danger imminent; and Mr. Carnac, consoling himself with the idea that if, after what had passed, the Mahrattas were duped, the fault was their own, dispatched a plenipotentiary to the camp of Sindia for the avowed purpose of concluding a treaty, which he confirmed by every outward mark of good faith, under a *mental reservation* of the invalidity of the whole transaction.

On their return to Bombay, Mr. Carnac, Colonel Egerton, and Colonel Cockburn (a brave and steady soldier, but totally unfit for so arduous a command), were dismissed the service, and the recall of Colonel Leslie was only prevented by his death of fever. The offence of the latter officer was the slowness of his march from Bengal, and his mistaken policy in allowing some Rajpoot allies of the Mahrattas to engage him in petty hostilities, and hinder the accomplishment of his main object—namely, speedy arrival at the seat of war. General Goddard was chosen by Hastings for the command, and his progress was altogether as speedy and fortunate as that of his predecessor had been slow and unsatisfactory. After receiving great kindness, bestowed under circumstances of much doubt and difficulty by the Afghan ruler of Bhopal,† Goddard marched boldly on, manifested his good sense by cordial co-operation with the Bombay government, carried out their plan of attacking Guzerat (notwithstanding the almost independent authority with which he was invested), and having, by extraordinary expedition, avoided the snares laid to interrupt his progress, crossed the Taptee on the 1st of January, 1780, and before the end of the month, carried by storm Ahmedabad, the great but decayed capital of the province. The famous fortress of Gwalior‡ was captured on the night of the 3rd of August, by a force of 2,400 men, sent direct from Bengal by Hastings; and the year terminated with the conquest of Bassein by Goddard. But these successes were counterbalanced by disasters in other quarters, which rendered the English anxious to conclude a speedy peace with the Mahrattas on almost any terms. The aspect of affairs was indeed alarming; for, at this period, Hyder Ali and the Nizam had merged, for the moment, their mutual animosities,

* Sukaram Bappoo, the chief rival of Nana Furnavees, at length became his victim, and was secretly removed from one fortress to another, till he perished miserably under bodily suffering created rather by the effects of unwholesome food and harsh treatment, than the slight infirmities of a green old age. Among his various prisons was that of Pertabgurh, on the western side of which lay an abyss formed by 4,000 feet of rugged rock. From the eastern side the spot was plainly visible where his Brahmin ancestor, 120 years before, won over by Sevajee, swore the treacherous, midnight oath to deliver up his master, Afzool Khan, to planned assassination.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, ii., 396.)

† This little principality, situated on the north-eastern bank of the Nerbudda, was formed by the usurpations of Dost Mohammed, an Afghan in the service of Aurungzebe. During the troubles that succeeded the death of the emperor, he assumed the title of nawab (*anglicé* nabob), and rallied round him bands of adherents whom he had invited from Bengal. His successors contrived to extend their sway, and, what was more difficult, to gain the good-will of the intractable Gonds, or people of Gondwarra, the inhabitants of the southern portion of the Bhopal territory, chiefly through the instrumentality of an able Hindoo minister, Bejee Ram, and a lady of remarkable ability, who for more than half a century greatly influenced, if she did not control, the councils of the principality, under the name of Mahjee Sahiba, the "lady-mother," an appellation descriptive of her benevolent character only, for she was childless. Hindoos and Mohammedans agree in cherishing the memory of this beloved princess, and vie with one another in citing anecdotes illustrative of her judgment and integrity. She attained the age of eighty.—(Major Hough's *Bhopal Principality.*)

‡ Gwalior, the famous state-prison of Akber and Aurungzebe, had, upon the dismemberment of the Delhi empire, fallen into the hands of a Jat chief, known as the rana of Gohud. It was taken by Sindia in 1779, and captured, in turn, by the British troops under Major Popham, the scarped rock on which the citadel stood being ascended at daybreak by means of wooden ladders. Hastings had formed a very exaggerated idea of the power of the rana of Gohud, to whom he restored the fortress; but on discovering his mistake, he changed his policy, and sanctioned its recovery by Sindia, in 1784—conduct which formed an article in his impeachment.

and confederated with their sworn foes, the Poona ministers, for the express purpose of expelling the English and the nabob Mohammed Ali from the Carnatic. The causes which led to this alarming coalition of Hindoo and Mussulman powers, are closely interwoven with the history of the—

MADRAS PRESIDENCY FROM 1769 TO 1780. —The principles which guided the counsels of this government were so avowedly bad, that their ruinous consequences seem to have been the natural fruit of the tree they planted. In 1772, the presidency made war upon the poligars or chiefs of certain adjacent districts called the Marawars, not that they had any quarrel with them, but simply because the tyrannical nabob had "made them his enemies, and therefore," the Madras councillors add, "it is necessary they should be reduced. It is necessary, or it is good policy they should. We do not say it is altogether just, for justice and good policy are not often related."* Hostilities were commenced on the above not "altogether just" grounds, and they were carried on, to adopt the same smooth-tongued phraseology, in a not altogether merciful manner. The poligar of the greater Marawar (a boy of twelve years of age), was taken at the capture of his capital of Ramnadaporam, in April, 1772, after brave but unskilful resistance on the part of its native defendants (the tribe called Colerics by Orme.) The poligar of the lesser Marawar was slain after a treaty of peace had been actually concluded, owing to a misunderstanding between the English commander and the son of the nabob, Omdut-al-Omrah. The peasantry, as usual, remained passive during the siege of the various forts: they expected to be little affected by the change of one despot for another; but the grinding exactions of the new conqueror, which are said to have surpassed even those of Hyder Ali in the amount of misery inflicted, soon convinced them of their error; and on being turned out of their lands, many took up arms in sheer despair—the inverted plough being the general symbol of revolt. The English officer, Colonel Bonjour, who had been ordered to superintend the settlement of the country in the manner desired by Mohammed Ali, remonstrated forcibly against an object which, being in itself oppressive to the last degree, would require for its accomplishment "extremities of a most shocking nature."† For instance, the impossibility of seizing the armed and watchful foe, must, he said, be met by such reprisals as the complete destruction of the villages to which they belonged, the massacre of every man in them, and the imprisonment (probably to end in slavery) of the women and children; with other "severe examples of that kind."‡ Colonel Bonjour received an answer very similar to that given by Hastings to Colonel Champion in the case of the Rohillas, to the effect, that these things were the natural consequences of war, and that the worthy Mohammed Ali must not be affronted by impertinent interference. In fact, the majority of the Madras council, at this period, were the nabob's very humble and obedient servants, although some trouble was taken to conceal the fact from their "honourable masters" in Leadenhall-street. Subserviency of so manifestly degrading a character, could scarcely be the result of any but the most unworthy motives; and the simple truth appears to have been, that the leading English councillors entered upon the extension of the power of the Mohammedan nabob of Arcot, as a particularly safe and promising speculation, since if their efforts succeeded, great part of the profit would be their own; and in the event of failure, the expenses must be borne by the company. So early as 1769, three members of council held a large assignment of territorial revenue, which the Court of Directors subsequently discovered; and many official and private persons received from the nabob, bonds for the repayment of money lent and *not lent*, the true consideration given or promised being of a description which neither party cared to specify.

* Parl. Papers, quoted by Mill, iv., 100.

† Mill's *India*, iv., 103.

‡ Col. Wilks describes the sway of Hyder as one succession of experiments as to how far extortion could be practised on the farmer without diminishing cultivation. When his subjects claimed justice at his hands, he punished the offenders by a heavy fine, but pocketed the money himself, declaring that this appropriation was, by restraining oppression, nearly as good for the people, and a great deal better for the sovereign. Nevertheless, Wilks states that the misrule of Mohammed Ali "left at an humble distance all the oppression that had ever been practised under the iron government of Hyder."—(*Mysoor*, ii., 103.) Swartz corroborates this statement by his remarks on the regularity and dispatch with which the government of Mysoor was conducted. "Hyder's economical rule is to repair all damages without losing an instant, whereby all is kept in good condition, and with little expense. The Europeans in the Carnatic leave everything to go to ruin."—(*Idem*, p. 572.)

When Englishmen of a certain rank "could make open and undisguised offers of their services to become directors of the E. I. Cy.,"* and even stoop to occupy seats in the British parliament purchased with his funds, avowedly for the promotion of his interests, little cause for surprise remains that Anglo-Indian functionaries, placed for the time beyond the reach of that public opinion which with so many men stands in the stead of conscience, should, by degrees, lose all sense of shame, and scarcely take ordinary pains to conceal their venality. Even had they been more on their guard, the conduct of Mohammed Ali could scarcely have failed to provoke recriminations calculated to expose the whole nefarious system. His love of money, though it fell far short of his thirst for power, was still excessive: he never willingly parted with gold, but accumulated large hoards, giving bonds to his real and pretended creditors, until they themselves became alarmed at the enormous amount of private debts with which the revenues of Arcot were saddled. Meanwhile, the legitimate expenditure of government was narrowed within the smallest possible limits; the troops, as usual, were in arrears of pay, and the promises made to the E. I. Cy. remained unfulfilled. The booty obtained by the seizure of the Marawars had only served to whet the appetite of Mohammed Ali and the party of whom he was at once the tempter and the dupe. There was a neighbouring state better worth attacking—that of Tanjore, a Mahratta principality against which the nabob of Arcot had no shadow of claim, except that of having, by dint of superior strength, exacted from thence an occasional subsidy. Its late ruler, Pertap Sing, had, it is said, more than once purchased the mediation of the leading English officials by borrowing from them large sums of money at exorbitant interest: but his son and successor, Tuljajee, forsaking this shrewd policy, applied to the Dutch at Negapatam, and the Danes at Tranquebar, for the means wherewith to pay a heavy sum which he had been compelled to guarantee to the Arcot authorities as the price of peace, so late as 1771. Some small portion of this agreement remained unfulfilled, and it served to afford a sufficient pretext for the invasion of Tanjore. In fact, such a formality could only be necessary for the sake of preserving appearances with the company and the British public. George III. had, it was well known, been prepared, by wilful perversions of the truth, to take a generous and manly, but wholly mistaken and prejudiced view of all matters regarding Mohammed Ali, whom he had been induced to regard as an independent sovereign of high principle and ability, whose plans the English were, in gratitude and duty, bound to further to the uttermost. Existing disputes between the governments of Poona, Guzerat, and Berar, prevented the chiefs of the Mahratta confederation interfering to protect the rajah; therefore, taking advantage of the opportunity, hostile proceedings were commenced, and ground broken before Tanjore on the 20th of August; on the 6th of September a breach was effected; and on the following day, during the intense heat of noon, while the garrison were for the most part at rest, in expectation of an evening attack, the English troops were, with the least possible noise, marshalled for the assault. The stratagem was entirely successful; the fort was captured almost without loss, and the rajah and his family fell into the hands of Mohammed Ali, by whom his dominions were formally occupied. The indignation of the company was naturally roused by a procedure which lacked even the threadbare excuse of zeal for their service. Orders were issued (though somewhat tardily, owing to the disturbed state of affairs at home) for the restoration of the rajah of Tanjore; and Lord Pigot,† his proved friend, was sent out as governor, in 1775, for their enforcement. This act of justice was not carried through in a purely disinterested manner, for stipulations were made for the maintenance of an English garrison within the citadel, and the payment of tribute to the nabob. The latter clause failed to reconcile Mohammed Ali to the surrender of Tanjore: he even formed a plan for its forcible detention,‡ which was forestalled by the prompt

* *Vide* Wilks' *Mysoor*, ii., 213; and Burke's admirable speech on the Carnatic debts, in which he affirmed that the nabob of Arcot had returned eight members to one British parliament.

† Lord Pigot went out as a writer to Madras in 1736; was promoted to the government in 1754 went home, in 1763, with an immense fortune; and successively obtained the rank of a baronet and of an Irish peer. A treaty with the rajah of Tanjore, in 1762, was one of his favourite measures, and he felt naturally annoyed by its shameless violation.

‡ *Vide* Wilks' *Mysoor*, ii., 226. Mohammed Ali had secretly ordered a large amount of military stores from the Danish authorities at Tranquebar, but they arrived too late for the purpose designed. The Danes had no great reason to rejoice

and decisive measures of Lord Pigot, who proceeded in person, in the spring of 1776, to reinstate Tuljajee in his former dignity. The council took advantage of his absence to consider the delicate question of the pecuniary claims of individuals, especially those of Mr. Paul Benfield. The case of this individual may serve to illustrate the character of the nabob's debts, the majority of which were similar in kind, though less in degree, in proportion to the opportunities, audacity, and cunning of the parties concerned. Mr. Benfield was a junior servant of the company, with a salary of a few hundred pounds a-year, which, as all old Indians know, could leave little margin for extravagance; nevertheless, this clever adventurer, having in his own scheming brain a talent for money-making scarcely inferior to that vested in the fairy purse of Fortunatus, contrived not only to support a splendid establishment and equipages, unrivalled at Madras even in those days of luxury and ostentation, but also to obtain certain assignments on the revenues of Tanjore, and on the growing crops of that principality, to the enormous extent of £234,000, in return for £162,000 ostensibly lent to the nabob of Arcot, and £72,000 to individuals in Tanjore. Such was the leader of the party arrayed on the side of Mohammed Ali, who had actually signed bonds to the amount of nearly a million and a-half sterling, backed by assignments on the revenues of Tanjore; and the very nature of these claims caused them to be urged with peculiar acrimony and violence. In Calcutta, the character of the majority by whom Hastings was at this very time so fiercely opposed, was wholly different to that with which Pigot had to struggle. Clavering, Monson, and Francis might be reproached with party spirit, but in all pecuniary matters their reputation was unblemished, and their public proceedings were, consequently, free from the baneful and narrowing influence of self-interest. At Madras the case was wholly different; the majority consisted of men of deeply corrupt character, who, in return for accusations of venality in abetting the aggressions of the nabob, reciprocated the charge against all the upholders of the rajah, from the governor downwards.* The previous career of Lord Pigot did not facilitate the performance of the invidious task he had undertaken. Like Clive, he had formerly accumulated an immense fortune by questionable means, and had returned to root up abuses which, at an earlier stage, might have been nipped in the bud. Even his present visit to Tanjore, and the part played by him in the struggle for the appointment of a resident at that government, was far from being free from all suspicion of private ends and interests, either as regarded himself or his immediate retainers. But, however alike in their views and motives, the positions of Clive and Pigot were very different. The latter, instead of possessing supreme authority, was subordinate to a governor-general by no means inclined to afford cordial support to any reformatory measures, save of his own introduction; and Lord Pigot, trusting too much in his own strength, by a haughty and violent line of conduct,† soon brought matters to a crisis he was unprepared to meet. The imprisonment of Sir Robert Fletcher, with the attempted suspension of two of the leading members of council, was retaliated by his own arrest, performed in a very unsoldier-like style by the temporary commander-in-chief of the army, Colonel Stuart, with the aid of a coachman in the pay of Mr. Paul Benfield.‡ Having thus unceremoniously disposed of their chief, the majority proceeded to enact a series of legal, or rather illegal forms, and assumed the whole power of government.§ They did not long enjoy their triumph; for the home authorities, astonished and alarmed by such

in the transaction, for Hyder made them pay a fine of £14,000 sterling for furnishing his inveterate foe with warlike weapons; and Mohammed Ali, despite his desire to keep the affair quiet, liquidated but a small portion of the stipulated price. The whole matter came to light in 1801, when the E. I. Cy. took possession of the Carnatic, and on the production of the secret correspondence with the nabob, paid the Danish Cy. a balance of £42,304.—(Wilks, ii., 10.)

* The scale on which bribery was carried on, may be conjectured from the fact, that Admiral Pigot declared in the House of Commons, in 1778, that his brother, the late governor, had been offered a bribe, amounting to £600,000 sterling, only to defer for a time the reinstatement of the rajah of Tanjore.

† Swartz, commenting on the proceedings of which he was an eye-witness, remarks:—"Probably his intentions were laudable, but he began not with God."

‡ Col. Stuart was on terms of close intimacy with Lord Pigot; had breakfasted and dined with him on the day of the arrest, and was ostensibly on the way to sup with him, when the carriage of the governor, in which they were both seated, was, by the appointment of the colonel himself, surrounded and stopped by the troops.—(Mill, iv., 134.) The governor was dragged out, made a prisoner, and thrust into Benfield's chaise.—(*Vide* Abstract of Trial of Stratton, Brooke, Floyer, and Mackay. Murray; London, 1780.)

§ Hastings "persuaded his colleagues to acquiesce in the new arrangements."—(*Life*, ii., 106.)

strange excesses, recalled both the deposed governor and his opponents, that the whole matter might be brought to light. Before these orders reached India, Lord Pigot had sunk under the combined effects of mental suffering and imprisonment for nine months in an ungenial climate. His death terrified all parties into a compromise. The chief civil servants concerned in the affair returned to England; the four members of council paid the to them very trifling fine of £1,000 each, and the subordinates crept back into the service. Colonel Stuart was tried by a court-martial, and, unhappily for the company, acquitted.

The new governor, Sir Thomas Rumbold, reached Madras in 1778, and applied himself, with much energy, to the improvement of his private fortune. The council cheerfully followed so pleasant an example; and unwonted tranquillity prevailed within the presidency, the predominant feature being wilful blindness to the storm gathering without. Yet even Mohammed Ali beheld with alarm that the utterly inconsistent, hesitating, yet grasping policy long persisted in, was about to issue in the conjoined hostilities of Hyder Ali, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas, to each of whom distinct occasions for quarrel had been given; and to these dangers the fear of French invasion, owing to the outbreak of European war, was added. Hyder Ali, their most formidable foe, had been made such by their own misdoings. He had earnestly desired to keep the Mahrattas at bay by means of an alliance with the English, whose enmity he dreaded, fearing, above all things, the unseen resources of the E. I. Cy. The Madras government temporised with him for years, and he bore all manner of neglects and slights, waiting, in sullen silence, an opportunity of revenge. After the death of Madhoo Rao, he regained his previous conquests, and largely increased them. The little principality of Coorg,* and Gooty, the eagle's nest of Morari Rao, fell successively: the first, before a sudden invasion, most barbarously carried through; the other under peculiar circumstances of treachery.† The Mahratta chieftain soon perished under the influence of the insalubrious climate of a hill-fort, called Cabal Droog, aggravated by food of so unwholesome a character as to be almost poisonous. His family, being subjected only to the first of these evils, survived him fifteen years, and then perished in a general massacre of prisoners, ordered by Tippoo, in 1791.

At the close of the year 1770, Hyder contemplated with delight the fertile banks of the Kistna, newly become the northern boundary of the empire he had erected; but still unsatisfied with its extent (as he would probably have been had it comprised all India), he proceeded in person to besiege the fortress of Chittledroog,‡ which, amid the chances and changes of previous years, had fallen into the hands of a brave Hindoo

* Hyder entered Coorg in 1773. The rajah (Divaia) fled, and was afterwards captured; but the people hastily assembled on a woody hill, which was immediately surrounded by the enemy. Seating himself with much state, Hyder proclaimed a reward of five rupees for each head that should be brought to him. After receiving about 700, two were deposited on the heap of such singular beauty, that, looking earnestly at them, he ordered the decapitation to cease. The remaining Coorgs were not, however, disposed to submit tamely to the usurper notwithstanding the tribute paid to the finely-formed heads of their murdered countrymen; and when he proceeded to raise the assessment on produce from the ancient tenth to a sixth, they rose as one man, but were again reduced to submission by a sweeping massacre of nearly every individual of note.—(Wilks.)

† Gooty is almost impregnable under ordinary circumstances; but the number of refugees from the town, and the quantities of cattle driven into the citadel, had exhausted the reservoirs of water; and Morari Rao, after above three months' siege, was reluctantly compelled to treat for peace, which Hyder guaranteed on condition of receiving eight lacs of rupees in coin, or that amount in jewels, immediately, and a hostage for the subsequent payment of four more. The hostage, a brave but inexperienced youth, won by the praise bestowed on his chief and himself by the conqueror, imprudently boasted that nothing short of being reduced to three days' water would have induced Morari Rao to capitulate. Hyder forthwith resumed the blockade, which he maintained until the garrison, in an agony of thirst, consented to an unconditional surrender, and then such as escaped with life and liberty were robbed of every other possession; even the women being despoiled of their accustomed ornaments, for the exclusive benefit of the perfidious invader.

‡ The second siege of Chittledroog lasted three months, and was attended with immense loss of life. The garrison believed the place invested with supernatural strength as the site of a famous temple dedicated to the goddess Cali, so long as her rites were duly performed. Unlike Hindoo deities in general, Cali was supposed to delight in blood, and consequently her worshippers, despite the rashness of such a proceeding, regularly sallied forth, after performing their devotions, on every successive Monday morning during three months; and notwithstanding the warning to the besiegers, given by the loud blast of a horn as the signal for the outburst, and the foreknowledge of all except the exact point of attack, the Beders never once returned without carrying off the specific number of heads to be offered to their tutelary deity, upon whose shrine about 2,000 of these bloody trophies were found ranged in small pyramids after the fall of the place.—(Colonel Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, ii., 182.)

poligar or chief. The native garrison defended the place with the fearless zeal of fanaticism, but were betrayed by a corps of Mohammedan mercenaries, whom Hyder found means to corrupt through the medium of their spiritual instructor, a hermit of reputed sanctity, who resided unmolested on the plain below, near the hostile encampment. The natives of the surrounding territory (chiefly of the Beder tribe) had manifested unconquerable attachment to the fallen chief. In vain Hyder had seized all the visible property, and consumed all the provisions on which his practised pilferers could lay hands; neither these measures, nor the infliction of the most cruel punishments on every person engaged in the conveyance of supplies to the besieged, could deter men, women, and even children from sacrificing their lives, in continued succession, in the attempt to support the garrison. Hyder at length determined to sweep off the whole remainder of the population, whose fidelity to their besieged countrymen had alone prevented their following the general example of flight to the woods, or other provinces. About 20,000 were carried away to populate the island of Seringapatam; and from the boys of a certain age, Hyder formed a regular military establishment of captive converts, in imitation of the Turkish janissaries (new soldiers.) These regiments, under the name of the "Chelah"* battalions, were extensively employed by Tippoo Sultan. The reduction of the small Patan state of Kurpa and several minor places, next engaged the attention of the Mysoorean. One of these expeditions nearly cost him his life, by rousing the vengeance of a party of Afghan captives, who having overpowered their guards in the dead of night, rushed to his tent, and the foremost having succeeded in effecting an entrance, aimed a deadly blow at the rich coverlid which wrapped what he took to be the body of the sleeping despot. But Hyder himself had escaped to the protection of the nearest corps. On first hearing the uproar he guessed its cause; for it was a portion of his earthly punishment that, sleeping or waking, the dagger of the assassin was never absent from his thoughts. Despite the burden of advancing years, his mental and physical energies were wholly unimpaired. Springing from his couch, he performed the favourite feat of the nursery hero, Jack the Giant-killer, by stealthily laying his long pillow in the place of his own body. Then cutting a passage through the side of the tent, he effected a safe and unsuspected retreat. The wretched Afghans were slain or disarmed; those taken alive were reserved for various cruel deaths, such as having their hands and feet struck off, or being dragged round the camp tied to the feet of elephants, until, and even long after, life had left their mangled bodies.

Such was the barbarous character of the foe whom the English had so long braved with impunity, that, from the sheer force of habit, they continued to treat him with contemptuous superiority, even after the unpromising state of their own affairs, in various quarters, rendered it obviously advisable to adopt a conciliatory policy. The renewal of European war, would, it was probable, prove the signal for an attempt, on the part of the French, to regain their lost possessions in India, by the co-operation of some of the more powerful native states. It was notorious that St. Lubin and other adventurers, had essayed to ingratiate themselves as representatives of their nation, with the Mahrattas and also with Hyder. But both these powers were bent on avoiding any intimate connexion with European states, whose tendency to become supreme they justly dreaded, though they were ever desirous to purchase, at a high rate, the services of foreigners to discipline their troops. Hyder especially dreaded the effect of French influence, and would certainly have had no dealings with that government, save as a counterpoise to the English and Mohammed Ali, whom he cordially detested. Affairs were in a very precarious condition, when intelligence of the renewal of war in Europe reached Bengal (July, 1778); and, though somewhat premature in character, Hastings thought the information sufficiently authentic to warrant the immediate seizure of the whole of the French settlements before reinforcements should arrive from England, or time be given for the adoption of any concerted plan of defence. Chandernagore, with the factories at Masulipatam and Karical, surrendered without resistance. Pondicherry

* Chelah was a softened name for slave; first employed by Akber, who disliked the harsh term, but not the odious thing denoted. Slavery has, however, habitually assumed a milder form in the East than the West Indies, under Hindoo and Mohammedan, than under Christian masters; and the bondsmen of the palace, even beneath the sway of Hyder, had so much the air of "children of the house," that the good missionary, Swartz, praises the care evinced for orphans, in total ignorance that Hyder's protection had been purchased by the severance of every natural tie of family, country, and creed.

was captured after a combined attack by sea and land. The French squadron, under M. Tronjolly, was worsted by the English admiral Sir Edward Vernon, and quitted the coast by night; but the garrison, under M. Bellecombe, held out bravely, and availed themselves of every advantage derivable from the strong defences, which had been restored since their destruction in the course of the last war. A breach having been effected, and a combined assault planned by the troops under Sir Hector Munro, in conjunction with the marines and seamen, further resistance became hopeless; the place capitulated, and its fortifications were razed to the ground. The fortress and port of Mahé alone remained to the French. The territory in which they were situated (on the Malabar coast), beside being included in the recent conquests of Hyder, was the depôt for the military stores which he obtained from the Mauritius; he was therefore extremely anxious for its retention by its French possessors, and dispatched a vakeel (ambassador or envoy) to Madras, threatening the invasion of Arcot in the event of any hostile attempt on Mahé. The fortress was nevertheless besieged and taken in March, 1779, although the colours of Mysoor were hoisted on the walls with those of the French, and its troops assisted in the defence. The presidency were not without misgivings regarding the hazard incurred by these multiplied provocations, and Sir Thomas Rumbold made an effort to discover the intentions of Hyder, by dispatching to his court the missionary Swartz, the only ambassador he would consent to receive. "Send me the Christian," said Hyder; "he will not deceive me."* The reward of the envoy was to be some bricks and mortar, to build a church, from the stores at Tanjore.† These had been already promised for service rendered to government in his capacity of a linguist, but withheld from time to time. Hyder, who had ever been distinguished by discrimination of character, fully appreciated the singlemindedness and unaffected piety of his visitor, with whom he held frequent intercourse,‡ and suffered him to convey religious instruction to the European soldiers in his service, and to hold unrestricted communication, not only with them, but also with the native troops, through the medium of the Persian, Tamul, Mahratta, and Hindoostanee languages. Swartz refused to accept any gift from Hyder, even for his church, and on taking leave, stated with earnestness, that a desire for the prevention of war was the sole motive that had induced him to undertake a political mission, which, under the circumstances, he considered as in nowise derogatory to the office of a minister of God, who is a God of peace. "Very well, very well," said Hyder; "if the English offer me the hand of peace and concord, I shall not withdraw mine."

Swartz returned to Madras and related the verbal assurance, which qualified the written communication of which he was the bearer, wherein the various grievances sustained by the Mysoorean state, as well as by Hyder personally, from the time of the breach of faith regarding Trichinopoly in 1754, down to the recent offence of attempting to march an army, without even asking his sanction, through his recently acquired territory of Cudapah to that of Bassalut Jung at Adoni, were enumerated; with the ominous conclusion—"I have not yet taken revenge; it is no matter."

* Swartz had exerted his great personal influence very successfully for the peaceful and equitable settlement of Tanjore. Hyder had probably heard much in his favour; and his own opinion, formed from subsequent observation, was forcibly shown by the order issued in the Carnatic war, "to permit the venerable Father Swartz to pass unmolested and show him respect and kindness, for he is a holy man, and means no harm to my government."

† Private resources Swartz had none; little help could be expected from the Europeans of Madras, who, he says sorrowfully, could contribute 10,000 pagodas for a playhouse, "but to build a prayhouse people had no money." The immorality of nominal Christians, he considered the most serious obstacle to the conversion of the heathen; especially in the case of the rajah of Tanjore.—(Wilks, ii., 569.)

‡ Perhaps two more opposite characters never engaged in familiar converse than when the vindictive, ambitious, and merciless Hyder sat and talked with the gentle, self-denying, peace-loving missionary, in one of the stately halls of the palace of Seringapatam, overlooking gardens adorned with fountains, cypress groves, trees grafted so as to bear two kinds of fruit, and every refinement that luxury could suggest. Hyder appears to have made no attempt to disguise his barbarous system of administration; for Swartz speaks with horror of the dreadful tortures inflicted on the collectors of revenue if they failed, under any circumstances, to collect the stated revenue. "Although Hyder sometimes rewards his servants, yet the principal motive is fear. Two hundred people, with whips, stand always ready to use them. Not a day passes on which numbers are not flogged. Hyder applies the same cat to all transgressors alike,—gentlemen, horsekeepers, tax-gatherers, and his own sons;" but they are not dismissed, but continued in office; for Hyder, adds Swartz, "seems to think that almost all people who seek to enrich themselves are void of all principles of honour."

The authorities, immersed in the deadly stupor of indolence and venality, conducted themselves as if wholly indifferent to the threat thus significantly conveyed. Swartz found that he had been a mere tool, and that Hyder had appreciated more justly than himself the selfish duplicity of Sir Thomas Rumbold and his colleagues. Still persevering in the insulting affectation of a desire to preserve amity, they actually sent to the magnificent court of Mysoor—to a sovereign enriched with the spoil of principalities and provinces—a private person of no note as ambassador (Mr. Gray), bearing with him an ill-made English saddle (hogskin to a Mussulman!) and a rifle which loaded at the breech. The presents were declined as unworthy the giver or intended receiver; neither would Hyder grant a private audience to the envoy; but on learning, through one of his nobles, the desire of the presidency to form an alliance with him, he sent word that he had at one period earnestly and repeatedly solicited it without effect, but was now strong enough to stand alone.

The most alarming part of this defiant message is said to have been withheld by Sir Thomas Rumbold,* whose policy was at the time directed to carrying off an immense fortune safe to England. Taking leave of the council, he congratulated them on the prospect of peace at a moment when every nerve ought to have been strained to prepare for defence against invasion, and took his departure in time to avoid the receipt of the recall then on its way to India.† Among the political errors urged against him was the offence given to Nizam Ali, by compelling his brother and subject, Bassalut Jung, to make over the Guntoor Circar to the company in 1779, instead of suffering him to enjoy it for life, as agreed upon by the treaty of 1768; and then using this extorted concession as a means of gratifying the cupidity of Mohammed Ali, to whom this fine district was to be let in farm. Both the London directors and the Bengal authorities strove to assuage the anger of the Nizam at conduct which he was both able and willing to resent; but the Madras officials persisted in justifying their conduct in this respect, and also in endeavouring to repudiate the arrears of peshcush, or tribute, due for the other Circars, as warranted by their pecuniary necessities, and far less faulty in principle, than the breach of faith committed in withholding the tribute pledged to the emperor as a first charge upon the revenues of Bengal.

Hyder Ali had spies everywhere. He was perfectly aware of the ill-feeling existing between the controlling and subordinate governments, and made no secret of the hostile intentions and utter contempt he entertained towards the latter. The extraordinary apathy of the majority of the council, together with the violent measures used to stifle the representations of the few who advocated the adoption of immediate measures for the defence of the Carnatic, gave weight to his assertions that the time had arrived for all Indian powers to unite in expelling the one great European state which threatened to engulph every other. Now, in its moment of weakness, when the reins of authority were vested in incapable and selfish hands, a short and decisive struggle might, by the conjoined strength of Mohammedans and Hindoos, brought to bear against the common foe, be attended with such complete success as "to leave not a white face in the Carnatic." The confederacy advocated by Hyder was actually formed, and a plan laid down which, if all parties had carried out their pledge as he did his, might have gone far to realise the desired object. Mohammed Ali, for once a true prophet, foretold the coming storm; but in vain. The presidency persisted in declaring that the dark clouds which they could not deny overshadowed the political horizon, would pass away or be dissipated by the precautions of the Bengal council;—days, weeks, months elapsed, at a time when even hours of continued peace were of incalculable importance, without any attempts for reinforcing weak garrisons in important positions, or for making arrangements for the provisioning of troops, notwithstanding the obvious necessity of the latter measure in all cases of threatened invasion, especially by a foe whose desolating and destructive mode of warfare was proverbial. Yet the very man who had once before dictated terms at the gates of Madras, was treated as a mere braggart, even after he had actually crossed the frontier, and was approaching, with his two sons, at the head of above 80,000 men, supported by a large train of artillery and a considerable body of

* *Vide* Captain James Munro's *Coromandel Coast*, p. 130. Dr. Moodie's MSS., in library of E. I. Cy.

† A criminal prosecution was commenced against him in 1782, in the House of Commons, but adjourned from time to time, and eventually dropped.

Europeans (chiefly French), constituting, without doubt, the best-disciplined army ever marshalled by a native Indian power. At length the burning of Conjeveram, the largest village in the Carnatic (sixty miles from Fort St. George, and thirty-five from Arcot), and the testimony of numerous terrified and bleeding fugitives, closely followed by the sight of the much-dreaded predatory horse of the foe, prowling about amid the garden-houses round Mount St. Thomas, changed doubts, sneers, and cavils into unspeakable dismay, which the tidings of every successive hour tended to increase. Hyder pursued his favourite policy of creating a desert about the places he desired to conquer. Round Fort St. George he drew a line of merciless desolation, extending from thirty to thirty-five miles inland, burning every town and village to the ground, and inflicting indiscriminate mutilation on every individual who ventured to linger near the ashes. The wretched peasantry, victims of the quarrels of usurping powers, whose actions they could neither understand nor influence, were sacrificed by thousands by fire or the sword, while multitudes, doomed to more protracted suffering, were driven off in a whirlwind of cavalry into exile or slavery, frequently to both united;—the father torn from his virgin daughter; the husband from the wife; the mother borne away in the torrent, unable so much as to snatch her shrieking infant from the trampling hoofs of the snorting horses. Yes! Hyder was indeed at hand: dense clouds of smoke, mingled with flame, were the sure harbingers of his approach. The country-people fled, wild with terror, to Madras; and no less than 300,000 were suffered to take up their abode in the black town in the space of three days.

The assembling of the troops was evidently of the first importance. There was no lack of men or ammunition; but a grievous deficiency of discipline, and general discontent, engendered by the severe suffering inflicted by the non-payment of arrears.* A strong and united effort, by the local authorities, to relieve their wants and inspire confidence, was, however, all that was needed to restore their wonted efficiency; but so far from any decisive measures being taken, delays and disputes arose; for the commander-in-chief, Sir Hector Munro, could not be spared to take the head of the army, because his vote alone insured the supremacy in council of his own opinions and those of the president, Mr. Whitehill. Lord Macleod,† who had recently arrived from England with a highland regiment 1,000 strong, was desired to assume the command, but he positively refused to accept the responsibility of carrying out the hazardous plan devised by Munro, of uniting the main body with that absent in the Guntoor Circar, under Colonel Baillie, at the distant site of Conjeveram, and strongly urged the adoption of the more reasonable course suggested by the minority, of marshalling the forces with the least possible delay on St. Thomas' Mount. Munro, wedded to his project, determined to take the field in person, and actually proposed and carried that he should appoint a nominee to occupy his seat in council so long as it continued vacant. The opposition members indignantly reprobated this arrangement; and one of them (Mr. Sadleir) so provoked the majority, that they decreed his suspension, which was followed up by a challenge from Sir Hector.

The subsequent conduct of the campaign corresponded with this inauspicious commencement. In the very face of the enemy, when from Cape Comorin to the Kistna all was plunder, confusion, and bloodshed, the civil and military authorities continued to quarrel with each other. Munro persisted in attempting the junction of the troops in the centre of a country occupied by an enemy. He marched to Conjeveram with the main body, which comprised 5,209 men, of whom 2,481 were European infantry and 294 artillery, and there awaited the arrival of Colonel Baillie, whose force consisted of about 150 Europeans and 2,000 sepoys. Hyder was at the time engaged in besieging Arcot; but his invariable policy—from which the English general might have

* The force of the nabob alone, in 1776, was stated by Col. Matthews, before a Parl. Committee, to amount to 35,000 effective men. That of the presidency comprehended about 30,000; but even the English forces were on the brink of mutiny for want of pay. In 1777, a regiment completely equipped for service, and stationed a few miles from Hyder's frontier, seized Captain Campbell and their other officers, and were only brought to release them by the interference of Col. James, the commandant of Trichinopoly, who made himself personally responsible for the utmost extent of arrears he could provide funds to meet. The European officers and native troops under Colonel Fullarton, were, at a subsequent period, twelve months in arrear, and obtained their very food on credit.

† Lord Macleod afterwards quitted India, in consequence of Col. Stuart being placed over him.

learned a useful lesson—of directing his chief energies to the most prominent danger, induced him to send the flower of the army, under Tippoo, to intercept the detachment under Baillie, which was accomplished at a spot about fifteen miles distant from Conjeveram.

After a severe conflict of several hours, Baillie succeeded in repelling his assailants, but with so much loss, that he sent word to the general he could not join him unless reinforced in such a manner as to be capable of resisting the opposition of the enemy. He suggested that Munro himself should advance to the rescue; instead of which, the general thought fit again to divide his small army by sending forward a detachment under Colonel Fletcher, to strengthen that threatened by Tippoo.

The intelligence of Hyder regarding the plans and proceedings of the English, was as speedy and reliable as their information concerning him was tardy and misleading. His plot to surprise and destroy Colonel Fletcher on the march was, happily, neutralised by the discreet change of route ordered by that officer; and it is considered, that had the junction of the detachments been followed up, after a few hours' rest, by speedy movement, the conjoined troops might have made their way safely to Conjeveram. But needless delay gave time for Tippoo to fix cannon at a strong post on the road, and, worse still, for Hyder himself to advance in person and oppose their passage. The little band, both Europeans and sepoys, sustained furious and repeated assaults with extraordinary steadiness, inspired with the hope that Munro would take advantage of the opportunity to relieve them by attacking the foe in the rear. Hyder was not without apprehensions on this score, which were heightened by the representations of the French officers in his service, especially of Lally and Pimorin.* The fate of the day hung in suspense until two of the tumbrils blew up in the English lines, and at once deprived them of ammunition, and disabled their guns; they nevertheless maintained the contest for another hour and a-half. At the end of that time but 400 men remained, many of them wounded yet they still rallied round their leader, desiring to cut their way through the hostile ranks or perish in the attempt. But Colonel Fletcher lay dead on the field of battle, and Colonel Baillie, willing to save the lives of his brave companions, and despairing of relief from head-quarters, held up his handkerchief as a flag of truce. An intimation of quarter being given, the English laid down their arms; but had no sooner done so than a fierce onslaught was made by the enemy, and the whole of them would have been slain in cold blood, including even the native women and children who had accompanied the detachment, but for the interference of the French mercenaries. Baillie was brought, stiff with wounds, into the presence of his barbarous conqueror, and eventually perished in the prison of Seringapatam. About 200 Europeans were taken, of whom fifty were officers.† They were destined to linger long years in a captivity more terrible than death.

When tidings of this disaster reached Conjeveram, Munro threw his heavy guns and stores which could not be removed, into a tank, and retreated from that place to Chingleput, where he hoped to procure a supply of rice for the army; but being disappointed by the conjoined effect of Hyder's alertness and his own want of precautionary measures, he retreated to Madras. Here general consternation and alarm prevailed, aggravated by the utter want of provisions, military stores, or funds even to pay the troops, European or native; the latter, in the service of Mohammed Ali, deserted in whole regiments simply for that reason. The state of things seemed hopeless, when the vigorous measures of the supreme government at Bengal gave a new turn to affairs. The unfaltering courage and clear perceptions of Hastings were never exerted more advantageously than at this crisis. He had already instituted a negotiation with the Nizam for the restoration of the Guntoor Circar, the chief bone of contention; and he maintained a correspondence with the Mahratta ruler of Berar, Moodajee Bhonslay, which had the effect of rendering that chief unwilling to co-operate actively with his countrymen against the English, though he did not care openly to refuse joining the general confederacy. But these measures were manifestly insufficient to meet the present crisis. Hyder had followed up his success at Conjeveram by the siege and capture of Arcot. Wandewash, Vellore, Chingleput, and other bul-

* Lally was the commander of a small body of European mercenaries who had successively served Nizam Ali and Bassalut Jung, before entering the service of Hyder. Pimorin was a French officer.

† Of eighty-six officers, thirty-six were killed, thirty-four wounded, and sixteen surrendered unhurt.

warks of the Carnatic, were wretchedly provisioned and closely blockaded; while the numerous forts under the direct control of the nabob, Mohammed Ali, were, for the most part, surrendered without a blow, from the various and often concurrent causes of disgust at an incapable and extortionate master, corruption, and despondency. Such was the news brought to Calcutta by a swift-sailing ship, flying before the south-west monsoon. In twenty-four hours the governor-general's course was taken. Supplies of every description—of men, money, and provisions—were gathered in, and dispatched under the charge of the veteran general Sir Eyre Coote, whose very name was a host, and to whom the sole conduct of the war was to be entrusted; for Hastings, rightly deeming the emergency a justification for exerting the utmost stretch of authority, took upon himself to suspend Mr. Whitehill, the venal and incapable governor of Fort St. George.

On reaching Madras, Coote found at his disposal a force numbering altogether 7,000 men, of whom only 1,700 were Europeans. Despite the manifest disparity of numbers, he earnestly desired to bring Hyder to a regular engagement, believing that the danger to be incurred by such a proceeding would fall far short of that resulting from the waste of resources and dispiriting effects of the harassing hostilities carried on by his opponent in a country already desolated. The wary Mysoorean well knew the foe with whom he had now to cope, and neither taunts, threats, nor manœuvring, could induce him to risk a pitched battle. This very circumstance enabled the English to relieve Wandewash,* Permacoil, and other besieged places; but only for a time: the indefatigable foe marched off uninjured to blockade a different fortress, and Coote followed till his troops were well-nigh worn out.† At length a seeming evil procured the long-desired engagement; for Hyder, encouraged by the presence of a French fleet on the coast, intrenched his army in a strong post near Cuddalore, close to the village called by Europeans Porto Novo, and strove to intercept and cut off the supplies of the English, who had recently been repulsed in an attack on the pagoda of Chillambrum. Coote advanced boldly, and having discovered a means of approach for a portion of the troops by a passage through a ridge of sand-hills, formed by Hyder for his own use, the general contrived, by a series of simple yet skilful and admirably executed movements, to marshal his forces in the face of several heavy batteries, and finally succeeded, after a close and severe contest, in forcing the line of the enemy and fairly putting them to flight.

At the commencement of the battle (about nine o'clock on the morning of the 1st July, 1781), Hyder took up his position on a little hill commanding the scene of action, and there he sat until four in the afternoon, cross-legged, on a low stool, watching every movement made by or against the English, and so enraged by the unexpected progress of affairs, as to become stupid with vexation. Fourteen years before, when defeated by Colonel Smith,‡ he had been observed by the English officers, with cool self-possession, issuing orders for a retreat, in the manner of one who could afford to wait and bide his day of triumph. But Hyder was an old man now; a pampered tyrant, accustomed to tread on the necks of his fellow-beings; and he believed the time at length arrived to triumph over the power of the people by whom he had been long braved with impunity. The cup of revenge was at his lips; was it to be flung to the ground almost untasted? Considerations of this nature shut out from view all thought of personal danger, and rendered him deaf to the arguments offered to induce him to quit a position rapidly becoming extremely perilous. The nobles in attendance were silenced by the obscene abuse, always lavishly bestowed by their imperious master when out of temper; their horses and servants had disappeared in the general flight before the advancing foe; but Hyder remained seated until a groom, who through long and faithful service was in some sort a privileged man, came forward, and

* Wandewash was most gallantly defended by Lieut. Flint, who, notwithstanding very deficient resources, and without a single artilleryman, not only held his ground during seventy-eight days of open trenches against the flower of Hyder's army, but raised a little corps of cavalry, and procured provisions for his garrison and supplies for the main army.

† When urged by the British commander to decide the fortune of war by a pitched battle, Hyder is said to have replied—"What! put my chargers, worth more than one hundred rupees each, in competition with your cannon-balls, that only cost a few pice (halfpence.) No, no: you shall hear of me often, but see me never. I will keep you marching until your legs are as big as your bellies, and your bellies the size of your legs; and then you shall fight when I choose, not when you please."

‡ At Trincomalee, in 1767. (*See* p. 318.)

drawing the legs of Hyder from under him, thrust his slippers on his feet, and with blunt fidelity prevailed on him to rise, saying, "we will beat them to-morrow; in the meanwhile mount your horse." Hyder complied, and was out of sight in a few moments, leaving the discomfited group, around his stool of repentance, to save themselves as they best could. Luckily for them, the English had no cavalry wherewith to carry on the pursuit. The victory was, however, fraught with important consequences. It induced the hostile force to fall back upon Arcot. Sir Eyre Coote followed, and encouraged by previous success, ventured to attack Hyder near Polliloor, in a position which, besides great natural advantages, was held by the superstitious Mysoorean in particular estimation as a lucky spot, being that on which he had cut off the detachment under Baillie in the previous year. The British troops became furious at the sight of the unburied remains of their fallen comrades; but insurmountable obstacles retarded their advance. They could not get at the enemy; two tumbrils broke (as on the previous occasion); and to make the confusion greater, Sir Hector Munro, having received a hasty rebuke from Coote, sullenly seated himself beneath the only tree in the plain, and refused to issue a single command. The loss of the English was about 500 killed, including some officers; and the action would probably have terminated in a defeat, had their wily adversary suspected the existence of the dissension and confusion which temporarily prevailed in an army characterised by united action and steady discipline. The campaign ended with the surprise of the Mysooreans at the pass of Sholingur, on the road to Vellore: their loss was estimated at 5,000 men; while that of the English fell short of 100.

Meanwhile, an important change had taken place at Madras in the nomination of Lord Macartney as governor and president of Fort St. George. The appointment of a man of acknowledged talent and strict integrity was, doubtless, a great step towards abolishing the systematic venality which had long disgraced the presidency; and the earnest and straightforward manner in which the new ruler applied himself to his arduous and invidious task, justified the expectations entertained on his behalf. But the difficulties which surrounded him were great beyond expectation. Disastrous news awaited his arrival in June, 1781. First, that the Carnatic, which Sir Thomas Rumbold had represented in a most peaceful and promising condition, was actually occupied by a ruthless foe; secondly, that the means of defence had been vainly sought for by men possessed of the local experience in which he was of necessity wholly deficient; and thirdly, that the increasing scarcity which prevailed through the Carnatic, threatened to terminate in a terrible famine. Macartney was called on to decide how best to meet these difficulties without clashing with the extraordinary powers vested in the brave and indefatigable, but peevish and exacting General Coote, and still more with the supreme authority wielded by the seemingly conciliatory, but really dictatorial and jealous Hastings.

Lord Macartney brought to India intelligence of war with Holland; and despite the objections of Coote, who desired to see the whole force concentrated for the reconquest of Arcot, the Dutch settlements were attacked; Sadras, Pulicat, and Negapatam successively taken; after which the troops of Hyder began to evacuate the forts which they had occupied in Tanjore. But these successes were soon followed by renewed disasters. A French fleet arrived on the Coromandel coast in January, 1782, and after intercepting several vessels bound to Madras with grain, landed 3,000 men at Porto Novo, where Tippoo speedily joined them with a large body of troops. An English and native detachment, about 2,000 strong, stationed in Tanjore, under Colonel Brathwaite, misled by a system of false information carried on by the spies of Hyder, were surprised by a conjoined force under Tippoo and Lally, and after maintaining a desperate resistance for six-and-twenty hours, against an enemy who outnumbered them twenty to one, were at length completely surrounded, and either slain or captured. The conclusion of a peace with the Mahrattas being officially announced at Madras in the month of June, gave an opportunity for opening a similar negotiation with Hyder. The terms on which it had been obtained were not, however, of a nature to induce so wary a politician to make important concessions. The English, he well knew, had purchased peace by the surrender of almost all they had been fighting for—that is, by reverting to the terms of the indignantly repudiated treaty of Poorunder; and even these conditions had been made through the instrumen-

tality of the formidable and intriguing Sindia.* But Hyder desired an interval of tranquillity in which to settle a plan of combined operations with the French admiral Suffrein; he therefore proceeded to treat with Sir Eyre Coote, who remained in suspense until the vakeel from Mysoor was suddenly withdrawn, and the old general discovered that his whole stock of provisions had been consumed, while the troops were kept in a state of inactivity by the artifice of Hyder. The subsequent attempts of the English to force a battle were unavailing; and matters grew from bad to worse, until towards the close of the year, Coote, who had previously sustained a fit of apoplexy, now suffered a fresh seizure, which compelled him to resign the command to general Stuart, and retire to Bengal. Madras was by this time reduced to a terrible condition. The ravages of famine, after spreading over the whole Carnatic,† at length became felt in the presidency, and increased with alarming rapidity, until the number of deaths amounted to, and continued for several weeks, at from 1,200 to 1,500. The French appear to have been ignorant of the state of affairs; for they made no attempt to blockade the coast; and supplies from Bengal and the Northern Circars came in time to aid in preventing the scourge of pestilence from following the ravages of famine. Hyder Ali had ever been accurately informed regarding the condition of every leading English settlement, and would doubtless have not failed to take advantage of the condition of the capital of the presidency, but that his marvellous energies of mind and body, so long vouchsafed, so terribly misused, were fast failing. His health had been for some time declining, and, in November, symptoms appeared of a mortal disease described as peculiar to natives of high rank, and therefore called the raj-poora, or royal boil. He died at Chittore, in December, 1782,‡ leaving Tippoo§ to prosecute hostilities with the English. The defalcation of the Mahrattas had, it is said, led him to regret the confederacy he had formed, and even to regard it as the most impolitic act of his whole career. "I have committed a great error," he exclaimed with bitterness; "I have purchased a draught of seandee|| (worth about a farthing) at the price of a lac of pagodas. I can ruin their resources by land, but I cannot dry up the sea."¶ It would have been well for his successor had he profited by this dear-bought experience; but Tippoo, fierce, headstrong, and bigoted, was the last person in the world to gain wisdom on such easy terms. A leading characteristic of Hyder had been perfect toleration to every religious sect. Though quite capable of respecting the genuine piety of such a man as Swartz, he appears to have been himself devoid of any belief whatever; and alternately countenanced and joined in the ceremonial observances of the Mohammedans and Hindoos, and even the grossest forms of idolatry, superstition, and magical incantation performed by the latter, simply from motives of policy.

His cruelties, great and terrible as they were, resulted from the same cause, excepting only those prompted by his unbounded sensuality. Tippoo Sultan, on the contrary, had all the insatiable ferocity of the wild beast whose name he bore, when the fearful relish for human blood has once been acquired; and none of his victims could have suggested a more appropriate badge than the stripe of the royal tiger, which formed part of his insignia.** With him, the fiendish

* The price paid to Sindia was the surrender of the city of Broach and its dependencies. The arrangements referred to (commonly known as the *Treaty of Salbye*) were concluded in May, 1782.

† An eye-witness pathetically describes the manner in which the natives, "whose very excess and luxury, in their most plenteous days, had fallen short of our severest fasts—silent, patient, resigned without sedition or disturbance, almost without complaint," perished in multitudes.—(Moodie's *Transactions*.)

‡ It is said that Hyder, like Hamilcar, swore his son to wage incessant war against the English; but the truth of this assertion is doubtful.

§ The age of Hyder is very differently stated. Wilks (the best general authority regarding Mysoor) states that he was seven years old in 1728, which would make him about sixty at the time of his death; but Mill and other writers unanimously speak of him as attaining a far more advanced age; and the careful and accurate Thornton describes him as little younger than Aurungzebe.

|| Date wine, a cheap but very intoxicating liquor.

¶ *Mysoor*, ii., 373. Col. Wilks gives this strange confession on the authority of Poornea, the Hindoo minister, to whom it was addressed. Hyder, it must be recollected, had no ally on whom he could rely. The Mahrattas had forsaken him, and from the French he could only receive very partial aid, since he had predetermined, under no circumstances, to admit them in force to Mysoor.—(*Idem*, 374.) At a very critical period (March, 1782), Hyder resented the attempt of a French officer to take possession of Chillambrum, by turning him out of the fort, and the troops, having no bullocks, were actually compelled to drag their artillery back to Porto Novo!

** Tippoo Sultan is thought to have been named after a famous ascetic for whom Hyder Ali had a regard, and who had assumed this strange designation to signify sovereignty obtained over the tiger-like passions of the flesh.—(Wilks' *Mysoor*, ii., 567.)

delight of inflicting pain and degradation, physical and moral, seems to have been an instinct developed even in early boyhood.

In vain the stern reprimands of his dreaded father were frequently sounded in his ears; in vain the repeated infliction of corporal punishment by the long whips, which Hyder declared to be better security for good government than all the reading and writing in the world;—Tippoo could never be restrained from indulging the vicious tendencies which subsequently found vent in the form of religious persecution. He persisted in inflicting the outward mark of Islam on such Christians as fell in his power,* and insulted the peaceful Hindoo subjects of his father by wantonly defiling their places of worship, and slaying the animals they hold most sacred, especially the sacred bulls, which he recommended to his associates as the best possible beef. Yet Tippoo, stanch Mussulman as he deemed himself, and sworn foe to idolatry, was not the less a slave to the gross superstitions of which the Brahminical creed of modern times is so largely composed; and, like Hyder himself, he rarely failed, in commencing a difficult and dangerous undertaking, to have the *jebbum*—a strange species of magical incantation—performed on his behalf by the Hindoos, simultaneously with the offering up of prayers for success in the mosques.† Add to these characteristics that of an irrepressible tendency for pilfering and lying, and we have, perhaps, about as detestable a person as can well be conceived. In activity in battle, he is said to have surpassed his father, and to have equalled him in personal daring; but in every other more needful capacity of a despotic ruler, he was immeasurably inferior. His uncontested succession was ensured by the manœuvres of two Brahmins, the chief ministers of Hyder,‡ who concealed the death of the sovereign as long as possible, in order to give his heir time to return from his post on the western frontier of Mysoor, whither he had proceeded to repel the incursions of the English under Colonel Humberstone. Lord Macartney, on learning the late event, earnestly pressed the commander-in-chief (General Stuart) to take immediate advantage of the confusion likely to arise from a change of ruler. But here again the spirit of disunion, which prevailed to so remarkable an extent in the Madras presidency, forbade speedy and combined action. The general claimed to be allowed to exercise the same independent authority bestowed by the supreme government on Sir Eyre Coote, and the governor contended, as Hastings had done in Bengal, for the entire subordination of the military to the civil authority. The general, to vindicate his alleged right, took the course natural to an opiniated and narrow-minded man, of acting in direct opposition to the instructions given by the presidency; and during the remainder of this the first war with the new ruler of Mysoor, the very spirit of discord ruled in the senate, the camp, and the field, neutralising every success, and aggravating every disaster. By the urgent solicitations of Hastings, Coote was again induced to return to the Carnatic; although, before his departure from thence, some serious disputes had taken place between him and Lord Macartney, notwithstanding the care evinced by the latter to act in the most conciliatory manner. But the ill-defined authority vested in the Supreme Council of Bengal, in conjunction with the personal misunderstanding which unhappily existed between Hastings and Macartney,§ tended to mingle personal feelings with public questions; and the dissensions between them increased in violence, until the governor-general took the resolve not only of delegating to Sir Eyre Coote the uncontrolled conduct of the war, but also, in the event of determined resistance at Fort St. George, of enforcing that measure by the deposition of the president. The death of Coote, four days after landing at Madras,‖

* When a youth, his father punished him severely for having inflicted circumcision on an English soldier, at a time when he was anxious to conciliate the good-will of the Madras presidency.

† The Jebbum, though purely a Hindoo ceremonial, was frequently resorted to by Mohammedans; one, of which the details are on record, is said to have cost Mohammed Ali £5,000, which he did not grudge, since *it killed Lord Pigot;* and another, after several failures, produced the death of Hyder himself.—(Wilks' *Mysoor*, ii., 255.)

‡ The chief ministers, relatively speaking; for Hyder was himself the acting head of every department.

§ The spotless integrity of Lord Macartney was a standing reproach to Hastings, who in dealing with him completely lost his temper. Thus, in a communication dated 13th of April, 1783, he desires Lord Macartney to explain some misunderstanding which had arisen on an official subject, adding as a reason, "if you consider the estimation of a man [the governor-general of India writing to the head of a subordinate presidency!] so inconsiderable as I am deserving of attention."—(*Life*, ii., 63.)

‖ During the voyage, Coote was chased for two days and nights by a French ship of the line; and the agitation caused thereby accelerated his death.

perhaps prevented intestine strife; for Lord Macartney, though courteous and moderate, was by no means inclined to submit tamely to the lot of his predecessor, Lord Pigot. In all other respects the loss of the experienced general was a severe calamity. Despite the irritation and excitability consequent on ill-health, with other failings less excusable—such as extravagance as a commander, and covetousness in his private capacity—he possessed a degree of activity, precision, and experience far beyond any of his compeers; besides which, a frank soldierly manner, aided by the charm of old association, and his own strong attachment to the troops, rendered him beloved by the army in general, and especially by the native soldiers. Many a white-haired sepoy, in after times, loved to dwell on the service they had seen under "Coote Bahadur;" and offered, with glistening eye and faltering voice, a grateful tribute to his memory, while making a military salutation to the portrait of the veteran, suspended in the Madras exchange. The death of Coote was nearly simultaneous with the arrival of M. de Bussy. He had been long expected; but his plans had been twice disconcerted by the capture of the convoy destined to support him, by Admiral Kempenfelt, in December, 1781. A similar disaster occurred in April, 1782; and when, after much delay, he reached the Carnatic in the following June, he found a conjuncture of affairs awaiting him by no means favourable to his views. Hyder was dead, and Tippoo absent on an expedition for the recovery of Bednore, which had surrendered to an English force under General Matthews. This enterprise, which unforeseen circumstances alone rendered successful, had been undertaken for the express purpose of withdrawing the Mysooreans from Arcot. The object was accomplished, but the expected advantages were greatly lessened by the previous ill-advised destruction of the forts of Wandewash and Carangoli, which had been demolished by the for once united decision of Lord Macartney and General Stuart, although almost every military opinion, from that time to the present, has pronounced the measure premature, if not wholly inexpedient. Considerable pecuniary acquisitions were expected to be realised from the capture of Bednore; but these anticipations proved delusive,—whether owing to the large sums carried off by the native governor (himself the intended victim of Tippoo),* or whether from the peculation of English officers, is a disputed question. The place was only retained about three months, at the end of which time it was captured by Tippoo, who having (by his own account) discovered that the English officers, in violation of the terms of capitulation dictated by him, were carrying away treasure and jewels to a large amount, caused them all to be marched off in irons to different prisons, where they endured a rigorous and dreary captivity, terminated, in the case of Matthews and several others, by a cruel death.

Meanwhile Bussy, disappointed in the hope of joining the main body of the Mysoorean army under Tippoo, concentrated his force at Cuddalore, which was subsequently invested by General Stuart. It was of evident importance to use the utmost expedition in order to forestal the large reinforcements expected from France, and which did eventually arrive. Nevertheless, Stuart, although compelled to some degree of obedience to the Madras government, contrived to neutralise their plans by marching at the rate of three miles a-day, and thus occupied forty days, instead of the usual period of twelve, in reaching Cuddalore. The siege,† when commenced, proved long and sanguinary; and in an attack which took place on the 13th of June, 1783, the English lost upwards of 1,000 men. M. de Suffrein arrived shortly after, and landed a body of 2,400 men to strengthen the garrison; but Stuart had recklessly determined to carry out the commands of the presidency as literally as possible; and all the British troops entrusted to his charge, including a detachment under Colonel Fullarton, which had marched to his aid from Tanjore, would probably have been sacrificed to the spleen of one unprincipled man, but for the arrival of orders for the immediate cessation of hostilities, in consequence of the peace newly concluded between France and Eng-

* The governor was a chelah, or slave, named Sheik Ayaz, to whom Hyder had been so strongly attached, that he repeatedly declared he wished he had begotten him instead of Tippoo. The consequence was, Tippoo cordially hated Ayaz, and had arranged to put him to death; but the letter being intercepted, the intended victim hastened to make his escape.

† Bernadotte, afterwards Crown Prince of Sweden, was captured in a midnight sally made by the garrison. He was treated with great kindness by General Wangenheim, commandant of the Hanoverian troops in the English service; and in later life, when their relative positions were strangely altered, the general had ample reason to remember, with satisfaction, the compassion he had evinced towards the wounded sergeant.—(Wilks, ii., 442.)

land. This intelligence, at an equally opportune moment, reached the troops engaged in the defence of Mangalore, which, though a place of very inferior strength, had stood a siege of fifty-six days, the defence being directed by Colonel Campbell, the attack by Tippoo himself, who had proceeded thither with the main body after taking Bednore. The French envoy, Peveron, is accused of having kept back the intelligence he came to bring, in order to enable Tippoo to retain the aid of Cossigny (the French engineer), Lally, and Boudenot. The declaration could, at length, be no longer withheld. Cossigny quitted the Mysoor army, and insisted on his companions withdrawing likewise. Tippoo was beyond measure enraged by what he considered nothing short of treacherous desertion; and his late allies, as the sole means of escaping unhurt by his resentment, were glad to avail themselves of the protection of the English. After some unsuccessful attempts to carry the place by his own unassisted strength, he agreed to an armistice, to extend over the coast of Malabar. One leading condition was the supply of a stated monthly allowance of provisions to Mangalore, sufficient for the use of the garrison without trenching on their previous stock. This stipulation was broken by his furnishing articles deficient in quantity and deleterious in quality: no salt was sent, and many of the sepoys, Colonel Wilks affirms, became actually blind, as well as affected by various other ailments, in consequence of being compelled to eat rice in its simple, undigestible state, without the addition of any of the usual condiments. The Madras government were extremely anxious to conclude a peace; and to this circumstance, as also to the want of union among those in command, may be attributed the supineness of General Macleod and the scruples which prevented his effective interposition for the succour of Mangalore, which, after nearly a nine months' siege, fell before its cruel and perfidious foe. Colonel Campbell died soon after, overwhelmed with fatigue and disappointment. Tippoo had succeeded in his immediate object of proving to the native Indian powers his sufficiency to effect that which had baffled the skill and discipline of his French auxiliaries: in every other respect he had little reason to congratulate himself on the conquest of an inconsiderable place, purchased by a long and costly siege, which, besides having hindered his attention to the affairs of his own dominions, had left the English free to gain considerable advantages in other quarters. The misconduct of General Stuart, in the expedition to Cuddalore, had filled the measure of his offences, and induced the governor and council to order his arrest and forcible embarkation for England.* After this decisive measure matters took a different and far more favourable turn.

The abilities of Mr. Sulivan, the resident at Tanjore, and of colonels Lang and Fullarton, had been successfully exerted in various ways. Caroor and Dindegul, Palgaut and Coimbatore, were captured; and Colonel Fullarton was even preparing to ascend the Ghauts and march on Seringapatam, when he received tidings of a treaty of peace concluded between Tippoo Sultan and the Madras government, on the basis of a mutual restoration of conquests. The so-called peace was, however, but a hollow truce, to which nothing but fear of the Mahrattas and the Nizam had driven the sultan. Throughout the whole of the negotiations he behaved in the most insulting manner to the British commissioners,† who had been inveigled to his court to be held up in the light of suitors for peace; and even when the treaty was concluded, the fulfilment of his pledge of restoring his captives to liberty, gave fresh occasion for resentment, by revealing the treatment to which they had been subjected. Hyder had shown little humanity in his dealings with English prisoners, whom he kept in irons, chained in pairs, because "they were unruly beasts, not to be kept quiet in any other way." But Tippoo Sultan far surpassed his father in barbarity, and the English learned, with horror and indignation, that many officers distinguished by rank, skill, or bravery, had been poisoned or assassinated in their dungeons; that others, especially the younger of these unfortunates, had suffered torture and ignominy of a revolting description; and that even the most fortunate among the captives had sustained close confinement in loathsome dens, their beds the damp ground; with food so miserably insufficient, as to give scope for the untiring fidelity and self-devotion of their native companions in affliction, to show itself by the frequent sacrifice of a portion of the scanty pittance

* One of the sons of Mohammed Ali expressed his view of the matter in broken English, by declaring "General Stuart catch one Lord [Pigot], one Lord [Macartney] catch General Stuart."

† Messrs. Sadleir, Staunton, and Hudleston.

allowed for their maintenance, in return for unremitting labour, to mend the fare of the European soldiers.*

The treaty entered into with Tippoo by the Madras authorities was transmitted to Bengal, and signed by the Supreme Council, on whom the full powers of government had devolved, owing to the absence of Mr. Hastings at Lucknow. On his return to Calcutta, Hastings found much fault with the treaty, especially because it made no mention of the nabob of Arcot. He drew up a new one, and peremptorily commanded the Madras authorities to forward it to Tippoo. Macartney positively refused compliance; Hastings could not compel it; and so the matter ended.

Close of Hastings' Administration.—Before the commencement of the war with Hyder, the financial condition of every one of the three presidencies had become seriously embarrassed. In August, 1780, the Supreme Council had been under the necessity of contracting a new debt, and when to this heavy burden on the Bengal revenues an additional one was added by the costly military operations required for the defence of the Carnatic, the governor-general felt compelled to announce to the directors the probability of a total suspension of the investment, unless the purchase-money were sent from England. Nothing short of the most absolute necessity could, however, induce Hastings to endanger his standing with the Court of Proprietors, by the execution of so unpopular a measure, while any source of supply remained available; yet such as there were had been already severely taxed. The nabob of Oude and the rajah of Benares were tributary princes. Viewed in this light, they were bound in all cases of difficulty to furnish assistance to the superior and protecting state. The degree of co-operation to be afforded was an open question, which Mr. Hastings, who now held undisputed sway in Bengal, thought fit to decide in person, and, with that intent, proceeded to the wealthy, populous, and venerated city of Benares. The rajah, Cheyte Sing, was the son and successor of Bulwunt Sing, whose alliance the English had courted during the war with Shuja Dowlah. The usurping nabobs of Oude had asserted the claim of the sword over the district of which Benares forms the capital, on the plea of its being a district dependent on their government. Bulwunt Sing made common cause with the English; and on the conclusion of peace, an article was expressly inserted to secure him from the vengeance and cupidity of the nabob-vizier. This proved increasingly difficult; until at length, in 1774, it was proposed by Mr. Hastings, as the sole mode of protecting the rajah, to insist on his being declared independent of Oude, and tributary to Bengal. A stated sum was fixed to be paid annually, and the Supreme Council unanimously decreed that no more demands of any kind should be made upon him on behalf of the company. Cheyte Sing forwarded the tribute to Patna with remarkable regularity; nevertheless, in 1778, the necessities of the presidency were considered to justify a demand for a heavy contribution (five lacs of rupees) to be furnished immediately. The rajah pleaded poverty, and asked for time; but troops were sent against him, and he was compelled to furnish the sum originally demanded, with a fine of £2,000 for military expenses. He had, unhappily, incurred the personal enmity of the governor-general, by courting Clavering and Francis during their brief day of power; and the offence was one Hastings was little disposed to let pass unpunished. In 1780, the system of exaction commenced against Cheyte Sing, was continued by a new demand of five lacs, from which he endeavoured to gain relief by arguments and supplications, enforced by a private offering of two lacs, which Mr. Hastings accepted, not as a part of the contribution, but as a distinct item, and then proceeded as before to exact the five lacs, with an additional mulct or fine of £10,000, for the trouble of compelling payment. In 1781, the unfortunate rajah was again importuned for supplies of money and troops; but this time unreasonable demands appear to have been made, simply with the object of provoking conduct which was to serve as a plea for the complete confiscation of his whole possessions. The amount now demanded was not to be less than fifty lacs, with a contingent of 1,000 men. The rajah be-

* Their exemplary conduct is the more deserving of admiration from the severe trials to which their fidelity had been recently exposed, as recorded in the pages of Wilks, Fullarton, and other military authorities. The mismanagement of the finances of the Carnatic had told fearfully on the condition of the army; even veteran sepoys, who had served under Clive, were but imperfectly, if at all provided for. Colonel Fullarton expressly states, that the natives under his command were nearly twelve months in arrear, and that many were driven to such extremities as to be compelled to sell their children into slavery to save themselves from starvation.—(*View of English Interests in India*, 1782 to 1784; pp. 98—201.)

haved with remarkable moderation: he doubtless guessed the views entertained by Hastings—either the seizure of his forts with their contents, or the sale of his dominions to the ruler of Oude; and he left no means untried to avert, by submission, evils which it was hopeless to combat by force. On the approach of the governor-general, he went to meet him with every demonstration of respect; and, in token of entire submission, laid his turban on the lap of the reserved and impassive Englishman, the last act of humiliation in a country, where, to be bare-headed, is considered unspeakable degradation. This conduct did not check, perhaps it accelerated the extreme measures adopted by Hastings, who asserted that besides falsely pleading poverty, the rajah was really plotting to become perfectly independent of the presidency; but to this charge his youth and inexperience afford the best contradiction, when viewed in conjunction with the unresisting manner in which he suffered the governor-general to take possession of Benares, though attended by a very slender escort, and even to go the length of arresting and confining him to his own palace. The two companies of sepoys placed on guard there, were not provided with ammunition, so little was any resistance anticipated on the part of this incipient rebel. The people were expected to witness, with indifference, the change of rulers. On the contrary, they were rendered desperate by an aggression which involved the downfall of one of their own race and religion, to be followed by the transfer of the sacred city and its fertile environs into the hands of aliens, who had no sympathies with their creed, and no interest in their welfare. Great crowds assembled round the palace and blocked up all the avenues; and before reinforcements with ammunition could arrive to support the sepoy guard, a furious attack had been made, in which the greater part perished. The rajah, so far from coming forth to head the mob, took advantage of the confusion to make his escape, and was let down the steep bank of the Ganges, by means of turbans tied together, into a boat which conveyed him to the opposite shore. The multitude rushed after him, leaving the palace to be occupied by the English troops. Had they at once proceeded in search of Hastings, no effective resistance could have been offered, since he had no protection beyond that of the thirty gentlemen of his party and fifty armed sepoys. Cheyte Sing had, however, no thought of organised operations against his persecutor, and he sent repeated apologies, and offers of the most complete submission, all of which were treated with contemptuous disregard. The numbers of the insurgents continued to increase; the building in which the English party had taken up their abode was blockaded, and the sole means of conveying intelligence to Bengal was by the subtlety of native messengers, who, taking advantage of the custom of laying aside in travelling their large golden earrings, because tempting to thieves, placed on this occasion not the ordinary quill or roll of blank paper in the orifice, but dispatches from Hastings to the commanders of British troops to come to his rescue.. Before these orders could be executed, affairs assumed a still more menacing aspect. A slight skirmish, brought on by a premature attack made by an English officer, at the head of a small body of men, on Ramnagur, a fortified palace beyond the river, terminated in the death of the leader, and many of his followers by the hands of the people of Benares. The survivors retreated; and Hastings, alarmed for his own safety, fled by night to the fortress of Chunar, leaving the wounded sepoys behind. The excitement spread for hundreds of miles; the husbandman quitted the field, the manufacturer his loom, and rallied round Cheyte Sing; the oppressed population of Oude rose against the misgovernment of Asuf Dowlah and his English allies; and even Bahar seemed ripe for revolt. The rajah at length assumed a haughty and defiant tone; but the absence of skill or discipline rendered the tumultuary force thus voluntarily assembled utterly incapable of taking the field against a European army, and the troops, under Major Popham, were everywhere victorious. The fastnesses of the rajah were stormed, his adherents, to the number of 30,000, forsook his standard, and returned to their ordinary avocations, while their late ruler quitted the country for perpetual exile. Benares was annexed to the British dominions. To save appearances, a relation of the banished ruler was appointed rajah, but, like the nabob of Bengal, he became a mere stipendiary, removable at the pleasure of the presidency. This tyrannical procedure completely failed in promoting the avowed object of Hastings—the attainment of a large sum of ready money; for, notwithstanding the indignities used in searching even the

persons as well as the wardrobes of the mother, wife, and other females of the family of Cheyte Sing (in violation of the articles of capitulation), the booty realised was not only unexpectedly small (£250,000 to £300,000), but was wholly appropriated as prize-money by the army.* Thus the immediate effect of the expedition was to enhance the difficulties it was intended to relieve, by the expenses attendant on putting down a revolt wantonly provoked; and so far from meeting the approbation of the company, the conduct pursued towards the rajah was denounced as "improper, unwarrantable, and highly impolitic." Nevertheless, the war into which Cheyte Sing had been driven was held to justify his expulsion from Benares; and the positive declaration of Hastings, that an order for the reinstatement of the rajah would be regarded by him as the signal for his own instant resignation of office, probably prevented any step being taken to make amends for past wrongs.

The next expedient adopted to fill the empty treasury of Calcutta, was more successful in its results, but, if possible, more discreditable in character. Asuf-ad-Dowlah, the successor of Shuja Dowlah, was a young man, not devoid of a certain description of ability† and kindly feeling; but his better qualities were neutralised by an amount of indolence and sensuality, which rendered him a political nobody in the sight of the presidency, and a severe scourge to his subjects by reason of the extortions and cruelty perpetrated in his name by unworthy favourites. Already sundry concessions (such as the Benares tribute) had been extorted from him, which Hastings would never have so much as proposed to his father; and these, together with general misgovernment and extravagance, had reduced the treasury of Oude to a condition which left its master little to fear from the rapacity of his neighbours. Continued drought had heightened his distress, by diminishing the power of the people to meet the heavy taxation demanded from them; and he found himself unable to pay any portion of the arrears of his own mutinous troops, much less to maintain the costly detachment and the long train of officials, civil as well as military, forced upon him by the English.

In an evil hour he sought counsel with the governor-general at Chunar, pleaded poverty, and gave as one, among many reasons for inability to fulfil the heavy conditions into which he had been led to enter, the large proportion of his father's wealth bequeathed to his mother and grandmother. These princesses had been uniformly treated by Shuja Dowlah with the highest consideration and respect: his wife, especially, had won his entire confidence by repeated evidences of energetic and devoted affection. During his lifetime the chief direction of his pecuniary affairs had been entrusted to her management, and, after his death, the two ladies remained in possession of certain extensive jaghires, with other property, to a large extent; not for their exclusive use, but for the maintenance of the rest of his family and those of preceding nabobs, amounting (including female retainers of all kinds) to about 2,000 persons. The profligate prince had early coveted the inheritance of his relatives, and he continued to exact contributions from them, until his mother, wearied and alarmed by his importunities and injurious treatment, consented to surrender an additional sum of thirty lacs, on condition of his signing a formal pledge, guaranteed by the Supreme Council of Bengal, that she should be permitted to enjoy her jaghires and effects exempt from further persecution. This covenant, effected through the mediation of Bristowe, the English resident at Lucknow, was approved of and confirmed by the majority then dominant in Calcutta. Hastings disapproved, but being in the minority, could offer no effective opposition. In 1781, when his authority became again (for a time) supreme, he scrupled not to set aside all former promises by empowering the nabob

* Hastings would seem to have outwitted himself in this matter. The wife of Cheyte Sing was a person of high character, much-beloved and esteemed, and safety and respect for her person, together with those of the other ladies of the family of the ill-fated rajah, were among the express terms of capitulation. Yet Hastings was unmanly enough to question the "expediency of the promised indulgence to the ranee," and to suggest that she would "contrive to defraud the captors of a considerable portion of the booty, by being suffered to retire without examination." The intimation did not pass unheeded. The defenceless ladies were subjected to the insulting search of four females, but with what effect does not appear; and their persons were further insulted by the licentious people and followers of the camp. But the officers and soldiery maintained that Hastings had expressly made over to them the whole profits of this nefarious transaction, and would not so much as lend a portion to government. The share of the commander-in-chief was £36,000.—(Mill, Moodie, &c.)

† *Vide* the charming stanzas translated by Heber.

to take possession of the jaghires of both princesses, as a means of paying his debts to the company; and, as a further assistance, the English troops, whose maintenance pressed heavily on the Oude revenues, were to be withdrawn. Mr. Hastings asserted, in justification of his conduct, that the begums had evinced an inclination to take part with Cheyte Sing; but the accusation is improbable in itself, and unsupported by any reliable evidence: their other alleged fault—of embarrassing the government of the nabob—was contradicted by the statements repeatedly forwarded by the English resident, of the persecutions endured by them at the hands of the local authorities. Asuf-ad-Dowlah (who, ever since the covenant signed in 1775, had been repeatedly violating it in different ways) was at first delighted at having his refractory relatives deprived of the protection to which they had constantly appealed; but on quitting Chunar, and regaining his own dominions, he began to consider the matter in a different light. Unsupported by the plausible reasoning of Hastings, the proposed plan of despoiling his mother and grandmother appeared fraught with ignominy; and Mr. Middleton (who had been recently restored to the position of British resident) described, in the strongest terms, the almost unconquerable repugnance evinced by the nabob towards the violent measures agreed on at Chunar. He was peremptorily informed, that in the event of his continued refusal, the seizure of the jaghires and personal property of the begums would be accomplished by the English without his co-operation. The weak and vacillating prince, fearful of the effect such an assumption of authority by foreigners might produce on the minds of his subjects, reluctantly consented to accompany the expedition sent to attack the princesses in their own territory, in the commencement of the year 1782. The town and castle of Fyzabad (the second place in Oude) were occupied without bloodshed, the avenues of the palace blocked up, and the begums given to understand that no severities would be spared to compel the complete surrender of their property. But here a serious obstacle presented itself. Even Middleton doubted what description of coercion could be effectually adopted, without offering an offence of the most unpardonable description to the whole native population; for the ladies were hedged in by every protection which rank, station, and character could confer, to enhance the force of opinion which, on all such occasions, is in the east so strong and invariable, "that no man, either by himself or his troops, can enter the walls of a zenana, scarcely in the case of acting against an open enemy, much less the ally of a son acting against his own mother."* In this dilemma it was deemed advisable to work upon the fears and sympathies of the begums in the persons of their chief servants, two eunuchs, who had long been entrusted with the entire management of their affairs. There is, perhaps, no page in Anglo-Indian history so deeply humiliating to our national feelings, as that which records the barbarities inflicted on these aged men, during a period of nearly twelve months. Certainly no other instance can be found equally illustrative of the false varnish which Hastings habitually strove to spread over his worst actions, than the fact that, after directing the mode of dealing with the eunuchs—by rigorous confinement in irons, total deprivation of food, and, lastly, by direct torture;† after inciting the indirect persecution of the princesses and the immense circle of dependants left to their charge by the nabob-vizier, by cutting off their supplies of food and necessaries;‡—after quarrelling with and dismiss-

* Middleton's defence. *Vide* House of Commons Papers, March, 1781; and Mill's *India*, vol. iv.

† The account of these disgraceful proceedings is very fragmentary, but amply sufficient to warrant the assertions made in the text. Three principal facts are on record. The first is a letter from Middleton to the English officer on guard, dated January, 1782, desiring that the eunuchs should "be put in irons, kept from all food," &c. The second is a letter from the same officer to the president, pleading the sickly condition of his prisoners as a reason for temporarily removing their chains, and allowing them to take a little exercise in the fresh air. This was refused, and the captives were removed to Lucknow. The third communication, addressed still by one company's servant to another, is a direct order for the admission of torturers to "inflict corporal punishment" on two aged prisoners accused of excessive fidelity to their mistresses; and lest the feelings of a British officer should rise against the atrocities about to be inflicted, an express injunction was added, that the executioners were to have "free access to the prisoners, and to be permitted to do with them whatever they thought proper."—(*Idem.*)

‡ The women of the zenana were at various times on the eve of perishing for want; and on one occasion the pangs of hunger so completely overpowered the ordinary restraints of custom, that they burst in a body from the palace and begged for food in the public bazaar, but were driven back with blows by the sepoys in the service of the E. I. Cy.—(Dr. Moodie's *Transactions*, p. 455.) Major Gilpin, the commandant of the guard, humanely advanced 10,000 rupees for the relief of these unfortunates.

ing his favourite *employé* Middleton, for having been backward in conducting a business from which a gaoler of Newgate prison might turn with disgust,—he, nevertheless, when it became advisable to adopt lenient measures (since no further payments could be extorted by cruelty), had the consummate hypocrisy to remove the guard from the palace of the begums, and release the eunuchs, on the express understanding that their sufferings had proceeded from the nabob and his ministers, but their release from his own compassionate interference. The previous ill-feeling justly entertained by the princesses and their adherents against Asuf-ad-Dowlah, probably lent some countenance to this untruth; and the commanding officer by whom the eunuchs were set at liberty, described, in glowing terms, the lively gratitude expressed by them towards their supposed liberator. "The enlargement of the prisoners, their quivering lips and tears of joy, formed," writes this officer, "a truly affecting scene." He adds a remark, which could scarcely fail to sting the pride, if not the conscience, of one so susceptible of censure in disguise—"If the prayers of these poor men will avail, you will, at the last trump, be translated to the happiest regions in heaven."* In the benefits to be derived from the recent despoliation, Hastings hoped to share largely, for he expected that the E. J. Cy., in gratitude for an accession of £600,000 to their exhausted treasury, would cheerfully assent to his appropriation of the additional sum of £100,000, which he had actually obtained bonds for from Asuf-ad-Dowlah at Chunar. An extortion like this, committed at a time when the excessive poverty and heavy debts of the nabob-vizier, the clamours of his unpaid troops, and the sufferings of the mass of the people, were held forth in extenuation of the oppression of his mother and grandmother, together with other acts of tyrannous aggression, needs no comment. The directors positively refused to permit his detention of the money, and, moreover, commanded that a rigorous investigation should be instituted into the charges of disaffection brought against the begums; and that, in the event of their innocence being proved, restitution should be made. Hastings strongly deprecated this equitable measure. He urged that the evidence offered under such circumstances would be sure to be favourable to persons whose cause should be so manifestly upheld by the company; and supported his views on the subject by many characteristic arguments, such as its being unsuitable to the majesty of justice to challenge complaint. A compromise was effected; the nabob, at his own urgent desire, was permitted to restore the jaghires wrested from his relatives; while the ladies, on their part, thankful for even this scanty justice, "made a *voluntary* concession of a large portion of their respective shares" of the newly-restored rents.†

This transaction is the last of any importance in the administration of Warren Hastings.‡ Various causes appeared to have concurred to render him as anxious to resign as he had once been to retain his post. The absence of his wife, to whom he was tenderly attached, and his own failing health, had doubtless their share in rendering him weary of a task, the difficulties of which had been lately increased by a change in the council-board calculated to destroy the despotic power essential to the policy of a ruler, whose measures, however cleverly planned and boldly executed, were rarely of a character to bear impartial, much less hostile criticism. Beside these reasons, his opponents suggested that of recent private extortions from the nabob-vizier; and it cannot be forgotten, that although he pleaded urgent necessity as an inducement for the directors to suffer him to appropriate the bonds obtained at Chunar, yet, about three years later, he was enabled, notwithstanding his habitual extravagance, to bring home a fortune avowedly not far short of £100,000, apart from the costly jewels exhibited by Mrs. Hastings, and the well-furnished private purse which there are grounds for believing her to have possessed.

The prolonged administration of Hastings, his winning manner, and conversance with native languages, together with the imposing effect of the state by which he had, from motives of policy, thought fit to surround himself, made a deep impression on the minds of the Indian population. I have myself met with ballads, similar to those alluded to by Heber and Macaulay, which commemorate the swift steeds and richly-caparisoned elephants of "Sahib Hushting;" they likewise record his victory over Nuncomar who refused to do him homage.

* Parl. Papers, quoted by Mill, iv., 458.

† Letter of Hastings to council, 1784. They gave rich gifts to Mrs. Hastings, in the form of chairs and couches of exquisitely carved ivory, &c.

‡ Except a heavy exaction from Fyzoolla Khan.

The Indian version of the story makes, however, no mention of the accusation of forgery, but resembles rather the scripture story of Haman and Mordecai, with a different ending. The Bengalees possibly never understood the real and lasting injury done them by Hastings, in fastening round their necks the chains of monopoly, despite the opposition of his colleagues, and contrary to the orders of the company. Once fully in operation, the profits of exclusive trade in salt and opium* became so large, that its renunciation could spring only from philanthropy of the purest kind, or policy of the broadest and most liberal character. With his countrymen in India, Warren Hastings was in general popular. It had been his unceasing effort to purchase golden opinions; and one of the leading accusations brought against him by the directors, was the wilful increase of governmental expenses by the creation of supernumerary offices to provide for adherents, or to encourage those already in place by augmented salaries. His own admissions prove, that attachment to his person, and unquestioning obedience to his commands, were the first requisites for subordinates; and the quiet perseverance with which he watched his opportunity of rewarding a service, or revenging a "personal hurt," is not the least remarkable feature in his character.

He quitted India in February, 1785. Notwithstanding the unwarrantable measures adopted by him to raise the revenues and lessen the debts of the company, he failed to accomplish these objects, and, on the contrary, left them burdened with an additional debt of twelve-and-a-half million, and a revenue which (including the provision of an European investment) was not equal to the ordinary expenses of the combined settlements.† Doubtless, great allowance must be made for the heavy drain occasioned by the pressing wants of the Bombay and Madras presidencies, and decided commendation awarded for the energetic steps taken to avert the ruin in which the Mahratta war and the invasion of Hyder threatened to involve these possessions: but it is equally true, that the double-faced and grasping policy of the governor-general tended to neutralise the benefit of his courage and decision, and, as in the case of Lord Pigot, fomented, instead of allaying, the evils of dissension and venality, which were more destructive to the interests of the E. I. Cy. than any external opposition.

Had Hastings resolved to abide by the conviction which led him on one occasion to exclaim, that he "wished it might be made felony to break a treaty," the consequences would have been most beneficial both to India and to England, and would, at the same time, have saved him long years of humiliation and anxiety. He little thought that the Rohilla war, the sale of Allahabad and Oude, and the persecution of the begums, would rise in judgment against him on his return to his native land,—bar his path to titles and offices of state, and compel him to sit down in the comparatively humble position which had formed the object of his boyish ambition, as master of Daylesford, the ancient estate of his family.

But Francis, now a member of parliament, had not been idle in publishing the evil deeds which he had witnessed without power to prevent; and Burke, whose hatred of oppression equalled his sympathy for suffering, brought forward the impeachment as a question which every philanthropist, everyone interested in the honour of England or the welfare of India, was bound to treat as of vital importance. Political motives, of an exceptionable character, on the part of the ministers, favoured the promoters of the trial; and after many tedious preliminaries, Warren Hastings appeared at the bar of the House of Lords, and knelt before the tribunal of his country, in presence of one of the most remarkable assemblages ever convened in the great hall of William Rufus. Of the brilliant aristocracies of rank, talent, wealth, and beauty, of which England then boasted, few members were absent. The queen and princesses had come to witness the impeachment of a subject known to

* The 12th article of impeachment against Hastings set forth, "that he granted to Stephen Sulivan, son of Lawrence Sulivan, chairman of the Court of Directors, a contract for four years for the provision of opium; that in order to pay for the opium so provided, he borrowed large sums at an interest of eight per cent., at a time when he declared the drug could not be exported with profit; and yet he sent it to China, which was an act of additional criminality, *as he knew that the importation of opium was prohibited by the Chinese.*" Sulivan sold the contract to a Mr. Benn for £40,000; Benn to a Mr. Young for £60,000; and the latter reaped a large profit.—(Mill.)

† A comparison of the receipts and disbursements of the year ending April, 1786, exhibited a deficit of about £1,300,000. The arrears of the army amounted to two million; and "the troops at Madras and Bombay were in a state of utter destitution, and some of them in open mutiny." The ascertained Bengal debt alone was about four million sterling.

have enjoyed no ordinary share of royal favour, and to listen to the charges urged against him by the thrilling eloquence of Burke, the solid reasoning of Fox, and the exciting declamation of Sheridan. The trial commenced with a strong feeling on the part of the public against the accused; but it dragged on, like most state proceedings, until people ceased to care how it ended. At length, after seven years spent in law proceedings of a most tedious character, the wrongs inflicted in a distant clime, and at a distant period, became almost a matter of indifference: a sort of sympathy, such as is often felt for acknowledged criminals, took the place of lively indignation; and when the inquiry ended in the acquittal of Hastings, he was generally believed to have been sufficiently punished by the insuperable obstacles which his peculiar position had imposed to prevent his selection for any public office, and by the ruinous condition to which his finances had been reduced by the costly expenses, legitimate and illegitimate, of the painful ordeal through which he had passed. The law charges alone exceeded £76,000. Probably still larger sums were expended in vrious kinds of secret service—"in bribing newspapers, rewarding pamphleteers, and circulating tracts;"* beside £12,000 spent in purchasing, and £48,000 in adorning, Daylesford: so that Hastings, when finally dismissed, turned from the bar of the House of Lords an absolute pauper—worse than that—an insolvent debtor. The company came to his relief with an annuity of £4,000 a-year, and a loan of £50,000, nearly half of which was converted into a gift; and they continued to aid him at intervals, in his ever-recurring difficulties, up to the period of his death, in 1818, aged eighty-six.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD CORNWALLIS.—The government of Lord Macartney terminated in Madras about the same time as that of Mr. Hastings in Bengal; and a high testimony to the ability and unsullied integrity† of the former gentleman, was afforded by the offer of the position of governor-general, which he declined accepting, unless accompanied by a British peerage. This concession was refused, on the ground that, if granted, it would convey to the public an impression that a premium was necessary to induce persons of consideration in England to fill the highest office in India, and the appointment was consequently conferred on Lord Cornwallis. To him was entrusted the charge of carrying into execution some important alterations contemplated by the act of parliament passed in 1784; and by means of an express provision in the act of 1786, the powers of commander-in-chief were united in his person with that of the greatly enlarged authority of governor-general.‡ He arrived in Calcutta in the autumn of 1786, and immediately commenced a series of salutary and much-needed reforms, both as regarded the collection of revenue and the administration of justice. Mr. Macpherson, the senior member of council,§ who had temporarily presided over the affairs of government, had successfully exerted himself to diminish the waste of the public finances connived at by his predecessor; and Lord Cornwallis set about the same task with a steadiness of principle and singleness of motive to which both English officials and Indian subjects had been long unaccustomed. The two great measures which distinguish his internal policy, are the establishment of a fixed land-rent throughout Bengal, in exact accordance with the opinions of Francis; and the formation of a

* Macaulay's *Essay on Hastings*, p. 100.

† Lord Macartney, on taking possession of the office of president of Madras, made a formal statement of his property, and on quitting office presented to the company a precise account of the increase effected during the interval. The E. I. Cy. met him in the same frank and generous spirit by the gift of an annuity of £1,500. It is to be regretted that he lent the sanction of example to the vice of duelling, then frightfully prevalent, by a meeting with a member of council (Mr. Sadleir) with whom a misunderstanding had arisen in the course of official duty. On his return to England he was challenged by General Stuart, and slightly wounded. The seconds interfered, and the contest terminated, though Stuart declared himself unsatisfied.

‡ The establishment of a Board of Control, with other important measures, respectively advocated by Fox or Pitt, will be noticed in a subsequent section.

§ Mr. Wheler was dead. Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Macpherson went to India, in 1766, as purser in a vessel commanded by his uncle, contrived to ingratiate himself with the nabob of Arcot, and returned to England as his agent. After a strange series of adventures, which it is not necessary to follow in detail, he rose to the position of acting governor-general, in which capacity he obtained for the company the valuable settlement of Penang or Prince of Wales' Island, by an arrangement with the King of Queda. His brief administration was likewise marked by a duel with Major Brown (on the Bengal establishment.) The Court of Directors, tired of witnessing the peace of their territories endangered by such proceedings, unanimously affixed the penalty of dismissal from the company's service to any person who should send a challenge on account of matters arising out of the discharge of their official duties.—(Auber's *British India*, ii., 39.)

judicial system to protect property. The necessity of coming to some speedy settlement regarding the collection of territorial revenue, whether under the denomination of a rent or a tax, is the best apology for the necessarily imperfect character of the system framed at this period on the sound principle of giving a proprietary right in the soil; but even a brief statement of the different views taken by the advocates of the zemindarree settlement, and of the opposite arguments of those who consider the right in the soil vested in the ryots or cultivators, would mar the continuity of the narrative.

The foreign policy of the governor-general was characterised by the novel feature of the reduction of the rate of tribute demanded from a dependent prince. Asuf-ad-Dowlah pleaded, that in violation of repeated treaties, a sum averaging eighty-four lacs per annum had been exacted for the company during the nine preceding years; and his arguments appeared so forcible, that Lord Cornwallis consented to reduce this sum to fifty lacs per annum, which he declared sufficient to cover the "real expenses" involved in the defence of Oude. Negligent, profuse, and voluptuous in the extreme, the nabob-vizier was wholly dependent on foreign aid to secure the services of his own troops or the submission of his own subjects; he had therefore no alternative but to make the best terms possible with the English, and might well deem himself fortunate in finding the chief authority vested in a ruler whose actions were dictated by loftier motives than temporary expediency; and influenced by more worthy considerations than the strength or weakness of those with whom he had to deal. The extreme dissatisfaction openly expressed by Englishmen in India, regarding the peace of 1784, and the insulting conduct of Tippoo, led the Mahrattas and the Nizam to believe that the E. I. Cy would gladly take part with them in a struggle against one whose power and arrogance were alarmingly on the increase; but their overtures were met by an explicit declaration, that the supreme government (in accordance with the recent commands of the British parliament) had resolved on taking no part in any confederacy framed for purposes of aggression. Tippoo and the Mahrattas therefore went to war on their own resources, and continued hostile operations for about a year, until the former was glad to make peace, on not very favourable terms, in order to turn his undivided attention to a portion of the territories usurped by his father, and enact a new series of barbarities on the miserable inhabitants of the coast of Malabar. The first measure by which this barbarian signalised his accession to despotic sway, was the deportation of upwards of 30,000 native Christians from Canara. The memory of the deeds of Cardinal Menezes, and other stanch supporters of the "Holy Inquisition," had not passed away; and Tippoo affirmed, that it was the narrative of the intolerance exercised by the "Portuguese Nazarenes" which caused "the rage of Islam to boil in his breast,"* and induced him to vent his wrath upon the present innocent generation, by sweeping off the whole of both sexes and every age into slavery, and compelling them to observe and receive the external rites of the Moslem creed. Of these unfortunates, not one-third are believed to have survived the first year of exile and degradation. The brave mountaineers of Coorg drew upon themselves the same fate by the constant struggles for liberty, to which they were incited by the odious tyranny of the usurper. Tippoo at length dealt with them in the manner in which a ferocious and half-crazed despot of early times did with another section of the Indian population.† The dominant class in Coorg had assembled together on a hilly, wooded tract, apart from the lower order of the peasantry (a distinct and apparently aboriginal race.) Tippoo surrounded the main body, as if enclosing game for a grand circular hunt; beat up the woods as if dislodging wild beasts; and finally closed in upon about 70,000 persons, who were driven off, like a herd of cattle, to Seringapatam, and "honoured with the distinction of Islam,"‡ on the very day selected by their persecutor to assume sovereign, or rather imperial sway, by taking the proud title of Padsha, and causing his own name to be prayed for in public in place of that of the Mogul Shah Alum, as was still customary in the mosques all over India.

The Guntoor Circar, to which the English had become entitled upon the death of Bassalut Jung, in 1782, by virtue of the

* Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, ii., 530.

† Mohammed Toghlak. *See* page 75.

‡ Tippoo, in his celebrated production, the *Sultaun-u-Towareekh*, or King of Histories, expresses great detestation for the immorality of the Coorgs, who, he truly affirmed, systematically pursued a most extraordinary system of polygandria, by giving to several brothers one and the same woman to wife.

treaty of 1768, was obtained from Nizam Ali in 1788. The cession was expedited by a recent quarrel between him and Tippoo Sultan, which rendered the renewal of the treaty of 1768 peculiarly desirable to the former, inasmuch as it contained a proviso that, in the event of his requiring assistance, a British contingent of infantry and artillery should march to support him against any power not in alliance with the E. I. Cy.; the exceptions being the Mahrattas, the nabobs of Arcot and Oude, and the rajahs of Tanjore and Travancore. The Nizam would fain have interpreted the revived agreement as warranting a united attack on Mysoor; but his schemes were positively rejected by Lord Cornwallis, on account of the recent engagement entered into with that state, which was still professedly at peace with the English. Yet it was evident to every power in India, that the sultan only waited a favourable opportunity to renew hostilities. The insulting caricatures of many of the company's servants, held up to mockery and coarse jesting on the walls of the houses of Seringapatam, might have been an idle effusion of popular feeling; but the wretched captives still pining in loathsome dungeons, in violation of the promised general release of prisoners, and the enrolment of a number of English children as domestic slaves to the faithless tyrant, afforded, in conjunction with various rancorous expressions, unmistakeable indications of his deadly hatred towards the whole nation.* The inroad of the Mysooreans on the territory of the rajah of Travancore, brought matters to an issue. The rajah, when menaced by invasion from his formidable neighbour, appealed to the E. I. Cy. for their promised protection, and an express communication was made to Tippoo, that an attack on the lines of defence formed on the Travancore frontier, would be regarded as a declaration of war with the English. The lines referred to, constructed in 1775, consisted of a broad and deep ditch, a strong bamboo hedge, a slight parapet, and a good rampart, with bastions on rising grounds, almost flanking one another. They extended a distance of thirty miles (from the island of Vaipeen to the Anamalaiah range), but were more imposing than effectual, as it was hardly possible to defend so great an extent. Tippoo approached this barrier in December, 1789, and proceeded to erect batteries. An unsuspected passage round the right flank of the lines, enabled him to introduce a body of troops within the wall, and he led them onward, hoping to force open the nearest gate, and admit the rest of the army. The attempt proved, not merely unsuccessful, but fatal to the majority of the assailants. They were compelled to retreat in confusion, and, in the general scramble across the ditch, Tippoo himself was so severely bruised, as to limp occasionally during the remainder of his life. His palanquin fell into the hands of the enemy, the bearers having been trodden to death by their comrades; and his seals, rings, and personal ornaments remained to attest his presence, and contradict his reiterated denial of having borne any part in a humiliating catastrophe, which had materially deranged his plans. More than this, alarm at the probable consequence of a repulse, induced Tippoo to write, in terms of fulsome flattery, to the English authorities, assuring them that the late aggression was the unauthorised act of his troops. Lord Cornwallis treated these assertions with merited contempt, and hastened to secure the co-operation of the Nizam and the Mahratta ministers of Poona, to which he would gladly have added that of Sindia, had not the price demanded been the aid of British troops for aggressive warfare in Rajpootana, which was unhesitatingly refused. He proceeded to make vigorous preparations for a campaign, by assembling troops, collecting supplies, and meeting financial difficulties in an open and manly spirit. Further outlay for a European investment he completely stopped, as a ruinous drain on resources already insufficient to meet the heavy expenditure which must inevitably be incurred in the ensuing contest, the avowed object of which was to diminish materially the power of the sultan; for, as Lord Cornwallis truly declared, in a despatch to General Medows, if this despot were "suffered to retain his present importance, and to insult and bully all his neighbours, until the French should again be in a condition to support him, it would almost certainly leave the seeds of a future dangerous war." Meanwhile, Tippoo confirmed these convictions, and justified the intended procedure by a renewed attempt upon Travancore, and succeeded in razing the defences and spreading desolation over the country. The invasion of Mysoor compelled him to return for its

* Col. Fullarton, writing in 1784, accuses Tippoo of having caused 200 English to be forcibly circumcised and enrolled in his service.—(*View*, 207.)

defence; and the system of intelligence established by his father, together with his own activity, enabled him to take advantage of the separation of the English army into three divisions, to attack them in detail, break through their chain of communication, and transfer hostilities to the Carnatic. These reverses were partially compensated by the success of a fourth detachment from Bombay in obtaining possession of the whole of Malabar. The second campaign was opened in February, 1791, by Cornwallis in person. Placing himself at the head of the army, he entered Mysoor by the pass of Mooglee, and in the commencement of March, laid siege to the fortress of Bangalore. Though the troops had been little harassed by hostile operations, they were much enfeebled by the fatigues and privations of a tedious march; the cattle were worn to skeletons, and their supplies, both of food and ammunition, nearly exhausted. The arrival of a Mahratta reinforcement had been long and vainly expected; and affairs were in a most critical state, when the successful assault, first of the town, and subsequently of the citadel of Bangalore (carried by a bayonet charge), relieved the mind of the commander-in-chief from the gloomy prospect involved in the too probable event of defeat. Nevertheless, difficulties and dangers of no ordinary character remained to be combated. At the close of March the army moved from Bangalore northward, for the purpose of forming a junction with the auxiliary corps of cavalry expected from the Nizam. When, after being repeatedly misled by false information regarding the vicinity of the Hyderabad troops, the desired union was at length successfully effected, it proved a fresh source of trouble and disappointment; for the 10,000 light troops so anxiously awaited, instead of rendering good service in the field, were so ill-disciplined and untrustworthy, as to be incapable of conducting even a foraging expedition, and therefore did but augment the distress and anxiety they were sent to lessen.*

Though surrounded on every side by circumstances of the most depressing character, Cornwallis, with undaunted courage, made such preparations as the possession of Bangalore placed in his power for the siege of Seringapatam. An earnest desire to bring to a speedy close hostilities, the prolongation of which involved a grievous sacrifice of life and treasure, added to the alarming information constantly arriving in India regarding the progress of the French revolution, induced him to advance at once upon the capital of Mysoor, despite the defective character of his resources. The troops marched, in May, to Arikera, about nine miles distant from Seringapatam, through a country which, in anticipation of their approach, had been reduced to the condition of a desert. Tippoo Sultan took up a strong position in their front, from whence he was driven by Lord Cornwallis—forced to action, defeated, and compelled to retreat and take refuge under the works of his capital, for the safety of which he now became seriously alarmed. Recognising too late the folly of wantonly provoking the vengeance of a powerful foe, he gave orders that the caricatures of the English should be carefully obliterated from all public places; at the same time taking the savage precaution of slaughtering, without distinction, such prisoners as he had privately detained, lest they should live to afford incontrovertible evidence of his breach of faith and diabolical cruelty.†

Lord Cornwallis was, however, quite unable to pursue his recent success. The deplorable condition of the army, in which smallpox was now raging, with diseases immediately resulting from insufficient food and excessive fatigue under incessant rains, compelled him to issue a reluctant order for retreat. It seemed madness to remain under such circumstances in such a position, still more to hazard further advance, on the chance of the long-delayed succour expected from the Mahrattas; and after destroying the battering train and other heavy equipments, which the loss of cattle‡ prevented them from carrying away, the English, in deep disappointment and depression, com-

* Their commander is said to have been influenced by intrigues carried on between the mother of Tippoo and the favourite wife of the Nizam. The former lady successfully deprecated the wrath excited by the gross insults lately offered by her son, in return to solicitations addressed by some female members of the family of Nizam Ali when in peril at Adoni.

† Twenty English youths, the survivors of the unhappy band whom Tippoo, with malicious wantonness, had caused to be trained and dressed like a troop of Hindoostanee dancing-girls, were first sacrificed to his awakened fears; but there were many other victims, including native state prisoners. A few Englishmen contrived to effect their escape, and one of them wrote an account of the treatment received.—(See *Captivity of James Scurry*; London, 1824.)

‡ Nearly 40,000 bullocks perished in this disastrous campaign.—(Mill's *India*, v., 396.)

menced their homeward march. Orders were dispatched to General Abercromby (governor of Bombay), who was advancing from the westward, to return to Malabar; and Lord Cornwallis, having completed these mortifying arrangements, was about six miles *en route* to Bangalore, when a party of horse unexpectedly rode in upon the baggage flank. They were taken for enemies, but proved to be forerunners of the despaired-of Mahratta force, under Hurri Punt and Purseram Bhow. In answer to the eager interrogatories poured in upon them on all sides, they replied that numerous messengers had been regularly sent, at different times, with accounts of their approach; every one of whom had been cut off by the unsleeping vigilance of the light troops of the enemy. Their tardy arrival was in some measure accounted for by the time spent by them in co-operation with a detachment from Bombay under Captain Little, in the siege of Darwar, one of the great barriers of Tippoo's northern frontier. The place held out against the unskilful and dilatory operations of the assailants for twenty-nine weeks, when the arrival of news of the capture of Bangalore induced its surrender, which was followed by the easy conquest of all the possessions of the sultan north of the Toombuddra.

The Mahrattas now declared themselves unable to keep the field, unless the English could give them pecuniary support; and Lord Cornwallis, unable to dispense with their aid, was compelled to advance them a loan of twelve lacs of rupees, to obtain which he took the bold measure of ordering the Madras authorities to coin the bullion sent out for the China trade into rupees, and forward it without delay. The ample supplies of draught cattle and provisions, together with the innumerable miscellaneous contents of the bazaar of a Mahratta army,* afforded a most welcome relief to men half-famished and wretchedly equipped. Still the advanced season, and the return of General Abercromby, compelled the continuance of the retreat to Bangalore; which was followed up by the occupation of Oossoor, Rayacottah, and other forts, whereby communication between the presidency and the Carnatic, through the Policade Pass, was laid open. By this route a convoy reached the camp from Madras, comprising 100 elephants laden with treasure, marching two abreast; 6,000 bullocks with rice; 100 carts with arrack; and several hundred coolies with other supplies.

The war was viewed by the British parliament as the inevitable consequence of the cruelty and aggression of Tippoo. The energetic measures of Lord Cornwallis were warmly applauded, and reinforcements of troops, with specie to the amount of £500,000, sent to assist his operations. Comprehensive arrangements were made for provisioning the troops, by taking advantage of the extensive resources and experience of the *Brinjarries*,† or travelling corn-merchants, who form a distinct caste, and enjoy, even among the least civilised native states, an immunity for life and property, based on the great services rendered by these neutral traders to all parties indiscriminately, from a very remote period. Measures were likewise adopted for the introduction of a more efficient system of intelligence. The general campaign which opened under these auspicious circumstances, was attended with complete success. The intermediate operations were marked by the capture of the hill-forts of Nundydroog, Savendroog, and Ootradroog. All three were situated on lofty granite rocks, and deemed well-nigh inaccessible—especially Savendroog (*the rock of death*); and so implicit was the confidence placed by Tippoo in the strength of its natural and artificial defences, that he received with joy the tidings of the assault, making sure that the malaria for which the neighbouring jungle had acquired a fearful celebrity, would fight against the English, and slay one-half, leaving the other to fall by the sword. But the very character of the place diminished the watchfulness of its garrison, and tempted them to witness with

* The Mahrattas commenced by asking exorbitant prices for their goods; but when compelled by the diminished purses of the purchasers to reduce their demands or stop the sale, they took the former alternative; but still continued to realise immense profits, since their whole stock-in-trade had been accumulated by plunder. Their bazaar is described by Col. Wilks as comprising every imaginable article, from a web of English broadcloth to a Birmingham penknife; from the shawls of Cashmere to the secondhand garment of a Hindoo; from diamonds of the first water to the silver earring of a poor plundered village maiden; from oxen, sheep, and poultry, to the dried salt-fish of the Concan. The tables of the moneychangers, overspread with the coins of every country of the east, were not wanting in this motley assemblage; and among the various trades carried on with remarkable activity, was that of a tanner, so that the English officers were enabled to obtain, by means of ambulatory tan-pits, what their own Indian capitals could not then produce, except as European imports—excellent sword-belts.—(*Mysoor*, iii., 158-'9.)

† A Persian compound, designating their office.

contemptuous indifference the early approaches of the besiegers, who, after a series of Herculean labours (in which the utmost exertions of human strength and skill, were aided in an extraordinary manner by the force and sagacity of some admirably-trained elephants), at length succeeded in effecting a practicable breach in what formed the lower wall of the rock, although it rose 1,500 feet from a base of above eight miles in circumference. Lord Cornwallis and General Medows stood watching with intense anxiety the progress of the assault, which commenced an hour before noon on the 21st December, 1791. The band of the 52nd regiment played "Britons, strike home;" and the troops mounted with a steady gallantry which completely unnerved the native forces assembled to defend the breach. A hand-to-hand encounter with men who had already overcome such tremendous obstacles, was sufficient to alarm the servants of a more popular master than Tippoo, and they fled in disorder, tumbling over one another in their eager ascent of the steep and narrow path which led to the citadel. The pursuers followed with all speed; but the majority of the fugitives had effected their entrance, when a sergeant of the 71st regiment shot, at a distance, the soldier who was closing the first gate. All the other barriers the English passed together with the enemy, of whom about 100 were slain, while many others perished among the precipitous rocks, in endeavouring to escape. This important enterprise, which the commander-in-chief had contemplated as the most doubtful operation of the war, was effected in twelve days from the first arrival of the troops. The casualties were not numerous, and the actual assault only lasted an hour, and involved the loss of no single life on the side of the besiegers. It was well-timed; for even so much as half-an-hour's delay would have sufficed to bring to the scene of action the Mysoorean detachment, then fast approaching to aid their comrades.

The counter-hostilities of Tippoo were feebly conducted; but the irrepressible tendency of the Mahrattas for freebooting on their own account, led them again to derange the plans of Lord Cornwallis, by neglecting to support General Abercromby, and their misconduct facilitated the conquest of the fort of Coimbatore by the Mysooreans. The flagrant violation of the terms of surrender* (a besetting sin on the part of Tippoo), afforded a reason for rejecting his overtures for peace; and on the 1st of February, 1792, Lord Cornwallis, in conjunction with the Hyderabad and Poona armies, advanced to the attack of Seringapatam, under the walls of which the sultan, with his whole force, lay encamped. Aware of his inability to compete in the field with the formidable confederacy by which he was opposed, Tippoo hoped to be able to hold out against their combined efforts in his island-capital,† by keeping them at bay until the want of supplies, in an already exhausted country—or, in any case, the recurrence of the monsoon—should compel their retreat. The dilatory and unskilful tactics of the native troops would probably have contributed to realise these anticipations; but the English commander-in-chief correctly appreciated the danger of delay, and chose to incur the charge of rashness by attempting to surprise the tiger in his den, rather than waste strength and resources in the dispiriting operations of a tedious and precarious blockade. It was deemed inadvisable to await the arrival of expected reinforcements from Bombay, or even to divulge the plan of attack to the allies, who, on the night of the 6th, were astounded by the news that a handful of infantry, unsupported by cannon or cavalry, were on the march to attack the dense host of Tippoo, in a fortified camp under the walls of his capital; and that Lord Cornwallis, in person, commanded the division destined to penetrate the centre of the hostile force; having gone to fight, as they expressed it,‡ like a private soldier. The sultan had just finished his evening's repast when the alarm was given.§ He mounted, and beheld

* In detaining the garrison close prisoners, notwithstanding a proviso for their liberation. Bad faith was the notorious characteristic of Tippoo, who, says Col. Wilks, could not be made to appreciate the value of truth even as a convenience. Among his letters, translated by Col. Kirkpatrick, is one in which he desires the commander of an attack on a Mahratta fortress to promise anything until he got possession, and then to put every living thing—man, woman, child, dog, and cat—to the sword, except the chief, who was to be reserved for torture.

† Seringapatam is situated on an island formed by two branches of the Cauvery, which after separating to a distance of a mile and a-half, again unites about five miles below the point of division. A "bound hedge" of bamboo and other strong shrubs surrounded the capital, and Tippoo's encampment occupied an enclosure between this hedge and the river.

‡ There were two other columns, commanded by General Medows and Colonel Maxwell.

§ The Indians usually attack at midnight or day-break.

by the light of the moon an extended column passing rapidly through his camp, driving before them a cloud of fugitives, and making directly for the main ford of the stream which lay between them and the capital. This movement threatened to cut off the retreat of Tippoo, who perceiving his danger, hastened across the ford in time to elude the grasp of his pursuers and take up a position on a commanding summit of the fort, from whence he continued to issue orders till the morning. His troops had already deserted by thousands. One band, 10,000 strong (the *Ahmedy Chelahs*, composed of the wretched Coorgs), wholly disappeared and escaped to their native woods, accompanied by their wives and children; and many of the *Assud Oollahees* (a similar description of corps) followed their example. A number of Europeans, forcibly detained in the service of Tippoo Sultan, likewise fled to the protection of the English, including an old Frenchman, named Blévette, who had chiefly constructed the six redoubts which offered the most formidable obstacles to the assailants. Two of these were captured and retained by English detachments, at the cost of much hard fighting. The night of the 7th afforded an interval of rest to both parties, and time to ascertain the extent of their respective losses. That of the British was stated at 535 men, including killed, wounded, and missing; that of the enemy at 23,000, of whom 4,000 had fallen in the actual contest. On the following morning operations were commenced against the strong triangular-shaped, water-washed fort, in which the sultan had taken refuge. His gorgeously furnished garden-palace was turned into an hospital for the wounded English, and the magnificent cypress groves, and other valuable trees, cut down to afford materials for the siege. General Abercromby arrived in safety with the Bombay army, having perfected a line of communication with the Malabar coast; the Brinjarries maintained such abundance in the camp of Cornwallis as had not been known since the commencement of the war; and the soldiers, stimulated by the hope of speedily liberating, with their own hands, the survivors of their murdered countrymen, worked with unflagging energy at the breaching batteries. Tippoo, seriously alarmed, made overtures for peace, and after much delay, occasioned by his treacherous and unstable policy, and his unceasing efforts to gain time, was at length compelled to sign a preliminary treaty, the terms of which involved the cession of half his territories to the allies, and the payment of about three million and a-half sterling. Two of his sons, boys of eight and ten years of age, were delivered up to Lord Cornwallis, as hostages for the confirmation and fulfilment of the agreement; but despite this guarantee, Tippoo showed evident signs of an inclination to renew hostilities, on finding that the English insisted on his relinquishment of Coorg, the rajah of which principality he had hoped to seize and exhibit as a terrible instance of vengeance. Lord Cornwallis, who appears to have acted throughout the war with equal energy and moderation, endeavoured to conciliate him by the surrender of Bangalore—a fortress and district which, in a military point of view, far surpassed Coorg in value; but on the latter point he took decided ground, justly deeming it a clear duty to reward the good service rendered by the rajah, by preserving him from the clutches of his relentless foe. Preparations for a renewed siege at length brought matters to an issue. The previous arrangements were formally confirmed by Tippoo on the 19th of March, and the treaty delivered to Lord Cornwallis and the allies by the royal hostages.

The total territorial revenue of the sultan, according to the admitted schedule, averaged from about two-and-a-half to three million sterling, one-half of which was now made over to the allies, to be divided by them in equal portions, according to the original terms of the confederation. By the addition now made to their possessions, the boundary of the Mahrattas was again extended to the river Toombuddra. The allotment of the Nizam reached from the Kistna beyond the Pennar, and included the forts of Gunjecotah and Cuddapah, and the province of Kurpa. The British obtained Malabar and Coorg, the province of Dindegul (a valuable accession to their southern territory), together with Baramahl and the Lower Ghauts, which formed an iron boundary for Coromandel. The Anglo-Indian army were ill-pleased with this termination of the war. They had set their hearts on nothing less than the storming of Seringapatam; and when, in consequence of Tippoo's overtures for peace, orders were given to desist from further operations, they became, says an officer who was present, "dejected to a degree not to be described, and could with difficulty be restrained from

continuing their work." Their dissatisfaction was increased by the miserable artifice of Tippoo, who, desirous of assuming before his own troops a defiant attitude, although really a suitor for peace, gave secret orders to fire on the English soldiery, both with cannon and musketry. Under such circumstances, it needed all the weight of the public and private character of Lord Cornwallis, to enforce the admirable precept with which the general orders to the victorious troops concluded,—"that moderation in success is no less expected from brave men than gallantry in action." In acknowledgment of their excellent conduct, a donation, equal to twelve months' batta, was awarded them, out of the money exacted from the sultan. The disinterestedness of the commander-in-chief and of General Medows was displayed in their refusal to accept any portion of this sum, or of the prize-money. Their cordial co-operation and perfect confidence in each other's zeal and integrity, had been conspicuous throughout the war, forming a pleasing contrast to the divided counsels and personal quarrels which had, of late years, diminished the efficiency of the military and civil services of the officers of the company. This unanimity enabled Lord Cornwallis to take full advantage of the influence he possessed over the Nizam and the Mahrattas. Their mutual distrust, combined with the respect inspired by the English commander-in-chief, led them to entrust to him the sole control of the late operations. These were no sooner terminated by the treaty of Seringapatam, than occasions of quarrel reappeared among the allies. The Nizam, by far the weakest of the three powers, petitioned to be allowed to retain the services of a British detachment. His request was granted, greatly to the annoyance of the Mahrattas, whose discontent at finding him thus favoured, was aggravated by the refusal of Lord Cornwallis to suffer a similar stipendiary force to be permanently annexed to the army of the peishwa, or rather of his ambitious guardian, Nana Furnavees. In this case the concession must have provoked immediate hostilities with Mahadajee Sindia, since it was to oppose his large and formidable corps of regular artillery (under De Boigne* and other European officers), that the services of an English detachment were especially desired. Such a procedure would have been inconsistent with the pacific policy by which it was both the duty and inclination of Lord Cornwallis to abide; and Sindia was therefore suffered to retain, without interference on the part of the only enemy he feared, the dominant position which the time-serving policy of Hastings had first helped him to assume, as vicegerent of the Mogul empire. His power, before reaching its present height, had received a severe check, from the efforts of other ambitious chiefs to obtain possession of the person, and wield authority in the name, of the hapless Shah Alum,† who, from the time of the death of his brave general, Nujeef Khan, in 1782, had been tossed about, like a child's toy, from one usurper to another—a tool during their prosperity, a scape-goat in adversity. Sindia became paramount in 1785; but having engaged in war with Pertab Sing of Jeypoor, advantage was taken of his absence by Gholam Kadir Khan, the son of Zabita Khan, the Rohilla, to gain possession of Delhi in 1788. This he accomplished through the treachery of the *nazir* or chief eunuch, to whom the management of the imperial establishment was entrusted. The inmates of the palace were treated by the usurper with a degree of malicious barbarity which it is hardly possible to conceive any human being evincing towards his unoffending fellow-creatures, unless actually possessed by an evil spirit. After cruelties of all descriptions had been practised to extort from the members and retainers of the imperial family every article of value which still remained in their possession, Gholam Kadir continued to withhold from them even the necessaries of life, so that several ladies perished of hunger; and others, maddened by suffering, committed suicide. The royal children‡ were compelled to

* De Boigne was a Savoyard by birth, and had been an ensign in the service of the E. I. Cy.

† Among the few who faithfully adhered to the cause of Shah Alum, was the widow of the notorious Sumroo, who had entered the imperial service, or rather that of Nujeef Khan, after quitting Oude, and married the daughter of an impoverished Mogul noble. The "Begum Sumroo" received Christian baptism, at the request of her husband. After his death, in 1778, she was suffered to retain the jaghire granted to him for the support of five battalions of disciplined sepoys and about 200 Europeans, chiefly artillerymen, whose movements she directed from her palanquin, even on the actual field of battle. An imprudent marriage with a German, named Vaissaux, for a time endangered her influence; but after his seizure by the mutinous troops, and death by his own hand, she regained her authority.

‡ The Shahzada, Prince Jewan Bukht, had taken refuge at Benares. Lord Cornwallis granted him a

perform the most humiliating offices; and when Shah Alum indignantly remonstrated against the atrocities he was compelled to witness, the Rohilla sprang upon him with the fury of a wild beast, flung the venerable monarch to the ground, knelt on his breast, and, with his dagger, pierced his eye-balls through and through. The return of Sindia terminated these horrible scenes. Gholam Kadir took to flight, but was captured by the Mahratta chief, who cut off his nose, ears, hands, and feet, and sent him in an iron cage to Shah Alum—a fearful example of retributive barbarity. He perished on the road, and his accomplice, the treacherous nazir, was trodden to death by an elephant. The condition of the imperial family, though ameliorated, remained barely tolerable during the supremacy of Sindia; for the stated allowance for the support of the emperor and his thirty children, though liberal in its nominal amount, was so irregularly paid, that the royal household often wanted the necessaries of life.

The arrogance of Mahadajee increased with his power;* and not only the Nizam and the Poona ministry headed by Nana Furnavees, but even the English, began to contemplate an approaching struggle as inevitable; when their apprehensions were unexpectedly removed by his death, of fever, in February, 1794, aged sixty-seven. He left no male issue, but bequeathed his extensive territorial possessions to his great-nephew and adopted son, Dowlut Rao, then a youth of fifteen.

The administration of Lord Cornwallis ended in the preceding year; its concluding feature being the capture, once again, of Pondicherry and all the French settlements in India, in consequence of the national declaration of war. The charter of the E. I. Cy. was at the same time (1793) renewed for a term of twenty years.† Arrangements were made for the relief of the financial difficulties of Mohammed Ali. The management of the revenues of the Carnatic, which had been temporarily assumed by Lord Cornwallis during the war, was partially restored to the nabob at its conclusion, and the payments to his creditors reduced from the twelve lacs of pagodas (conceded to them most improperly by the Board of Control in 1785), to somewhat more than six lacs. Attempts were likewise made, but with little success, to induce the profligate Asuf-ad-Dowlah to adopt reformatory measures, to stay the ruin which seemed about to overwhelm the fair province, or rather kingdom, of Oude.

Administration of Sir John Shore.—This gentleman (afterwards Lord Teignmouth) had been many years in the service of the company, and was selected for the high post of governor-general,‡ expressly on account of the ability and perseverance which he had brought to bear on the intricate and little understood question of Indian revenue. His pacific disposition was likewise viewed as affording a guarantee for the fulfilment of the strict injunctions of the British parliament—to shun every description of aggressive warfare on behalf of the company, whether in the character of a principal or an ally. Upon the death of Mahadajee Sindia, preparations for hostilities against the Nizam were carried on by his young successor, Dowlut Rao Sindia, with the co-operation of the Poona authorities and all the leading Mahratta chieftains.§ The attempts of Sir John Shore at friendly mediation were treated with insulting indifference by the Mahrattas, so soon as they

yearly stipend of four lacs (promised, but not paid, by the vizier of Oude), which, after the death of the prince, was continued to his family by the E. I. Cy.

* What a blow would have been inflicted on the pride and bigotry of Aurungzebe, could it have been foretold that one of his dynasty would be compelled, by a Mahratta, to sign a decree forbidding the slaughter of kine throughout the Mogul dominions. Yet this was enforced by Sindia on Shah Alum.

† In the year ending April, 1793, the receipts of the company in India amounted to £8,225,628; the total expenses to £7,007,050: leaving a surplus of £1,218,578 clear gain. In the outgoings, were included the interest of Indian debts (the principal of which amounted to £7,971,665), and money supplied to Bencoolen and other distant settlements; making a drawback of £702,443. The debts in England, exclusive of the capital stock, were £10,983,518. The capital stock had been increased in 1789, from four to five million, on which sum a dividend of ten-and-a-half per cent. was now paid.

‡ General Medows had been offered the position on the expected resignation of Lord Cornwallis; but he declined it, declaring his intention of staying in India just long enough "to lead the storming party at Seringapatam, or until the war is over;" and no longer. He adds, that he had saved £40,000 out of the liberal appointments of the company, and should feel amply compensated if they pronounced "the labourer worthy of his hire."—(Auber's *India*, ii., 121.)

§ Tookajee Holcar and the rajah of Berar, with the representative of the Puar and other influential families, took the field; while the Guicowars from Guzerat, and others, sent detachments to join the general assembly of Mahrattas, gathered together for the last time under the nominal authority of the peishwa, Madhoo Rao II., who was himself completely controlled by Nana Furnavees.—(Duff, iii., 111.)

perceived his determination of preserving a strict neutrality. The Nizam advanced to Beder, where the enemy hastened to give him battle. After an indecisive action, he retreated by night to Kurdla, a small fort surrounded by hills. He was besieged, closely blockaded, and compelled to purchase peace by the most ignominious concessions, which, if carried out, would have completely crippled his resources, and left him at the mercy of his old foe, Nana Furnavees. But at this crisis the "Mahratta Machiavelli" overreached himself. The severity and excess of his precautionary measures wrought upon the high spirit of the young peishwa (then one-and-twenty years of age) with unexpected violence, and, in a moment of deep depression, caused by the indignity to which he was subjected, he flung himself from a terrace of the palace, and expired in the course of two days, after expressing a strong desire that his cousin, Bajee Rao, should succeed to the authority of which he had been defrauded.* This arrangement would have been generally popular; for Bajee Rao, then about twenty years of age, bore a high character for skill in manly and military exercises, and was besides deeply read in ancient Brahminical lore, and a studious follower of the intricate observances of caste. Beneath this fair surface lay, as Nana Furnavees truly declared, the weakness of his father Ragoba, and the wickedness of his mother Anundee Bye, as yet undeveloped.

The talents of Bajee Rao, even had they been likely to be used for good instead of for evil, would probably have been equally opposed to the views of the minister, who wanted a mere puppet to occupy the musnud on public occasions, and then return to his gilded prison. With this intent he caused the widow of the late Madhoo Rao II. (herself a mere child) to adopt an infant, whom he proclaimed peishwa. Sindia espoused the cause of Bajee Rao, and the dissensions which followed enabled Nizam Ali to procure a release from three-fourths of the cessions and payments stipulated for by the treaty of Kurdla.

The remaining events during the administration of Sir John Shore may be briefly noted. Fyzoolla Khan, the Rohilla ruler of Rampore and its dependent districts, died in 1794.† His eldest son, Mohammed Ali, succeeded to the government, but was seized and murdered by his younger brother, Gholam Mohammed Khan, who was in turn deposed by the conjoined troops of the English and the vizier. A jaghire of ten lacs of revenue was conferred on Ahmed Ali, the youthful son of the murdered ruler; provision was made for the maintenance of Gholam Mohammed, who came to reside at Benares, under the protection of the British government; and the treasures and remaining territory of the late Fyzoolla Khan, were delivered up to the wasteful and profligate Asuf-ad-Dowlah.

Mohammed Ali, of Arcot, died in 1795, aged seventy-eight, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Omdut-al-Omrah. In the same year the English effected the complete reduction of the Dutch settlements in Ceylon, Malacca, Banda, Amboyna, Cochin, and the Cape of Good Hope.‡ Asuf-ad-Dowlah died in 1797. A dispute concerning the succession arose between his brother Sadut Ali, and his alleged son Vizier Ali, a youth of seventeen, said to be of spurious descent.§ Sir John Shore eventually decided in favour of the former, with whom he entered into a new treaty, by which the fort of Allahabad was made over to the English, the annual subsidy increased to seventy-six lacs of rupees, twelve lacs guaranteed by the vizier as compensation money for the expenses incurred in the recent interference, and an annual pension of a lac and a-half of rupees settled on Vizier Ali, beside other arrangements regarding the support of the company's troops, deemed necessary for the defence of Oude.

In the beginning of 1798, the governor-general, who had been raised to the peerage with the title of Lord Teignmouth, resigned his position on account of ill-health, and returned to England. Despite his high character as a financier, the pecuniary results of his four years' sway were disastrous, and the scourge of war was but temporarily delayed. Tippoo evidently waited an opportunity to renew hostilities; and the expensive preparations made to invade Mysoor, in

* Bajee Rao had endeavoured to open a secret intercourse with Madhoo Rao, which being discovered by Nana Furnavees, drew severe reproaches and more strict surveillance on both cousins.—(Duff.)

† In this year the Calcutta bench, and orientalists in general, sustained a heavy loss in the death of the upright judge and distinguished scholar, Sir William Jones, aged forty-eight. He was the first president of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Warren Hastings the patron, and Charles Wilkins a member.

‡ These conquests were mainly effected through the zeal of Lord Hobart, governor of Madras.

§ On inquiry, it appeared that the alleged children of Asuf-ad-Dowlah were all supposititious.

the event of his taking part with the Dutch, together with the requirements of the presidencies of Madras and Bombay, obliged the supreme government, in 1796, to open the treasury for a loan bearing twelve per cent. interest. In the following year, increasing involvements compelled a considerable reduction in the investments—a step never taken, it will be recollected, except under the stern pressure of necessity.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD MORNINGTON (MARQUIS WELLESLEY.)—An impending war with Mysoor, intricate political relations based on the temporary interest of other native powers, an exhausted treasury, and an increasing debt,—such were the difficulties that awaited the successor of Lord Teignmouth. After some delay, the choice—happily for England and for India—fell upon a nobleman no less distinguished for decision of purpose than for deliberation and forethought in counsel, gifted with a mind alike capable of grasping the grandest plans, and of entering into the minute details so important to good government. Lord Mornington was but seven-and-thirty when he was selected for the arduous office of exercising almost irresponsible authority over British India; but he had been early called to play an important part in public life, and had, from circumstances, been led to regard Indian affairs with peculiar interest, even before his appointment as one of the six commissioners of the Board of Control, in 1793.* In this position he continued for the ensuing five years, attending sedulously to its duties, and availing himself to the utmost of the opportunities it afforded of becoming intimately acquainted with the condition of the E. I. Cy., the mode of government adopted in the three presidencies, and the position and history of neighbouring powers. The subject was, to the highest degree, attractive to a statesman who considered that "the majesty of Great Britain was her trade, and the throne of the commerce of the world the fittest object of her ambition." The able and indefatigable, but prejudiced historian of India, was probably but imperfectly acquainted with the character and antecedents of Lord Mornington, when he remarked that he came out as a war-governor: still less ground existed for the assertion, that his lordship had "possessed but little time for acquainting himself with the complicated affairs of India, when all his attention was attracted to a particular point."† The remarkable letter, addressed to Lord Melville from the Cape of Good Hope, in 1798,‡ abundantly attests the extraordinary amount of information already accumulated by the writer, as well as the profound and far-sighted views which he had been enabled to form therefrom. The mental qualifications of Lord Mornington were rendered generally attractive by the dignified and courteous bearing, and the sweet, yet powerful utterance

* The Earl of Mornington (afterwards Marquis Wellesley) was descended from an ancient family, whose founders went over to Ireland with Strongbow, and held (on the tenure of bearing the royal standard "*quando opus fuerit*") the castle and manor of Dangan, in the county Meath, where the future governor-general of India was born in 1760. The name of his father fills an honoured place in the musical annals of England, as the composer of some of the finest chants and glees in the language: his mother, the Countess of Mornington, was highly gifted both in person and in intellect, and especially remarkable for force of character, which she retained unimpaired even to advanced age, and transmitted to at least three of her sons—the subject of this notice, "the Iron Duke," and Baron Cowley. The death of Lord Mornington, in 1781, arrested the college studies of his young successor, and called him when scarcely of age, to relinquish the classic pursuits by which he might else have become too exclusively engrossed, for the severer duties of public life. Close intimacy with the Cornwallis family, doubtless contributed to direct his attention to Indian affairs; and the influence of the Eton holidays regularly passed with Archbishop Cornwallis at Lambeth Palace, from 1771 to 1779, had probably its effect in producing, or at least strengthening the love of justice and high sense of honour for which the young lord became distinguished, as well as in implanting the deep and clear views of religion which formed the solace of his honoured age. His first care was the voluntary liquidation of his father's debts; the next, a most liberal provision for the education of his brothers and sisters, especially for that of Arthur, whose capacities he early appreciated. A brilliant career in the Irish House of Parliament, was speedily followed and surpassed by his success as an orator in the British House of Commons, where, strangely enough, his first speech was in reprobation of the conduct of Lord North in making Warren Hastings governor-general of India, after his unprincipled conduct regarding the Rohillas. The opinions delivered by him on the questions of war with the French republic, the disputes regarding the regency, the abolition of the Irish parliament, and Catholic emancipation, have their page in history; but none occupy a higher place in the memory of those who cherish the name of the Marquis Wellesley, than his unwavering and indignant denunciation of the slave-trade, which he declared to be an "abominable, infamous, and bloody traffic," the continuance of which it was a disgrace to Great Britain to sanction, even for an hour. (*Vide* Debate on motion of Mr. Dundas for *gradual* abolition, April, 1792.)

† Mill's *India*; edited by Prof. Wilson, vi., 73.

‡ *Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence of the Marquis Wellesley*; edited by R. Montgomery Martin, i., 1—15. Murray: London, 1836.

which enhanced the effect of his rare eloquence. His small but perfectly symmetrical figure, formed a worthy model for the chisels of Bacon and Chantry; while the easel of Lawrence rendered the delicate but clearly defined outline of the nose and mouth, the soft, gazelle-like* eyes and dark arched brows, in contrast with the silver locks which clustered round his lofty forehead—scarcely less publicly known, in his own time, than the remarkable profile and eagle-eye of his younger brother are at present.

On his arrival in Madras, in April, 1798, Lord Mornington was accompanied by his younger brother Henry, afterwards Lord Cowley, in the capacity of private secretary. The future duke, then Lt.-Col. Wellesley, with his regiment (the 33rd), had been already some months in India. After a brief stay at Madras (of which presidency Lord Clive, the son of the hero of Arcot, was appointed governor), Lord Mornington proceeded to Calcutta, and commenced a series of civil reforms; but his attention was speedily arrested by the intrigues of Tippoo and some French adventurers, who, though in themselves of small importance, might, he well knew, at any moment give place to, or acquire the rank of powerfully supported representatives of their nation. In fact, schemes to that effect were in process of development; though the success of the British by sea and land, the victories of Nelson on the Nile, and that of Acre by Sir Sidney Smith, in conjunction with Lord Mornington's own measures, eventually prevented Buonaparte from putting into execution his cherished plan of wresting from England her growing Indian empire. The republican general and his great adversaries, the brothers Wellesley, had a long series of diplomatic hostilities to wage in distant hemispheres, before the last fierce struggle which convulsed the European continent with the death-throes of the usurped authority of the citizen emperor! Their battle-fields and council-chambers, as yet, lay wide apart; but the letters of Buonaparte to Tippoo Sultan and to Zemaun Shah, the successor of the fierce Doorani conqueror of Paniput, who had threatened to renew the incursions of his grandsire in Hindoostan, served to convey an impression to the native princes that a European power did exist, eagerly waiting its opportunity to fight the English with their own weapons. So strongly impressed was Tippoo with this conviction, that he sent ambassadors to the French governor of the Mauritius (M. Malartic), with proposals for an offensive and defensive alliance against their mutual rival, offering to bear the whole expenses of the French auxiliary force to be sent to his assistance, and to furnish them with every accustomed allowance except wine and spirits, with which he declared himself entirely unprovided. The truth was, that Tippoo, in laudable conformity with the ordinance of his standard of action, the Koran, forbade his subjects to use any description of intoxicating plants or beverages; and, as far as possible, caused the white poppy and the hemp-plant to be destroyed even in private gardens. Those only who, like Colonel Tod and other travelled historians, have had the opportunity of searching out for themselves authentic records illustrative of the condition of the people of India at different epochs, can fully appreciate the political importance of this measure, and its probable effect in tending to stay the moral and physical degradation which the abuse of all intoxicating compounds never fails to produce, especially of that valuable medicine, but when misused, detestable drug, opium.

The offer of the sultan was warmly welcomed by the French governor, and a small detachment† of volunteers sent to Malabar, and received as an earnest of further assistance. Lord Mornington addressed repeated remonstrances to Tippoo respecting this notorious breach of faith; and received, in return, the same empty professions of good-will which had been previously made to Lord Cornwallis. There was but one course to be taken with a man who met all arguments regarding the hostile operations in which he was engaged by positive denial or wilful silence; and the governor-general, despite the exhausted treasury and financial involvements which even a peace-governor had been unable to avoid, now found himself compelled to prepare for the renewal of war. He proceeded to Madras, where, by infusing his own spirit into this heretofore venal and incapable presidency, he procured

* This expression may savour of exaggeration or affectation to persons unacquainted with Lord Wellesley. Those who have watched him while speaking on subjects which touched his feelings, will, on the contrary, consider the comparison a poor compliment to eyes gifted with the power of reflecting every varying phase of thought and feeling, but ever tender and gazelle-like in repose.

† About 150; composed of convicted criminals and the refuse of the rabble of the island.—(*Despatches.*)

the adoption of measures for the complete equipment of the armies on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar. The conduct of Nizam Ali, the subahdar of the Deccan, afforded much ground for uneasiness. The refusal of Sir John Shore to suffer the English subsidiary detachment to fight against the Mahrattas, had induced him to raise a large corps, trained and officered by French adventurers, under the immediate superintendence of a M. Raymond, who was justly suspected of being in communication with Tippoo. Lord Mornington felt that the course of events might render this body a nucleus for all powers and persons jealous or envious of British supremacy. He therefore hastened to make overtures for a closer alliance with the Nizam; and on the 1st of September, a new treaty was concluded, by which the subsidiary detachment in his service was increased from two to six battalions, and the E. I. Cy. became pledged for his protection against any unjust demands on the part of the Mahrattas. The Nizam consented to the immediate disbandment of Raymond's corps, and the surrender of their officers as prisoners of war; but as he manifested some hesitation regarding the fulfilment of these stipulations, the French cantonments were unexpectedly surrounded by the whole English force, in conjunction with a body of the Hyderabad cavalry. The men, already disaffected,* upon a promise of continued employment and the payment of arrears, laid down their weapons; the officers were quietly arrested, and, in a few hours, 14,000 men, possessing a train of artillery and a well-supplied arsenal, were completely disarmed and disorganised. The private property and arrears due to the officers were carefully secured to them by the governor-general, and arrangements made for their honourable treatment and speedy transport to their own country.

The primary importance of neutralising the danger of French influence at the court of the Nizam, did not blind Lord Mornington to the advisability of avoiding hostilities with the Mahrattas. The supremacy of Nana Furnavees and his baby peishwa, had given place to that of Sindia and Bajee Rao, with whom Nana had become partially reconciled; and through his influence, a pledge of co-operation, in the event of a war with Mysoor, was given by them, but apparently with the most treacherous intent.

These precautionary measures concluded, Lord Mornington felt himself in a position to bring matters to an issue. The "violent and faithless"† character of the sultan, rendered it necessary to take summary steps for the reduction of his power and arrogance, which had again become alarming. The abandonment of his French connexions was at first all that was desired; but the expense of military preparations having been incurred—the cession of the maritime province of Canara, with other territory and a large sum of money, the establishment of accredited residents on the part of the E. I. Cy. and their allies at his capital, and the expulsion of all Frenchmen from his service and dominions, were now demanded. Tippoo resorted to his old plan of evasion, hoping to procrastinate until the season for attacking Seringapatam should be past; and when hard driven, wrote a tardy consent to receive an English envoy to negotiate terms of more intimate alliance with that nation, while, at the same time, in his capacity of citizen and wearer of the red cap of liberty, he dispatched an embassy to the French Directory, soliciting speedy assistance "to attack and annihilate for ever our common enemies."‡

As on a previous occasion, his duplicity was met by a declaration of war; and on the 5th of March, the British force, under General (afterwards Lord) Harris, and that of the Nizam under his son Meer Alum, entered the Mysoor territory, with the intent of marching directly upon the capital. Lord Mornington truly declared, "that an army more completely appointed, more amply and liberally supplied in every department, or more perfect in its discipline and in the acknowledged experience, ability, and zeal of its officers, never took the field in India."§ The very abundance of the equipments of the invaders formed, in some sort, an im-

* M. Raymond, a man of considerable talent, died a few months before these events, and a struggle for ascendancy had induced disunion among the troops, who, it may be added, were avowed red republicans.

† Words of Lord Cornwallis.

‡ *Wellesley Despatches*, v., 15.

§ The army assembled at Vellore exceeded 20,000 men, including 2,635 cavalry, and 4,381 Europeans; to which was added the 6,500 men serving with the Nizam, and a large body of Hyderabad cavalry. The army of the western coast, assembled at Cananore, under General Stuart, amounted to 6,420 men, of whom, 1,617 were Europeans; while a third corps, under Colonels Read and Brown, from the southern districts of the Carnatic, at once threatened the enemy in flank, and secured abundance of provisions to the main-body of the invaders. A British fleet, under Admiral Rainier, lay off the coast.

pediment to their speedy progress; and this circumstance, together with the cumbrous baggage of the Nizam's troops, and the innumerable camp followers, tended to produce so much confusion, that the forces were repeatedly compelled to halt, and destroy a part of the mass of stores with which they were encumbered; until at length, the loss of powder, shot, and other military stores, became sufficiently considerable to excite alarm. Nearly the whole of the draught and carriage bullocks, comprising upwards of 60,000, died in the march to Seringapatam, although it was scarcely retarded a day by the opposition of the enemy. In the meantime, General Stuart, with the force from Bombay, had crossed the western frontier, and been attacked on the 6th of March, by the sultan with a superior force, near Periapatam. After a brisk action, in which the rajah of Coorg effectively seconded the English general by personal bravery and commissariat supplies,* Tippoo, being worsted, drew off his army, and hastened to meet the main body of the enemy under General Harris. This he accomplished near Malavelly, on the Madoor river, but was again defeated with heavy loss. His subsequent attempts to impede or harass the progress of the invaders, were frustrated by their unexpected changes of route; and he learned with dismay, that the battering train, with the last of the army, had actually crossed the Cauvery fifteen miles east of Seringapatam, while he was yet at a distance, keeping guard in an opposite direction,—an indubitable proof how greatly his system of intelligence fell short of that maintained by his father. Deeply disappointed, he summoned his chief officers to his presence. "We have arrived," he said, "at our last stage; what is your determination?" "To die with you," was the unanimous reply; and the assembly separated, after a tearful farewell, having resolved to intercept the expected passage of the English across the stream to the island on which Seringapatam is situated, and make death or victory the issue of a single battle. The equipments of the sultan were in order, and his troops well placed to contest the fords; but the advancing foe did not approach them, but took up a position on the south-western side of the fort, on the 5th of April, exactly one month after crossing the Mysoor frontier, having advanced at the rate of not seven miles a-day on hostile ground, and not five from the commencement of the march. The consequence of this unexpected tardiness, and of great loss of stores, was, that despite the extraordinary supplies assembled by the governor-general, it was ascertained, on the 18th of April, that but eighteen days' provision for the fighting men, at half allowance, remained in store.† The siege was of necessity carried on with the utmost diligence. The sultan made overtures for peace, but rejected the terms of the preliminary treaty now proposed—namely, the surrender of his remaining maritime territories, and of half his entire dominions, with the payment of two crore of sicca rupees, and the total renunciation of French auxiliaries. Every hour's delay rendered the position of the allies more critical; and on the 28th, when the sultan renewed his proposals for a conference, he was informed that no ambassadors would be received unless accompanied by four of his sons and four of his generals (including Seyed Ghofar) as hostages, with a crore of rupees, in token of sincerity.

No answer was returned. Tippoo's hereditary aversion to the English had been raised to the highest pitch by the representatives of the French adventurers about his person. Naturally sanguine, he had buoyed himself up with expectations of the arrival of succours direct from France, from Egypt,

* The rajah of Coorg had collected 6,360,000 lbs. of rice, and 560,000 lbs. of grain, for the use of the troops; and his whole conduct during the present war, warranted praise equal to that awarded him on the previous occasion, of having been "the only ally who had performed all his obligations with fidelity, efficiency, and honour."—(*Mysoor*, iii., 247.) It is no disparagement to the acknowledged merits and peculiarly chivalrous character of the rajah, to add, that he had the deepest wrongs, both as regarded family and national relationship, to avenge upon the usurping dynasty. The reduction of Coorg had been at first effected by Hyder, through treacherous interference, during a contested succession. Of the two families, one was destroyed; the representative of the other (Veer Rajunder) escaped from the hands of Tippoo, and upon the outbreak of the previous war, hastened to join the English. Notwithstanding the ruthless manner in which the population and resources of his country had been treated, he was able, by his intelligence and activity, to aid materially the operations of the Bombay army. Mill, who is little inclined to bestow praise on Indian princes, speaks of him as possessing a remarkable "enlargement of mind, and displaying a generosity and a heroism worthy of a more civilised state of society."—(v., 453.) Col. Wilks narrates many actions which confirm this testimony. So, also, does Major Dirom's *Narrative*.

† There must have been, also, much disgraceful jobbery, the effects of which were happily neutralised by a public tender of 1,200 bullock-loads of rice.

or from the Mauritius; and when at length the progress of the siege drew from him a sincere attempt at negotiation, his haughty spirit could not brook the humiliating conditions named as the price of peace, and he suffered hostilities to proceed, comforting himself with the idea that Seringapatam was almost invincible; that the failure of supplies would probably even now compel the enemy to withdraw; and that, at the worst, "it was better to die like a soldier, than to live a miserable dependent on the infidels, in the list of their pensioned rajahs and nabobs." Despite the manliness of Tippoo's words, his deeds evinced a strange mixture of indecision and childish credulity. For years he had shown himself the bigoted and relentless persecutor of his Hindoo subjects; and so effectual had been his measures, that only two Brahminical temples remained open throughout his dominions. Yet now, those very Brahmins, whom he had compelled to violate the first rules of their creed, by fleshing their weapons on the bodies of sacred animals, were entreated to put up prayers on his behalf, and the *jebbum** was performed at great cost by the orders of a Mussulman sovereign, to whom all kinds of magical incantation were professedly forbidden, and who simultaneously put up earnest and reiterated prayers in the mosque, requesting thereto the fervent *amen* of his attendants. Then he betook himself to the astrologers, and from them received statements calculated to deepen the depression by which his mind was rapidly becoming unhinged. The evident progress of affairs might well furnish them with a clue to decypher the predictions of the stars, and a set of diagrams were gravely exhibited as warranting the conclusion, that so long as Mars should remain within a particular circle, the fort would hold out: he would touch the limit on the last day of the lunar month, the 4th of May; then it would be advisable to offer the oblations prescribed by law to deprecate an expected calamity. It is possible that the true movers in this singular scene may have been certain faithful servants of Tippoo Sultan, who, as the danger increased, beheld with grief his accustomed energy give place to a sort of despairing fatalism, alternating with bursts of forced gaiety, which were echoed back by the parasites by whom he had become exclusively surrounded. Seyed Ghofar was one of the most zealous and able of the Mysoorean commanders. Although wounded at an early period of the siege, he did not relax his exertions for the defence of the capital, or his efforts to awaken its master to action, despite the despairing exclamation—"He is surrounded by boys and flatterers, who will not even let him see with his own eyes. I do not wish to survive the result. I am going about in search of death, and cannot find it." On the 3rd of May, a practicable breach (100 feet wide) was effected. On the morning of the 4th, the sultan offered the oblation before arranged; and after an attempt to ascertain the aspect of his destiny by the reflection of his own face in a jar of oil, returned to his accustomed station on the fortifications. Seyed Ghofar, seeing the trenches unusually crowded, sent word that the attack was about to commence; but the courtiers persuaded their infatuated lord that the enemy would never dare the attempt by daylight; and he replied, that it was doubtless right to be on the alert, although the assault would certainly not be made except under cover of night.

Excited by such mistaken security, the brave officer hastened towards the sultan. "I will go," said he, "and drag him to the breach, and make him see by what a set of wretches he is surrounded: I will compel him to exert himself at this last moment." The arrival of a party of pioneers, to cut off the approach of the foe by the southern rampart, induced him to delay his intention for the purpose of first giving them their instructions; and, while thus engaged, a cannon-ball struck him lifeless to the ground, and saved him from witnessing the realisation of his worst anticipations.

Tippoo was about commencing his noonday repast, when he learned with dismay the fate of his brave servant. The meal was scarcely ended before tidings were brought of the actual assault, and he hastened to the breach along the northern rampart.

The leader of the storming party was Major-general Baird, who had, at his own request, been deputed to head the attack on the fortress, within whose walls he had been immured in irons for three years and a-half.† The hope of releasing captives treacherously detained, and of preventing such faithless outrages for the future, would, apart from less commendable feelings, have been suffi-

* See previous p. 357.

† Baird was taken prisoner with the survivors of Col. Baillie's detachment, and not released until 1784.

cient to excite to the utmost a less ardent temperament. Mounting the parapet of the breach, in view of both armies he drew his sword, and, in a voice which thrilled through every heart, called to the columns into which the assaulting force* had been divided, "to follow him and prove themselves worthy the name of British soldiers." A forlorn hope, composed of a sergeant and twelve men, led the van of either column, followed by two subaltern detachments, and were met on the slope of the breach by a small but resolute body of Mysooreans. Nearly the whole of the first combatants perished, but their place was rapidly supplied by the forces led by Baird; and in six minutes after the energetic call to arms, the British colours were planted on the summit of the breach. This important step accomplished, much danger and difficulty remained; for the traverses, especially along the northern rampart, were stronger than had been expected, and the sultan in person animated the exertions of his defenders. After much hard fighting, the British columns overcame all intermediate obstacles, and menaced Tippoo and his supporters both in front and rear. The confusion then became complete: the Mysooreans fled in various directions; some through a gateway in the rampart opening on the palace, some over the fortifications, and others by a water-gate leading to the river. The sultan, after long fighting on foot, being slightly wounded, was seen to mount his horse, but what he had next done, no one knew. It was conjectured that he had taken refuge within the palace; and the chief persons admitted to his confidence during the last few perilous days, alleged that obscure hints had escaped him of an intention to follow the ancient Indian custom, by putting to death the females of his family, destroying certain private papers, and then sallying forth to perish on the swords of his foes. According to instructions previously framed, Major Allan was deputed to proceed to the palace with a flag of truce, and offer protection to Tippoo and every one in it, on the proviso of immediate and unconditional surrender. The major laid aside his sword, in evidence of his peaceable intentions, and prevailed upon the attendants to conduct him and two brother officers to the presence of the two eldest sons of Tippoo, from whom he with difficulty obtained warrant for the occupation of the palace, within which many hundred armed men were assembled; while, without the walls, a large body of troops were drawn up, with General Baird at their head. The fierce excitement of a hard-won field had been increased by the horrible and only too well authenticated information of the massacre of about thirteen Europeans taken during the siege;† yet the torrent of execration and invective was hushed in deep silence when the sons of the hated despot passed through the ranks as prisoners, on their way to the British camp. The royal apartments were searched, due care being taken to avoid inflicting any needless injury on the feelings of the ladies of the harem, by removing them to distinct rooms; but still the important question remained unanswered—what had become of the sultan?

At length it was discovered that private intelligence had reached the killedar, or chief officer in command, that Tippoo was lying under the arch of the gateway opening on the inner fort. General Baird proceeded to the spot, and searched a dense mass of dead and dying, but without success, until a Hindoo, styled Rajah Khan, who lay wounded near the palanquin of the sultan, pointed out the spot where his master had fallen. Tippoo had received two musket-balls in the side, when his horse being wounded sank under him. Rajah Khan, after vainly striving to carry him away, urged the necessity of disclosing his rank as the sole chance for his preservation. This Tippoo peremptorily forbade, and continued to lie prostrate from the loss of blood and fatigue, half-buried under a heap of his brave defenders, until an English soldier coming up to the spot, strove to seize the gold buckle of his sword-belt, upon which he partly raised himself, seized a sabre that lay beside him, and aimed a desperate blow at his assailant, who, in return, shot him through the temple.

Thus perished Tippoo Sultan, in the forty-seventh year of his age. The body, when eventually dragged forth, was found to have been rifled of every ornament except an amulet on the right arm, immediately below the shoulder. The head was un-

* Comprising 2,494 Europeans, and 1,882 natives.

† The fact was subsequently ascertained by exhuming the bodies. The rumour being in itself sufficiently probable, may palliate, but cannot justify, the threats used by General Baird to the princes and others, who had surrendered on the faith of the assurances of Major Allan, to draw from them the whereabouts of Tippoo.—(Thornton's *India*, iii., 59.)

covered, and, despite the ball which had entered a little above the right ear and lodged in the cheek, and three wounds in the body, the stern dignity of the countenance,* its glowing complexion, the expression of the dark full eyes unclosed and surmounted by small arched eyebrows marred by no distortion, were altogether so lifelike, that the effect, heightened by the rich colouring of the waistband and shoulder-belt, almost deceived the bystanders; and Colonel Wellesley and Major Allan bent over the body by the uncertain and flickering glare of torch-light, and felt the pulse and heart, before being convinced that they were indeed looking on a corpse.† The remains were deposited beside those of Hyder Ali, in the superb mausoleum of Lâll Baug, with every ceremonial demanded by Mussulman usage. The minute-gun and other military honours, practised by Europeans, were paid by order of the commander-in-chief, a ceremonial which, however well intended, was misplaced. It would have been better taste to have suffered the bereaved family of the sultan, who had died in defence of his capital, to bury their dead, undisturbed by the presence of his triumphant foes. Terrific peals of thunder and lightning,‡ to an extent remarkable even in that tempestuous district, burst over the island of Seringapatam, and formed a fitting close to the funereal rites of the second and last representative of a brief but blood-stained dynasty. The prediction of Hyder was fulfilled: the empire he had won his son had lost, and with it life itself. The romantic circumstances attendant on the death of Tippoo may tend to throw a false halo over his character; but admiration for his personal bravery, or even better-grounded praise for his excellent measure in striving to put down the use of intoxicating preparations, which had become a very curse to India, must not be permitted to disguise the fact that, with few exceptions, his career was one of blood and rapine, beside which that of Hyder appears just and compassionate.

Tippoo manifested remarkable industry in his endeavours to establish the reputation of a reformer; but the regulations framed for the government of his dominions, were enforced by penalties of so revolting a character, as alone to prove the lawgiver unfit to exercise authority over his fellow-men; equally so, whether these were prompted by diabolical wickedness, or the aberrations of a diseased intellect. "History," says Colonel Wilks, "exhibits no prior example of a code perverting all possible purposes of punishment as a public example, combining the terrors of death with cold-blooded irony, filthy ridicule, and obscene mutilation—the pranks of a monkey with the abominations of a monster."§ Such a despotism, based on usurpation and fraud, and exercised with unparalleled ferocity, Britain may well rejoice in having been permitted to abolish.

The total military establishment of Tippoo was estimated at about 100,000, including matchlockmen and peons (revenue officers or police); his field army at 47,470 effective troops. The granaries, arsenals, and magazines of all kinds in Seringapatam, were abundantly stored;|| but a very exaggerated idea had, as is commonly the case, been formed of the amount of his treasure in gold and jewels, the total value of which did not reach a million and a-half sterling, and was entirely appropriated by the conquering army. In acknowledgment of the energy and forethought displayed by the

* The sultan was about five feet ten inches in height, had a short neck and square shoulders; his limbs were slender, feet and hands remarkably small, and nose aquiline. His dress consisted of a jacket of fine white linen, loose drawers of flowered chintz, a crimson girdle, with a handsome pouch slung over his shoulder by a belt of red and green silk.

† This expression, says Col. Wilks, was noticed only by those who saw Tippoo for the first time; it wore off the more speedily owing to his excessive garrulity and harsh, inharmonious voice.

‡ Two officers and several privates were killed.

§ *History of Mysoor*, iii., 269.

|| On the 4th of May, there were in the fort 13,739 regular troops, and 8,100 outside and in the intrenchments, with 120 Frenchmen, under the command of a *chef de brigade*, M. Chapuis. In the assault, 8,000 Mysooreans were killed, including twenty-four principal officers killed and wounded, beside numbers of inferior rank. The total loss of the British, during the siege, was twenty-two officers killed and forty-five wounded (twenty-five of these in the storming of the citadel); rank and file—*Europeans*, 181 killed, 622 wounded, twenty-two missing: *natives*, 119 killed, 420 wounded, and 100 missing. In the fort were found 929 pieces of ordnance (373 brass guns, sixty mortars, eleven howitzers, 466 iron guns, and twelve mortars), of which 287 were mounted on the fortifications: there were also 424,400 round shot; 520 lbs. of gunpowder, and 99,000 muskets, carbines, &c. Within the fortress were eleven large powder-magazines; seventy-two expense magazines; eleven armories for making and furnishing small arms; three buildings with machines for boring guns; four large arsenals, and seventeen other storehouses, containing accoutrements, swords, &c.; and many granaries abundantly filled with provisions of every description.—(Beatson's *War with Tippoo*.)

governor-general, in directing the whole resources of British India to one point, and thus, humanly speaking, ensuring success in a single campaign, he was raised a step in the peerage,* and informed that, by the concurrent authority of his majesty's ministers and the Court of Directors, a portion of the spoils of Seringapatam, to the value of £100,000, would be directed to be appropriated for his use, the remainder to be divided among the troops. Lord Wellesley was far from rich, but he unhesitatingly refused this tempting offer, as an encroachment on the claims of the army, and, moreover, as being an injurious precedent, likely to afford the future arbiters of peace and war, in India, pecuniary temptations to a belligerent policy. A star and badge of the order of St. Patrick, composed of some of Tippoo's jewels, was all that he accepted at the time. In 1801, an annuity of £5,000 was settled on him by the company.

Unfortunately, this memorable example of disinterestedness did not prevent some very discreditable proceedings with regard to the distribution of the prize-money; and the commander-in-chief (Harris) and six general officers (Floyd, Baird, Popham, Bridges, Stuart, and Hartley), were considered by the home authorities to have appropriated to themselves a very undue proportion; General Harris, in particular, having received one-eighth instead of one-sixteenth part of the whole. The command of Seringapatam was entrusted by Harris to Colonel Wellesley, much to the displeasure of General Baird, who exclaimed—"Before the sweat was dry on my brow, I was superseded by an inferior officer!" The governor-general showed his conviction of the propriety of the measure, by subsequently investing his brother with the superintendence of the civil government of Mysoor. As, despite his strong family affection, Lord Wellesley is universally acknowledged to have been distinguished for a judicious and impartial selection of particular men for particular positions, perfect reliance may be placed on his own assertion, that, despite the jealousy to which the appointment made by Harris would give rise among the senior officers, he confirmed, and would himself have originated it if necessary, simply because, from his "knowledge and experience of the discretion, judgment, temper, and integrity" of Colonel Wellesley, he considered him "the most proper for the service."† The generous warmth with which Lord Wellesley cherished the abilities of his younger brothers, was, it may be thought, part of his private rather than public character; but it was closely allied with the active benevolence which formed the mainspring of his whole career. The cadets of the service found themselves, for the first time, the objects of almost parental scrutiny. Talent, zeal, and industry were found to ensure a better welcome at government-house, under an administration celebrated for a singular union of oriental magnificence, patrician refinement, and scholastic lore, than patronage, high birth, or the yet more congenial aristocracy of talent could obtain, unsupported by meritorious service.

The disposition made by Lord Wellesley of the newly-conquered territory, was warmly approved in England, and excited in India a general feeling of surprise at its equity and moderation. The fortress of Vellore, in the Carnatic, was fitted up for the family of Tippoo,‡ and an allowance made for their support, more liberal than that previously assigned by him; his chief officers were all provided for by jaghires or pensions, dispensed with a well-considered munificence, which furnished a striking contrast to the parsimonious dealings of their late master. The affections of the Hindoo population were conciliated§ by an unlooked-for act of generosity. Cham Raj, the pageant-sovereign placed by Hyder on the throne of Mysoor in 1772, died of smallpox in 1796. He had been regularly exhibited in public at the annual feast called the Dussera; but Tippoo chose to dispense with the ceremony of nominating a successor, and caused the son of Cham Raj, a child of two years old, to be removed with his great-grandmother (a woman of above ninety), his grandmother, and other female relatives, from the

* Rather a doubtful advantage in the sight of the receiver, who was wont to allude to the merging of an English earldom into an Irish marquisate, as having changed his English ale into Irish buttermilk.

† Baird could not be trusted with such authority.

‡ Tippoo left three legitimate and seventeen illegitimate children; twenty-four died before him.

§ The chiefs of districts submitted cheerfully to the conquerors. The only opposition offered was that of Dhoondea Waugh, a Mahratta, who after serving under Tippoo, set up for himself as leader of a predatory band, was taken prisoner, and remained in confinement for years in the fortress of Seringapatam. Amid the general confusion of the assault he managed to escape, and soon collected round him a daring band of freebooters; nor was it until after several months' hostilities, that he was at length defeated and slain in a charge of cavalry led by Col. Wellesley.

ancient Hindoo palace to a miserable hovel, where they were found by the English authorities, in 1799, in a state of deep poverty and humiliation. Their sorrow was turned into joy and gratitude on being informed that the conquerors had resolved, not simply to restore them to liberty, but to place the young prince Kistna Raj Oodaveer on the throne* of his fathers, in their ancient capital of Mysoor, with a revenue exceeding that of the former Hindoo kingdom. The English reserved to themselves, by treaty, the right of interposing with paramount authority, in the event of any financial or political questions arising similar to those which had long distracted the Carnatic; but so far from employing their unquestioned supremacy to vest (as had been the case on former occasions) all power and profit in English functionaries, nearly every office, civil and military, was left to be filled by the natives themselves. Poornea, the experienced and trustworthy Hindoo chief minister under the usurping dynasty, was continued in office with the decided approbation of the female guardians of the young rajah. Colonel Wellesley, in all respects, but especially by judicious abstinence from needless interference, justified his selection for military commandant; while the rectitude and abilities as a linguist, of Colonel (afterwards Sir Barry) Close, facilitated his satisfactory fulfilment of the delicate position of political resident. The result was, that the Marquis Wellesley, at the close of his memorable administration, was enabled to declare, that the actual success of the arrangement of Mysoor had realised his most sanguine expectations.

Of the usurpations of Hyder, besides those restored to the Hindoo dynasty, to the value of thirteen lacs of pagodas† per annum; and after liberal provision for the families of Hyder and Tippoo, and their chief officers, a large overplus remained, the division of which, between the English and the Nizam, formed the basis of a new treaty.‡ The former took possession of the fortress, city, and island of Seringapatam, the districts of Canara, including all the sea-coast of Mysoor, together with Coimbatore and Daramporam, the intervening country between the territories of the E. I. Cy. on the Coromandel coast, and on that of Malabar; of the forts and posts forming the heads of the principal passes above the Ghauts, on the table-land of Mysoor, and the district of Wynaad. To the Nizam were given territories yielding an equal revenue with those appropriated by the English in the districts of Gooty, Goorumcondah, and the tract of country situated along the military line of Chittledroog, Sera, Nundidroog, and Colar, but without the forts, which it was considered would strengthen, to a dangerous extent, the position of a fluctuating and doubtful ally. The course to be adopted with regard to the Mahrattas, was a difficult question. The peishwa had wholly failed in his engagements of co-operation against Tippoo;§ nevertheless, the governor-general deemed it politic to offer him a share in the conquered territory on certain conditions, which he looked upon as necessary preliminaries to the establishment of a solid and satisfactory peace; especially the reception of an English subsidiary force, and an amicable adjustment, according to English arbitration, of the claim of chout

* Literally so, for he was seated on the ancient ivory throne, which Aurungzebe is said to have expressly sanctioned his ancestor in using, and which was found in a lumber-room of the palace after the siege. The throne of Tippoo was taken to pieces, its various parts forming splendid trophies of victory. The ascent to the musnud was by small silver steps on each side, its support a tiger, somewhat above the natural size, in a standing attitude, entirely covered with plates of pure gold, the eyes and teeth being represented by jewels of suitable colours. A gilded pillar supported a canopy fringed with pearls; from the centre was suspended an image of the *Uma*, a bird about the size and shape of a small pigeon, formed of diamonds, rubies, and emeralds inlaid in gold, and valued in India at 1,600 guineas. It was presented to King George III., as a fitting tribute to royalty, being generally regarded in the East as the harbinger of victory and sovereign power to the favoured individual whom it deigned to overshadow. By a singular coincidence, a bird of this "august" species (for such, according to M. d'Herbelot, is the meaning of its Persian name) built its nest in a grove of trees, under the shade of which the governor-general dictated his despatches while resident at Madras, for the purpose of more conveniently superintending the conduct of the war. The natives hailed with delight the prosperous omen, and received the tidings of the capture of Seringapatam as confirmation of the victorious augury conveyed by the presence of the Uma, which the marquis was subsequently empowered to add to his crest, with the motto, "*Super Indos protulit Imperium.*"

† A pagoda was then above eight shillings in value.

‡ The whole of Tippoo's annual revenue was estimated at 30,40,000 pagodas. To the rajah of Mysoor was assigned 13,60,000; to Nizam Ali, 5,30,000; to the E. I. Cy. 5,37,000; for the maintenance of the families of Hyder and Tippoo (in charge of the British government), 2,40,000; and for Kummur-u-Deen, commander of Tippoo's cavalry, and his family (in charge of the Nizam), 7,00,00 pagodas.—(Duff, iii., 177.)

§ Bajee Rao had actually accepted a heavy bribe from Tippoo to break faith with the English.—(Duff.)

long urged against the Nizam. These stipulations were peremptorily rejected; and the reserved districts of Harponelly, Soonda above the Ghauts, and others, equal in value to between one-half and two-thirds of the previously described portions, were thereupon shared agreeably to the articles of the partition treaty by the company and Sadut Ali.

A fresh contract was entered into between the latter parties in October, 1800, by which the Nizam, who was notoriously incapable of defending himself against the Mahrattas, purchased the services of additional troops from the company and the promise of their aid against every aggressor, by the cession of all acquisitions made from the dominions of Tippoo, either by the late treaty or that of Seringapatam in 1792. The proposition originated with the minister of the Nizam; and the governor-general prudently hastened to close an arrangement which placed the maintenance of the previously subsidised, as well as additional troops, on a more satisfactory footing than the irregular payments of a corrupt government. The countries thus ceded yielded a revenue of about 1,758,000 pagodas. By this arrangement, says Mill, "the English acquired a small territory, with the obligation of defending a large one." This is not correct, inasmuch as the company were previously bound, both by considerations of honour and policy, to protect their ally in time of need; and by the new compact they did but secure themselves against pecuniary loss in so doing. Circumstances again altered their relative positions; or, to speak more plainly, the British power, increasing in an eddying circle, manifested in this as in other cases, its inherent tendency to absorb the misgoverned and unstable principalities which sought and found in its strength temporary support, being driven by necessity, or induced by ignorance or recklessness, to adopt a procedure calculated to induce eventually their political extinction. Lord Wellesley, like many other great statesmen, anticipated but very imperfectly the result of his favourite measure. He hoped to find the subsidiary system instrumental in mitigating the turbulence of the native states of India, by controlling the sources of dissension, and encouraging and enabling minor chiefs to cultivate the arts of peace in the independent enjoyment of their respective rights.* But, in truth, the first elements of stability were wanting; and although the personal rectitude and ability of a nabob or a rajah, or their chief ministers, might for a time hold together the incongruous elements of Moslem and Hindoo communities, under an efficient rule, distinct, so far as internal regulations were concerned, from the paramount power, provided that were exercised with rigid moderation; yet the more frequent consequence of becoming subsidiary, was utter indifference on the part of the sovereign to the progress of a principality over which he had lost all absolute control; and, on the part of his subjects, contempt and indifference for his diminished power. The oriental idea of authority is identified with despotism; exercised in every variety of form, from the homeliest phase of patriarchal sway, to the unapproached grandeur of Solomon: still the same in essence—the delegated government of God. In the Christian world, despite the blinding influence of our sins and imperfections, we do recognise, by the light of the Gospel, the inestimable worth of civil liberty. The law of the land, apart from the individual who dispenses it, is the basis on which the nationality and independence of every English and American subject rests securely. But to Asiatics this is still a hard saying, and must remain so, until the same source from which we learned to realise its practical importance, be laid open to them also. If British supremacy prove, indeed, the instrument for the spiritual and moral regeneration of India, thrice blessed will be both giver and receiver. Yet whatever be the result, the immediate duty is clear—to spread the Gospel as widely as possible, and to endeavour by good government, by just laws honestly administered, by lenient taxation equitably assessed, to show our native subjects the value of the tree by its fruits.

To return to the affairs of the subsidiary states. The turbulent and dangerous character of Vizier Ali, the rival candidate for the dominion of Oude, rendered it advisable to remove his residence from Benares to Calcutta. The youth remonstrated strongly, but without effect; and while visiting, by appointment, the British resident Mr. Cherry, he spoke in violent terms of the hardship of the threatened coercion. The resident is represented to have behaved with much moderation; but Vizier Ali, giving vent to rage, started up and made a thrust at him with his sword; an example which, according to eastern custom, was immediately followed by his attendants.

* *Wellesley Despatches*, iv., 151.

Mr. Cherry was killed while attempting to escape through a window, and two of his companions shared his fate. The assassins, apparently in the hope of heading a general insurrection, hurried to the residence of the English magistrate,* who, after sending his wife and family to the terrace on the top of the house, seized a long spear, took up his position on a narrow staircase, and delayed their ascent until a party of horse arrived and put them to flight. Vizier Ali sought refuge in the woody country of Bhootwal, and being joined by several disaffected zemindars, soon mustered a considerable predatory force, wherewith to make incursions on Oude. The parsimonious and timid administration of Sadut Ali had rendered him extremely unpopular; and he urgently entreated that the English troops might be stationed immediately about his person to protect him, if need were, against his own army, whose faithlessness and disaffection likewise formed his excuse for not personally taking the field, in co-operation with his allies, against their joint foe. His assistance was not needed; Vizier Ali soon found himself abandoned by his followers, and was, in December, 1800, delivered over by the rajah of Jeypoor to the British government, and detained prisoner in Fort William.†

At the close of hostilities, the marquis pressed on the nabob the propriety of disbanding a force which, by his own showing, was worse than useless. This proposition, Sadut Ali met by a declaration of his desire to resign a position which he found full of weariness and danger. On the further development of his views, it appeared that the abdication in question was to be in favour of his son; and that in quitting the musnud, he intended to carry away the treasures and jewels inherited from Asuf-ad-Dowlah, leaving his successor to pay the arrears due to the E. I. Cy. and the native troops as best he could. These conditions were promptly rejected, and a long discussion ensued, which terminated in the disbandment of all the native troops (their arrears being first wholly liquidated), and the substitution of an additional European force (numbering, in all, 13,000 men), in return for which, the provinces of the Doab and Rohilcund‡ were conceded in perpetuity. To adjust the provisional administration of the ceded districts, three of the civil servants of the company were formed into a board of commissioners, and the Hon. Henry Wellesley nominated president and lieutenant-governor. For this appointment Lord Wellesley was blamed by the directors, as an evidence of partiality towards his brother, at the expense of the covenanted officials; but the propriety of the selection (as in the case of Colonel Wellesley in Mysoor) was amply justified by the result; and the disinterestedness (as far as regarded pecuniary motives) of both nominee and nominator was apparent, from no emolument being attached to the delicate and onerous office. By the late treaty, the tribute paid to the ruler of Oude by the nabob of Furruckabad (the Patan chief of a district in the province of Agra), was transferred to the E. I. Cy., and an arrangement made—it is said with his perfect acquiescence—by which he renounced political power, and was added to the growing list of titled stipendiaries. Several of the more powerful zemindars of the ceded territories resisted the proposed alterations, and made attempts at independence; especially Bugwunt Sing, who possessed the forts of Sasnee and Bidjeghur; the rajah Chutter Sâl; and the zemindar of Cutchoura: but they were all overpowered in the course of the years 1802—1803, and compelled to seek safety in flight.

The character of Sadut Ali was strikingly evinced, in the course of his negotiations with Lord Wellesley, by an attempt to win from the latter a sanction similar to that given to his half-brother (Azuf-ad-Dowlah), for the plunder of the begum, the grandmother of both these hopeful rulers. The intimation was met with merited disdain; but the old lady, fearing to be exposed to continuous indirect persecution, took the prudent step of ensuring the peaceable enjoyment of her personal property, by offering to constitute the company her heir—a proposition which was gladly accepted.

While these changes were taking place in Oude, others of a similar character were carried out in Tanjore and Arcot. Rajah Tuljajee died in 1787, leaving his adopted son and heir, Serfojee, a boy of ten years old, under the public tutelage of his half-brother, Ameer Sing, and the private guardianship of the missionary Swartz. Ameer Sing succeeded for a time in persuading the English authorities to treat the adoption of

* Mr. Davis, father of the present Sir J. Davis.

† Vizier Ali was afterwards removed to Vellore, where his family were permitted to join him. He died there, a natural death.—(Davis's *Memoir*.)

‡ The gross revenues of the ceded provinces were one crore, thirty-five lacs, 23,474 rupees.

his young ward as illegal, and caused him to be confined and cruelly ill-treated. The vigilance and untiring exertion of Swartz* occasioned a searching investigation, and the evidence brought forward on the matter led both Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore to consider the claims of Serfojee as well founded. The oppression exercised by Ameer Sing over the widows of the deceased rajah, was accompanied by general maladministration. During the first war with Tippoo, the management of Tanjore had been assumed by the English, as the sole means of rendering its resources available against the common foe; and on the conclusion of peace, a prolonged discussion arose concerning the propriety of restoring to power a ruler whose legal and moral claims were of so questionable a character. The supreme government, fearing to incur the imputation of excessive rigour, replaced Ameer Sing in his former position: but the home authorities do not appear to have approved of this decision; for in June, 1799, they expressly instructed Lord Wellesley not to relinquish possession of the territories of Arcot and Tanjore, which, in the event of hostilities with Tippoo, would "of course come under the company's management," without special orders to that effect. The measure thus taken for granted by the directors, had not been adopted by the governor-general, who deemed the brief and decisive character of the war a sufficient argument against a step the immediate effect of which "would have been a considerable failure of actual resources, at a period of the utmost exigency." The disputed succession afforded a better plea for the assumption of the powers of government; Ameer Sing was deposed, and Serfojee proclaimed rajah, in accordance with the terms of a treaty, dated October, 1799, by which he renounced all claim to political authority, in return for nominal rank, and the more substantial advantage of a pension of one lac of star pagodas, with a fifth of the net revenues. The assertion of complete authority over the Carnatic, was expedited by the discovery, consequent on the capture of Seringapatam, of a secret correspondence, in cypher,† carried on between Mohammed Ali and his successor, Omdut-al-Omrah, with Tippoo, in direct violation of the treaty of 1792. The conduct of the nabob during the late war, in withholding promised supplies, had given rise to suspicions of treachery which were now confirmed. His failing health induced Lord Wellesley to delay the contemplated changes; but on his death, in 1801, the dispositions made by him in favour of his illegitimate son, Ali Hoossein, a minor,‡ were set aside in favour of Azim-ad-Dowlah, a nephew of the late prince, who made over to the company all claim to real power, on condition of receiving the title of nabob, and the allotment of a fifth part of the net revenues of the Carnatic for his support. The company further engaged to provide for the family of the preceding nabobs, and to pay their debts. The government of the extensive and populous, though dilapidated city of Surat, was assumed by the company in 1800; the Mogul nabob, or governor, resigning his claims on receipt of a pension of a lac of rupees annually, in addition to a fifth of the net revenues guaranteed to him and his heirs.

The commencement of the nineteenth

* Swartz spared no pains in implanting religious principles, or in cultivating the naturally gifted intellect of Serfojee. The death of the good missionary, in 1798, prevented him from witnessing the elevation of his grateful pupil, who honoured the memory of his benefactor, less by the erection of a stately monument, than by his own life and character. Bishop Heber, in noticing the varied acquirements of Serfojee, states that he quoted Fourcroy, Lavoisier, Linnæus, and Buffon fluently; that he had "formed a more accurate judgment of the merits of Shakspeare than that so felicitously expressed by Lord Byron," and was "much respected by the English officers in the neighbourhood, as a real good judge of a horse, and a cool, bold, and deadly shot at a tiger."—(*Journal*, ii., 459.)

† The key to the cypher was found among the private papers of the sultan. The English were designated by the term *new-comers;* the Nizam, by that of *nothingness;* the Mahrattas, as *despicable.* In commenting on the disclosure of these proofs of faithlessness on the part of the nabobs of the Carnatic, as favouring the views of the directors, Mill exclaims, "Nothing surely ever was more fortunate than such a discovery at such a time." Yet, although plainly intimating the possibility of fabricating evidence to prove a lie, he is compelled, by his own truthfulness, to bear witness to the character of the great man, against whom he appears to be, on the whole, strangely prejudiced. "With regard to Lord Wellesley," he adds, "even his faults bear so little affinity with this species of vice, and his most conspicuous virtues are so directly opposed to it, that we may safely infer it to be as unlikely in his case as in any that can well be supposed, that he would fabricate evidence to attain the objects of his desire."—(vi., 312.)

‡ The governor-general was disposed to confirm the will of the late nabob in favour of Ali Hoossein, despite his illegitimacy; but his refusal (too late withdrawn) to accept the terms offered on behalf of the E. I. Cy., occasioned his being altogether set aside. He was carried off by dysentery in the following year. Ameer Sing, the deposed rajah of Tanjore, died a natural death in the commencement of 1802.

century, thus strongly marked by the extension of British power in India, is no less memorable for the bold and decisive measures of foreign policy, planned and executed by the governor-general. The threatened invasion of Zemaun Shah had been no vague rumour. A letter addressed by the Afghan leader to Lord Wellesley, peremptorily demanding the assistance of the English and their ally, the nabob vizier, in rescuing Shah Alum from the hands of the Mahrattas, and replacing him on the throne of his ancestors, had furnished ample reason for precautionary measures against the renewed incursions, under any pretext, of the dreaded Afghans. To avert this evil, there appeared no surer method than to form a close alliance with Persia; and for this purpose Captain (afterwards Sir John) Malcolm was dispatched as British envoy, in December, 1799, to the court of Teheran, attended by a magnificent embassy. The result was completely successful. Ali Shah engaged to lay waste the country of the Afghans if ever they should invade India, and to permit no French force to form a settlement on any of the shores or islands of Persia; the English, on their part, promised to aid the Shah in the event of invasion, whether from France or Cabool. Internal dissension between Zemaun Shah and his brother Mahmood, rendered the issue of the above negotiation of less importance as regarded the Afghans, whose turbulence found vent in civil war; but the danger of French encroachments still pressed severely on the mind of the governor-general. The injury inflicted by the privateering force of the Mauritius and Bourbon upon the Indian coasting trade, and even upon that with Europe, was of serious magnitude. Between the commencement of hostilities and the close of 1800, British property, to the amount of above two million sterling, had been carried into Port St. Louis. Lord Wellesley resolved to attempt the extinction of this fertile source of disasters, by the conquest and occupation of the French islands; and, with this intent, assembled at Trincomalee* in Ceylon, a force comprising three royal regiments and 1,000 Bengal volunteers. The project fell to the ground through the pertinacity of Admiral Rainier, who declared that he could not lawfully take part in the proposed expedition, without the express sanction of the king. The favourable opportunity was lost; and French privateers continued, during several subsequent years, to harass and plunder the commercial navigation of the eastern seas. The troops assembled by the zeal of Lord Wellesley, found useful and honourable employ. He had repeatedly suggested to the home government the propriety of dispatching an Indian armament for the reinforcement of the British force in Egypt; and on the receipt of orders to that effect in 1801, 1,600 native infantry were added to the body already raised, and forwarded to Mocha as fast as transports could be provided for them.† Sir David Baird had command of the land troops; Rear-admiral Blankett, of a squadron of the company's cruisers, sent on with a small detachment as an advance guard, but Sir Home Popham was dispatched from England to direct the naval part of the expedition. The struggle was well nigh ended before their arrival, by the defeat of the French in Egypt on the 21st of March, with the loss to the victors of their brave leader, Sir Ralph Abercromby. General Baird marched from Suez to Rosetta, at the head of 7,000 men, in the hope of contributing to the capture of Alexandria; but the treaty of surrender was already in progress; and with its ratification, hostilities were brought to a close. The striking demonstration of the power of England, made by bringing together numerous and effective armaments from the east and west, to fight her battles upon the banks of the Nile, was doubtless calculated to "enhance her renown, and confirm her moral as well as political strength." Still, it is well added by Mill, that had the Anglo-Indian army been permitted to accomplish the purpose for which it was first designed by the governor-general, the conquest of the Mauritius and Bourbon would have been a more substantial though less brilliant service.

Upon the restoration of Pondicherry (in accordance with the treaty of Amiens), measures were taken by Buonaparte which amply proved the wisdom of the energetic precautions of the Marquis Wellesley against attempts for the revival of French influence in India. Seven general, and a proportionate number of inferior officers, were sent from

* Trincomalee was taken from the Dutch in 1796.

† Lord Wellesley, with his usual foresight, gave orders for the occupation of Perim, a small island in the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, the possession of which would have effectually shut up the French forces in the Red Sea, even had they passed through Egypt. The Earl of Elgin, then ambassador to the Porte, effectively co-operated with the marquis in various ways.

France with 1,400 regular troops, and £100,000 in specie. The renewal of war in Europe afforded a reason for the reoccupation of Pondicherry in 1803, and enabled the E. I. Cy. to direct undivided attention to the complicated hostilities then carried on with the Mahrattas, the only Indian people possessing in themselves resources to maintain unaided a long contest. The most vulnerable part of the British frontier lay contiguous to the country possessed by Sindia. The death of Nana Furnavees, in 1800, left this enterprising chief no formidable rival at the court of Poona; and Bajee Rao the peishwa, appeared little less entirely under his control than the pageant-emperor of Delhi. In the event, therefore, of a struggle for supremacy, arising out of the numerous causes of quarrel abounding on both sides, the Mahratta confederacy, including the rajah of Berar, the representative of the Holcar family in Malwa, and the Guicowar of Guzerat, with other leaders of minor rank, led by Sindia and the peishwa, and aided by the skill and science of French officers, could collect a force against their European rivals which it would require a costly sacrifice of blood and treasure to repel. The best mode of averting this dangerous possibility appeared to be the formation of a strict alliance with one, at least, if not with the whole of the Mahratta chiefs. The error of Hastings, in sanctioning the aggressions of Sindia in Hindoostan Proper, had furnished experience which strengthened the convictions of Lord Wellesley with regard to the policy of forming connexions with native powers, only on conditions calculated to secure an ascendancy, more or less direct, in their councils. Perfect neutrality amid scenes of foreign and domestic warfare, venality, extortion, and bloodshed, could scarcely have been recommended by considerations of duty or of policy; and such a course, even supposing it to have been practicable, must have involved the infraction of old as well as recent treaties, offensive and defensive, with the Nizam and others. As for Lord Wellesley, his clear and statesmanlike view of the case, formed after careful examination of the actual state of British power in India, was never marred by doubt or hesitation in the moment of action. Fettered by the parliamentary denunciation against the extension, under any circumstances, of the Anglo-Indian empire, yet, convinced that its foundations must be largely increased before a state of secure and tranquil authority could be reasonably expected, he was often driven to adduce secondary causes to justify measures, which might have been sufficiently vindicated on the score of political necessity, since they involved no moral wrong. The wretchedness of the people of the Carnatic and Oude, abundantly excuse the steps taken to place them under the immediate superintendence of the company, in preference to employing, or rather continuing to employ, the military force of England in riveting the chains of a foreign despotism, founded on usurpation of the worst kind, that of sworn servants betraying their master in the hour of weakness. There were no lawful heirs to these states; or, if there were, they should have been searched for in the ancient records of the Hindoos: the Mohammedans were all intruders in the first instance, and the existing leaders of every denomination, with few exceptions, rebellious subjects. Why, each one of the African chiefs, whom English colonists and Dutch boors have so unscrupulously exiled from their native territories, had more of hereditary right and constitutional privilege on his side than all the Indo-Mohammedan dynasties put together. The case of the Hindoos is widely different; but in excuse, or rather in justification, of the conduct of the company, it may be urged that they found the great majority of the native inhabitants of India, under Moslem rulers, a conquered and much-oppressed people; and that, if England do her duty as a Christian state, they will, and—with all her errors and shortcomings, it may be added, they have materially benefited by the change.

The Rajpoot states were the only ones which, although brought in collision with the Mogul empire, were never wholly absorbed in it. The Mahratta confederation had been founded on the ruins of the vast dominion won by the strong arm of Aurungzebe, and lost through persecuting bigotry and the exactions consequent on unceasing war. Sevajee and Bajee Rao (the first usurping peishwa, or prime minister) built up Mahratta power. Madhoo Rao I. arrested its dissolution; but Mahadajee Sindia, prompted by overweening ambition, enlarged his chiefdom until its overgrown dimensions exceeded in extent the whole remainder of the Mahratta empire, and threatened speedily to destroy the degree of independence still existing in Rajpootana. Dowlut Rao possessed equal ambition and energy with his

predecessor, but far less judgment and moderation. The retirement to Europe, in 1796, of the experienced and unprejudiced leader of the European trained bands, De Boigne, and the accession to authority of a French leader named Perron, with strong national feelings, gave a decidedly anti-English bias to the counsels of Dowlut Rao. The peishwa Bajee Rao, knew this, and had, in the time of Sir John Shore, courted the protection of the supreme government, as a means of securing to himself some degree of authority. The danger of provoking war, by giving offence to Sindia, induced the refusal of this request. The accession to office of Lord Wellesley was attended with a reversal of the policy of both parties. Perceiving the great advantage to be derived from the permanent settlement of a subsidiary force at Poona, the governor-general formally offered the services of a body of the company's troops, for the protection of the peishwa and the revival of the energies of his government. The very circumstance of the boon, once urgently sought, being now pressed on his acceptance, would have sufficed to ensure its rejection by so capricious and distrustful a person as Bajee Rao: but other reasons—especially the meditated departure of Sindia, to superintend his own disaffected troops in Hindoostan, and the impending war between Tippoo and the English—were not wanting to confirm his determination. The conquest of Mysoor again changed the aspect of affairs; but Bajee Rao, in accordance with the sagacious counsels of Nana Furnavees,* even after the death of the wary minister, continued to reject the alliance pressed on him by the English, until an unexpected chain of events compelled him to look to them exclusively for help and protection.

Sindia and Holcar.—A new actor had recently come forward on the stage of Mahratta politics, whose progress seemed likely to diminish the authority of Sindia, and enable Bajee Rao to exercise unquestioned supremacy at Poona. Of these anticipated results only the former was realised; the predatory chief in question, Jeswunt Rao Holcar, proving strong enough not only to harass but to defeat the troops of Sindia, and drive Bajee Rao from his capital. The founders of the Sindia and Holcar families were, it will be remembered, men of humble origin; they became distinguished as leaders of Pindarries, a class of the lowest freebooters who had from early times infested the Deccan. Bajee Rao I., though always ready to avail himself of their services for the invasion of Mogul provinces, took care to exclude such dangerous subjects from Maharashtra, by habitually stationing them in Malwa, where the power of the two leaders became paramount. The progress and history of Mahadajee Sindia has been incidentally told in previous pages; but of Mulhar Rao Holcar little mention has been made since the battle of Paniput, in 1760, when he was named as one of the few leaders who escaped the carnage of that day. Having retreated into Central India, he employed himself, during the remaining years of his life, in settling and consolidating his possessions in Malwa and the Deccan. He had established considerable influence in Jeypoor, and obtained from the rajah an annual tribute of three lacs and a-half of rupees. A considerable part of the province of Candeish had been allotted to him for the maintenance of his troops; beside which, several villages were granted, by the peishwa and the Nizam, to the females of his family. The only lineal descendant of Mulhar Rao, a vicious youth of unsound mind, succeeded his grandfather in 1766, but survived him only nine months. His mother Ahalya (pronounced *Alea*) Bye, a singularly gifted woman, declared her intention, as the sole representative of both the deceased rulers, to select a successor. Ragoba† attempted to interfere; but Madhoo Rao, with characteristic chivalry, directed his uncle to desist from further opposition to the projects of a person whose right and ability to manage affairs were alike indisputable. With the entire approbation of the leading military commanders in the army of her deceased relatives, Ahalya Bye took the reins of power in her own hands. The Mohammedan custom of rigid seclusion had happily not been imitated by Mahratta females; Ahalya Bye had therefore no conventional impediment of any kind to check the free exercise of

* Nana Furnavees was imprisoned by Sindia; but being released in 1798, on payment of ten lacs of rupees, he accepted office under Bajee Rao.

† When the power of Ahalya Bye became established, the beautiful but wicked wife of Ragoba sent a female attendant to bring her an account of the personal appearance of a princess so highly celebrated, and so universally beloved. The description of a small slight woman, with irregular features, but "a heavenly light on her countenance," set the fair *intrigante* at rest as to any rivalry in the attractions by which she set most store; and, without noticing the last part of the description, Aaundee Bye remarked, "But she is not handsome, you say."

her physical or mental powers. Still there were duties inconsistent with a woman's sphere of action; and to ensure their fulfilment, she formally adopted as her son,* and elected as commander-in-chief, Tookajee Holcar, the leader of the household troops; of the same tribe, but no otherwise related to Mulhar Rao. Like our great Elizabeth, the fitness of her ministers proved the judgment of the selector. The conduct of Tookajee, during a period of above thirty years, justified the confidence reposed in him. Ahalya Bye died, aged sixty, worn out with public cares and fatigues, aggravated by domestic sorrows; but without having had, during that long interval, a single misunderstanding with her brave and honest coadjutor. The history of the life of this extraordinary woman, given by Sir John Malcolm, affords evidence of the habitual exercise of the loftiest virtues; and it is difficult to say, whether manly resolve or feminine gentleness predominated, so marvellously were they blended in her character. The utter absence of vanity, whether as a queen or a woman;† the fearless and strictly conscientious exercise of despotic power, combined with the most unaffected humility and the deepest sympathy for suffering; learning without pedantry, cheerfulness without levity, immaculate rectitude with perfect charity and tolerance;—these and other singular combinations would almost tempt one to regard Ahalya Bye as too faultless for fallen and sinful humanity, but for the few drawbacks entailed by her rigid adherence to almost every portion of the modern Brahminical creed, in which, happily, persecution has still no part, though self-inflicted austerities and superstitious observances have gained a most undue prominence. The declining age of the princess was saddened by the resolution taken by her only surviving child, Muchta Bye, of self-immolation on the grave of her husband. The battle-field had widowed Ahalya Bye at twenty; yet—despite the modern heresy of the Hindoos, that the voluntary sacrifice of life, on the part of the bereaved survivor, ensures immediate reunion between those whom death has divided, and their mutual entrance into the highest heaven, she had not been tempted by this lying doctrine to commit suicide, but had lived to protect her children and establish the independence of the Holcar principality. Now, flinging herself at the feet of Muchta Bye, she besought her child, by every argument a false creed could sanction, to renounce her purpose. The reply of the daughter was affectionate but decided. "You are old, mother," she said, "and a few years will end your pious life. My only child and husband are gone, and when you follow, life I feel will be insupportable; but the opportunity of terminating it with honour will then have passed." Every effort, short of coercion, was vainly practised to prevent the intended "*suttee*;"‡ but the unfaltering resolve of the devoted widow remained unshaken, and her wretched parent accompanied the procession, with forced composure, to the funeral pyre: but when the first vivid burst of flame told of the actual consummation of the sacrifice, self-command was lost in anguish; the agonising shrieks of their beloved ruler mingled with the exulting shouts of the immense multitude; and excited almost to madness, the aged princess gnawed the hands she could not liberate from the two Brahmins, who with difficulty held her back from rushing to die with her child. After three days spent in fasting and speechless grief, Ahalya Bye recovered her equanimity so far as to resume her laborious round of daily occupations, including four hours spent in receiving ambassadors, hearing petitions or complaints, and transacting other business in full durbar or court; and she seemed to find solace in erecting a beautiful monument to the memory of those she lamented, and in increasing the already large proportion of the revenues devoted to religious purposes and public works. Her charity was not bounded by the limits of the principality: it began at home (for she fed her own poor daily), but it extended to far-distant lands. The pilgrim journeying to Juggernaut in Cuttack, in the far north amid the snowy peaks of the Himalaya, or south almost to Cape Comorin, found cause to bless the sympathy for individual suffering, as well as the reverence for holy shrines, manifested by Ahalya Bye with royal munificence; while the strange traveller, without claim of creed or country, was arrested

* Although Tookajee always addressed her by the name of "mother," he was considerably her senior.

† A Brahmin wrote a book in her praise. Ahalya Bye, after patiently hearing it read, remarked, that she was "a weak, sinful woman, not deserving such fine encomiums," directed the book to be thrown into the Nerbudda, which flowed beneath her palace window, and took no farther notice of the author.—(Malcolm's *Central India*, i., 193.)

‡ *Suttee* or *sati*, denotes the completed sacrifice.

on his weary, dusty road, by water-bearers stationed at intervals to supply the wants of the passer-by; and the very oxen near her dwelling at Mhysir, were refreshed by cooling draughts brought by the domestic servants of the compassionate princess.

The beasts of the field, the birds of the air, the fishes of the sea, had all their allotted share of her bounty; and however puerile some of her minor arrangements may sound to European ears, or fanatical the habits of a sovereign who never discarded the plain white weeds of Hindoo widowhood, or touched animal food; yet, probably, these very traits of character conspired to add to the reputation her government retains in Malwa as the best ever known, the personal reverence paid to her memory as more than a saint, as an Avatar, or incarnation of the Deity.

A blessing rested on the efforts of Ahalya Bye, despite the fettering power of heathen darkness. Indore grew, beneath her sway, from a village to a wealthy city; bankers, merchants, farmers, and peasants, all throve beneath her vigilant and fostering care. Malcolm states, that he made inquiries among all ranks and classes in the countries she had governed, and could elicit no information calculated to detract, in the judgment of the most impartial inquirer, from the effect of the eulogiums, or rather blessings, poured forth whenever her name was mentioned, except the large sums bestowed on Brahmins, and the expenditure of state funds in the erection and maintenance of public works on foreign soil. The remarks made by one of her chief ministers, when commenting on what Sir John considered misdirected bounty, afford a suggestive text alike to eastern and western potentates. He asked, "whether Ahalya Bye, by spending double the money on an army that she did in charity and good works, could have preserved her country for above thirty years in a state of profound peace, while she rendered her subjects happy and herself adored? No person doubts the sincerity of her piety; but if she had merely possessed worldly wisdom, she could have devised no means so admirably calculated to effect the object. Among the princes of her own nation, it would have been looked upon as sacrilege to have become her enemy, or, indeed, not to have defended her against any hostile attempt. She was considered by all in the same light. The Nizam of the Deccan and Tippoo Sultan granted her the same respect as the peishwa, and Mohammedans joined with Hindoos in prayers for her long life and prosperity."*

After the death of Ahalya Bye, in 1795, the sole authority centred in Tookajee Holcar, who survived his excellent mistress about two years. He left two legitimate sons, Casee and Mulhar Rao. The elder was of weak intellect and deformed person; the younger, able and active. Ahalya Bye and Tookajee had hoped that the example of their unanimity would be followed by the brothers in the joint exercise of authority, but neither of the princes were capable of the self-denial and lofty rectitude necessary for such a course; and preparations for a war of succession were at once commenced, but abruptly terminated by the treacherous interference of Dowlut Rao Sindia, who having inveigled Mulhar Rao to his camp, caused him to be shot through the head; and retaining possession of Casee Rao, not only compelled him to pay the heavy price stipulated for the murder of his brother, but reduced him to the condition of a mere tool. An avenger arose unexpectedly to scourge the unprincipled ambition of Sindia. Two illegitimate sons of Holcar, Jeswunt Rao and Etojee, survived their father; the latter was seized and imprisoned by Sindia and Bajee Rao. He escaped and joined a body of freebooters; but being recaptured, was trampled to death by an elephant in the city of Poona. Jeswunt Rao sought refuge at Nagpoor with Ragojee Bhonslay of Berar. His confidence was betrayed; and through the intrigues of Sindia and the peishwa, he also was made a captive, but succeeded in eluding his guard, and reaching Candeish about a year and a-half after the death of Mulhar Rao. Resolved to make an effort to rescue the possessions of his family from the hands of Sindia, he took the name of assertor of the rights of Kundee Rao, the infant son of Mulhar Rao, then a prisoner at Poona, and assembled a heterogeneous force of Pindarries, Bheels, Afghans, Mahrattas, and Rajpoots. In 1798, he joined his fortunes with those of Ameer Khan, a Mohammedan adventurer, less daring and reckless, but quite as unprincipled as himself, on whom he subsequently conferred the title of nabob. A terrible series of hostilities ensued between Sindia and Holcar. From the appearance of the latter chief, in 1800, the natives of Central India date the commencement of

* Malcolm's *Central India*, i., 189.

an epoch of eighteen years' duration, which they emphatically designate "the time of trouble." The trained battalions of Sindia were defeated, and his capital, Oojein, and other chief places, captured and rifled by Holcar and Ameer Khan, with a barbarity which was horribly revenged on the wretched inhabitants of Indore by the instrumentality of Sirjee Rao Ghatkay, the father-in-law of Sindia, and the prompter as well as executor of his worst actions. Between four and five thousand persons are said to have perished by the sword, or under tortures inflicted by the ferocious Pindarries, for the express gratification of their diabolical leader; and the wells within the limits of Indore were actually choked up by the bodies of females, who had rushed on death to avoid the lust and cruelty which reigned unchecked for a period of fifteen days, and ended only with the slaughter or flight of almost every citizen, and the demolition of every house. Jeswunt Rao, with Indore, lost his only means of giving regular pay to his soldiers. Without attempting disguise, he told them the actual state of the case, and bade such as chose follow his fortunes in quest of plunder. The invitation was accepted with acclamation, and Jeswunt Rao became avowedly the leader of an army of freebooters, whose worst licentiousness he directed rather than curbed, and whose turbulence he bent to his will by the habitual display of the dauntless courage which formed the distinguishing characteristic of his family, and by the coarse humour and inimitable cajolery peculiar to himself.* His declared object was the restoration of Mahratta supremacy over India by a revival of the predatory system of Sevajee; but of this there was never any reasonable prospect. Jeswunt Rao was not the man to found a state even on the most precarious basis; he was "terrible as a destroyer," but powerless to erect or consolidate dominion.

The marauding force increased daily. Sindia renounced the cause of Casee Rao (who became thenceforth a dependent on his half-brother), and would have willingly purchased peace by the surrender of the infant Kundee Rao; but Holcar knew his strength, and had, besides, gone too far to recede with safety. A desperate contest took place between the two chiefs near Poona, in October, 1802, when the personal exertions of Jeswunt Rao, who had staked his all on the event, with the determination of not surviving defeat, resulted in a complete victory. By turning his own guns on the ungovernable Patans of Ameer Khan, who was quite unable to check their violence,† Holcar saved the city from indiscriminate pillage; not, however, from any motive of justice or compassion, but only that he might be enabled to plunder it systematically and at leisure, for the payment of the arrears of his troops and the replenishment of his private coffers. After committing every description of extortion, and giving, in his own person, an example of hard-drinking, by unrestrained indulgence in his favourite liquors, cherry and raspberry brandy, he left Amrut Rao (Ragoba's adopted son) in charge of the government, and marched off to pursue his marauding avocations in Central India.

The triumph of Holcar completely changed the relative position of Bajee Rao and the English. Surrounded by a select body of troops, the peishwa waited the result of the contest; and when it was decided, fled from Poona, leaving with the British resident a draft treaty for the company, requesting the permanent establishment of a subsidiary force within his dominions, and proffering in return the assignment of a certain amount of territory, and a pledge to hold no intercourse with other states, except in concert with the English. The treaty of Bassein, arranged on this basis, was concluded in 1802. It entailed the subjection of the claims of the peishwa on the Nizam, and on Anund Rao Guicowar, the chief of Baroda in Guzerat, with whom the English had recently become closely allied; their interference having been solicited in

* The following anecdote indicates that, with all his vices, Jeswunt Rao was not what a modern writer designates a *sham*. At an early period of his career, the accidental bursting of a matchlock deprived him of the sight of an eye. When told of the irreparable injury inflicted, he exclaimed, in allusion to the Indian proverb that one-eyed people are always wicked—"I was bad enough before, but now I shall be the very Gooroo (high-priest) of rogues." He had no religious scruples, but would plunder temples and private dwellings with equal indifference. The madness in which his career ended, is regarded as the punishment of sacrilege.

† Ameer Khan had little personal courage. After the battle of Poona he came to Jeswunt Rao, who was tying up his wounds, and boasted of good fortune in escaping unhurt; "for, see!" he said, pointing to the feather mounted in silver, which adorned his horse's head, "my khuljee has been broken by a cannon-ball." "Well, you are a fortunate fellow," retorted the Mahratta, with a burst of incredulous laughter; "for I observe the shot has left the ears of your steed uninjured, though the wounded ornament stood betwixt them." — (*Central India*, i., 229.)

favour of the legitimate heir in a case of disputed succession. These concessions involved a heavy sacrifice of political power; but they were slight compared with those which would have been exacted by Sindia or Holcar; and Bajee Rao could scarcely fail to fall into the hands of one or other of these leaders, if not upheld by extraneous support. Like his father, he had few personal friends, and so little deserving the name of a party at Poona, that the governor-general, on discovering his unpopularity, appears to have doubted what course to pursue with regard to his reinstatement on the musnud. The treaty had been entered upon in the belief that the majority of the jaghiredars, and the great mass of the nation, would co-operate with the English for the restoration of the peishwa. But if his weakness or wickedness had thoroughly alienated their confidence, the case was different; and Lord Wellesley plainly declared, that "justice and wisdom would forbid any attempt to impose upon the Mahrattas a ruler whose restoration to authority was adverse to every class of his subjects."

In the absence of any general manifestation of disaffection, Bajee Rao was escorted by an English force to the capital from whence he had fled with so little ceremony. Amrut Rao retired on learning his approach, and eventually became a state pensioner, resident at Benares. Tranquillity seemed restored. There could be no doubt that Holcar, Sindia, and Ragojee Bhonslay of Berar, would all feel mortified by a treaty which gave the English that very ascendancy in the councils of Poona they, or at least Sindia and Holcar, individually coveted. Still Lord Wellesley considered that their mutual deep-rooted enmity would prevent a coalition for so desperate an object as war with the English. Perhaps the result would have realised these anticipations had Bajee Rao been true to his engagements; instead of which, he behaved with accustomed duplicity, and corresponded with both Sindia and Ragojee Bhonslay, to whom he represented his recent voluntary agreement as wholly compulsory, and endeavoured to incite them to hostilities, trusting to the chapter of accidents for the improvement of his own position. Yet, when the moment for action came, his schemes were lost in timidity and indecision: he would not trust others; he could not trust himself.

Holcar had heretofore expressly disavowed any unfriendly feeling towards the English;* and they would willingly have mediated between him and the peishwa, had the rancorous animosity of the latter suffered them to enter upon the negotiation. Sindia courted the co-operation of Holcar through the instrumentality of Ragojee Bhonslay, and went so far as to surrender the child Kundee Rao, and acknowledge Mulhar Rao as the representative of the Holcar family, surrendering to him their territories in Malwa, and recognising his various claims throughout Hindoostan. Despite these concessions, the robber-chief hung back; and when pressed by the confederates to unite his army with theirs in the Deccan, with a view to making war upon the E. I. Cy., he asked who was to take care of Northern India? and withdrew to pillage the defenceless provinces of friend and foe.

The gathering storm did not escape the observation of the governor-general. Hostile preparations were commenced in every part of British India, and a declaration of his intentions demanded from Sindia; who replied curtly, yet candidly, that he could not give any until after an approaching interview with the Bhonslay; but would then inform the resident "whether it would be peace or war." This pledge was not redeemed; the meeting took place, and was followed by vague and general professions of good-will to the British government, mingled with complaints against the peishwa for an undue assumption of authority in signing the treaty of Bassein. The civil expressions of the chiefs ill accorded with the hostile and menacing attitude occupied by their armies on the frontiers of Oude. Major-general Wellesley, to whom his brother had delegated full powers, political as well as military, either for negotiation or war, brought matters to an issue with characteristic frankness, by proposing as a test of the amicable intentions of the two chiefs, that they should respectively withdraw their forces, pledging himself to do the same on the part of the English. The offer being rejected, the British resident was with-

* The day after the taking of Poona, Col. Close, the British resident, was sent for by Holcar, whom he found in a small tent ankle-deep in mud, with a spear wound in the body and a sabre-cut in the head; which last he had received from an artilleryman while leading a charge on the guns of the enemy. He expressed a strong wish to be on good terms with the English, and, with reluctance, permitted the withdrawal of the resident, after which the worst outrages were committed at Poona.

drawn, and preparations made on both sides for an appeal to arms.

Mahratta War.—The governor-general well knew that the finances of his employers were in no condition to endure the drain of protracted warfare, and he resolved to follow out the policy so brilliantly successful in the Mysoor campaign, of bringing the whole force of British India to bear on the enemy; not, however, by concentration on a single point, but by attacking their territories in every quarter at the same time.

The army, by his exertions, was raised to nearly 50,000 men. The troops in the Deccan and Guzerat numbered 35,600, of whom 16,850 formed the advanced force under General Wellesley; in Hindoostan, 10,500 men were under the command of General (afterwards Lord) Lake; 3,500 were assembled at Allahabad to act on the side of Bundelcund; and 5,216 were destined for the invasion of Cuttack. The armies of Sindia and Ragojee were estimated at about 100,000 men, of whom half were cavalry; and 30,000 regular infantry and cavalry, commanded by Europeans, chiefly French, under M. Perron, the successor of De Boigne. Himmut Bahadur, an influential Mahratta chief of Bundelcund,* sided with the English against the rajah, Shumsheer Bahadur. The campaign opened by the conquest, or rather occupation, of Ahmednuggur, the ancient capital of the Ahmed Shahi dynasty, on the 1st of August, 1803. The army under Major-general Wellesley, by whom it was accomplished, after much marching and counter-marching, fought the famous battle of Assaye, so named from a fortified village (near the junction of the Kailna and Juah rivers, 261 miles north-west of Hydrabad), before which the confederates had encamped 21st August, 1803. They numbered 50,000 men, and were supported by above a hundred pieces of artillery. The British counted but 4,500 men; and their leader beheld with anxiety the strength of the foe, even though, on finding the Mahrattas at length drawn up in battle array, the exulting remark re-echoed through the ranks—"They cannot escape us." While the British lines were forming, the Mahrattas opened a murderous cannonade. The 74th regiment sustained heavy loss, and were charged by a body of the enemy's horse. The 19th light dragoons drew only 360 sabres, but they received the order for a counter-charge with a glad huzza; and being manfully seconded by native cavalry, passed through the broken but undismayed 74th amid the cheers of their wounded comrades, cut in, routed the opposing horse, and dashed on at the infantry and guns. The troops of the line pressed on after them, and drove the enemy into the Juah at the point of the bayonet. The victory was complete, but dearly purchased; for one-third of the conquerors lay dead or wounded at the close of this sanguinary action. Of the Mahrattas, 1,200 were slain; the bodies of the fallen were scattered around in dense masses, and ninety-eight pieces of cannon remained on the field. Ragojee Bhonslay fled at an early period of the action, and Sindia soon followed his example. The cavalry evinced little inclination to out-stay their masters; but the infantry behaved with greater steadiness; the artillerymen stood to the last, and eight of the trained battalions of De Boigne manifested unflinching determination. When resistance became hopeless, the majority surrendered.†

In the meantime, success still more brilliant in its results had attended the army under Lake, who was himself the very model of a popular commander, as brave and collected in the front of the battle as in a council of his own officers. The destruction of Sindia's force under Perron, the capture of Agra and Delhi, with the person of the emperor—these were the leading objects to which he was to direct operations; and they were all so perfectly fulfilled, that the governor-general declared, his most sanguine expectations having been realised, he was unexpectedly called on to furnish fresh instructions. General Lake first came in sight of the enemy's cavalry at Coel, near the fort of Alighur, whither they retired after a slight skirmish. Alighur, the ordinary residence of M. Perron, was, in his absence, bravely defended by the governor, M. Pedrons. It was well garrisoned, and surrounded by a

* The ancient Hindoo dynasty of Bundelcund, of which Chutter Sâl was the last efficient representative, was overwhelmed by the Mahrattas about 1786. Shumsheer Bahadur was an illegitimate descendant of the first peishwa, Bajee Rao. Himmut Bahadur, by a not unfrequent combination, was a *gosaen* (religious devotee) and a soldier of fortune.—(*Duff.*)

† The fidelity of these mercenary troops is rendered more remarkable by the fact, that a politic proclamation, issued by the governor-general at the commencement of the war, had had the effect of inducing the British part of the European officers to quit the service of Sindia, on condition of the continuance of the pay previously received from him.

deep and wide moat, traversed by a narrow causeway, which formed the sole entrance to the fort, and for which, by some strange neglect, a drawbridge had not been substituted. One of the British officers who had come over from the service of Sindia, offered to head an attack on the gateway. The daring enterprise was carried out. Of four gates, the first was blown open by troops exposed to a heavy fire; the second easily forced; the third entered with a mass of fugitives; but the fourth, which opened immediately into the body of the place, resisted even the application of a 12-pounder. In this extremity, a party of grenadiers, led by Major M'Leod, pushed through the wicket and mounted the ramparts. Opposition soon ceased, and the British found themselves masters of the fortress, with the loss of 278 men killed and wounded, including seventeen European officers. Of the garrison, about 2,000 perished; many of whom were drowned in the ditch while attempting to escape.

From Alighur, Lake marched to the north-westward, and on the 11th of September, encamped within six miles of Delhi. The tents were scarcely fixed, when the enemy appeared in front. Perron had just quitted the service of Sindia, in consequence of the well-founded jealousy manifested towards him by that chief and the leading native officers. M. Bourquin, the second in command, took his place; and on learning the advance of the British against Delhi, crossed the Jumna with twelve battalions of regular infantry, and 5,000 cavalry, for the purpose of attacking General Lake, whose force, after providing for the safety of his baggage, amounted to about 4,500 men. Bourquin took up a position on rising ground, with swamps on either side, defended in front by seventy pieces of cannon, half-buried amid long grass. From this secure station he was withdrawn by a feint, which, with less highly disciplined troops, would have been very hazardous. Lake advanced to reconnoitre, and after having a horse shot under him, fell back with the cavalry in regular order upon the infantry, who had been meanwhile ordered to advance. The enemy followed the retreating cavalry, until the latter, opening from the centre, made way for the foot to advance to the front. Perceiving the trap into which he had fallen, Bourquin halted, and commenced a deadly fire of grape, round, and canister; amidst which the British troops moved on without returning a shot until within one hundred yards of the foe; they then fired a volley, and charged with the bayonet. Sindia's infantry, unequal to a hand-in-hand encounter, abandoned their guns, fled, and were pursued as far as the banks of the Jumna, in which river numbers perished. The total loss of the Mahrattas was estimated at 3,000; that of the British at 585, including fifteen European officers.

After being seventeen hours under arms, the troops took up fresh ground towards the river, and next morning encamped opposite the city of Delhi. In three days every show of resistance ceased, the fort was evacuated, Bourquin and five other French officers surrendered as prisoners of war, and the unfortunate Shah Alum thankfully placed himself under the protection of the British commander, September 10th, 1803.* General Lake next marched against Agra, where all was strife and confusion. The garrison had been under the command of British officers, who, on the breaking out of the war, were confined by their own troops. Seven battalions of Sindia's regular infantry were encamped on the glacis, but the besieged feared to admit them, on account of the treasure which they wished to reserve for themselves. The battalions were attacked on the 10th of October, and defeated after a severe conflict; three days afterwards, those who remained came over in a body, and were admitted into the E. I. Cy's service. The siege of the fort was then commenced, and a breach effected, when further proceedings were arrested by the capitulation of the garrison, the imprisoned officers being released, in order to make terms with their countrymen. The surrender was accomplished on condition of safety for life and private property, leaving treasure to the amount of £280,000 to be divided among the troops as prize-money.

It is almost impossible to sketch a campaign carried on simultaneously by different widely-separated armies, without losing the thread of the narrative, or interfering with the chronological succession of events. Choosing the latter as the lesser evil, it may be mentioned that, towards the close of October, General Lake quitted Agra in pursuit of a large force, composed of fifteen

* General Lake found Shah Alum seated under a small tattered canopy, his person emaciated by indigence and infirmity, and his countenance disfigured with the loss of his eyes, and bearing marks of extreme old age, joined to a settled melancholy.

regular battalions, dispatched by Sindia from the Deccan to strengthen his northern army; of which there now remained but two battalions, the wreck of the Delhi troops. The total was, however, formidable; being estimated at about 9,000 foot and 5,000 horse, with a numerous and well-appointed train of artillery. Their design was supposed to be the recovery of Delhi; but as the British advanced, the Mahrattas retreated; and Lake, fearing they would escape his vigilance, and suddenly reappear in some unlooked-for quarter, followed with his cavalry by forced marches, until, on the 1st of November, he found himself, after a night's journey of twenty-five miles, in face of an enemy in apparent confusion, but advantageously posted, and refreshed by rest. After an ineffectual and disastrous attempt at attack, the British general was compelled to withdraw his brigade out of reach of cannon-shot, and await the arrival of the infantry. The details of this portion of the action are somewhat vaguely told. The 76th regiment, which was chosen to head the attack, with some native infantry,* who had closed to the front, first reached the point from which the charge was to be made, and stood alone, waiting until the remainder of the column should be formed by their comrades, whose march "had been retarded by impediments in the advance,"† the nature of which is not stated. So galling was the fire opened by the enemy, that Lake, who conducted in person every operation of the day, and had already had one horse shot under him, resolved to lead the van to the assault, sooner than stand still and witness its destruction. At this moment his second horse fell, pierced by several balls. His son, who officiated as aide-de-camp, sprang to the ground, and had just prevailed on the general to take the vacant seat, when he was struck down by a ball. Lake had a singularly affectionate nature; the fall of his child, severely if not mortally wounded, was well calculated to unnerve, or, in his own phrase, "unman" him; but he knew his duty, and loved the troops, who, he writes with unaffected modesty, "at this time wanted every assistance I could give them."‡ Leaving Major Lake on the field, the general rode on with his gallant band, until, on arriving within reach of the canister-shot of the foe, their ranks were so rapidly thinned as to render regular advance impracticable, and tempt the Mahratta horse to charge. But this "handful of heroes," as they were gratefully termed by Lake, himself "*le brave des braves*," repulsed their assailants, who withdrew to a little distance. The order to the British horse to charge in turn, was brilliantly executed by the 29th dragoons. They dashed through both lines of the opposing infantry, wheeled round upon the cavalry, and, after driving them from the field, turned the rear of the enemy's second line. The British foot failed not to take advantage of the opportunity thus afforded. The whole force had by this time arrived on the field of battle, and the issue soon ceased to be doubtful; yet the hardy veterans of De Boigne's regiments, though deprived of almost all their experienced officers, would not surrender. About 2,000 of them were broken, surrounded and made prisoners, but the majority fell with weapons in their hands. "The gunners," writes the victorious general, "stood by their guns until killed by the bayonet: all the sepoys of the enemy behaved exceedingly well; and, if they had been commanded by French officers, the event would have been, I fear, extremely doubtful. I never was in so severe a business in my life, or anything like it; and pray to God I never may be in such a situation again. * * * These fellows fought like devils, or rather heroes."§

The battle of Laswaree was in all respects memorable. It completed the overthrow of the European disciplined brigades, and gave to England undisputed mastery over Delhi and Agra, with all Sindia's districts north of the Chumbul. These advantages were gained at a heavy sacrifice of life. The English loss amounted to 172 killed and 652 wounded: that of the Mahrattas was estimated at 7,000.||

The detached expeditions had likewise successfully accomplished their respective missions. All Sindia's possessions in Guzerat were captured by a division of the Bombay troops under Lieutenant-colonel Woodington. Broach was taken by storm on the 29th of August; and the strong hill-

* The second battalion of the 12th native infantry, and five companies of the 16th.—(Thornton, iii. 338.)

† Despatch of Lake to the governor-general.—(*Wellesley Despatches*, vol. iii., 443.)

‡ *Wellesley Despatches*, iii., 446.

§ *Idem*, p. 446. General Lake, habitually so ready to praise others, barely notices his own gallant deeds or those of his son: but he mentions, the day after the battle, that parental anxiety rendered him "totally unfit for anything." Happily, Major Lake's wound proved less severe than was at first expected.

|| *Memoir of the Campaign;* by Major Thorn.

fort of Powanghur, which overlooked the town of Champaneer, surrendered on the 17th of September.

The seizure of Cuttack was accomplished by detachments of the Madras and Bengal forces under Lieutenant-colonel Harcourt. The Brahmins of Juggernaut placed their famous pagoda under the protection of the British on the 18th of September; and the fall of Barabuttee, the fort of Cuttack, on the 14th of October, completed the reduction of the whole province.

In the subjection of Bundelcund, Lieutenant-colonel Powell was materially aided by Himmut Bahadur, the Hindoo leader previously mentioned, who joined the British detachment in the middle of September, with a force of about 14,000 men. The army of Shumsheer Bahadur made but feeble resistance, and on the 13th of October was driven across the river Betwa. Their chief eventually became a British stipendiary.

The concluding operations of the war were performed by the army under Major-general Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson. A detachment under the latter leader took possession of Boorhanpoor on the 15th of October, and two days after marched to besiege Aseerghur, called by the natives "the key of the Deccan." The fortress surrendered on the 21st, and with it the conquerors became masters of Sindia's Deccani possessions, including several dependent districts in Candeish. After a short time spent in pursuing the rajah of Berar, who retreated to his own dominions, and in receiving some overtures for peace, of an unsatisfactory character, from Sindia, General Wellesley descended the Ghauts on the 25th of November, with the intention of assisting Stevenson in the projected siege of Gawilghur. The junction was effected on the 29th of August, near the plains of Argaum, where the British commander, on reconnoitring, perceived with surprise the main army of the Berar rajah, comprising infantry, cavalry, and artillery, regularly drawn up, about six miles from the spot where he had himself intended to encamp. Sindia's force, consisting of one very heavy corps of cavalry, a body of Pindarries, and other light troops, supported those of Berar. It was late in the day, and the English were wearied with a long march under a burning sun; yet their leader thought it best to take advantage of the opportunity rarely afforded of meeting the Mahrattas in a pitched battle. Forming two lines of infantry and cavalry, Major-general Wellesley advanced to the attack. A body of 500 foot, supposed to have been Persian mercenaries, rushed upon the 74th and 78th regiments with desperation, and were destroyed to a man. Sindia's horse charged the British sepoys, but were repulsed; after which the ranks of the enemy fell into confusion and fled, pursued by the British cavalry, assisted by auxiliary bodies of Mysoor and Mogul horse. The loss of the victors, in killed, wounded, and missing, was 346 men; that of the Mahrattas is nowhere stated, but must have been very considerable.

The siege of Gawilghur, invested on the 5th of December, involved no ordinary amount of labour and fatigue, in consequence of the difficulty of carrying the guns and stores to the point of attack. The outer fort was taken by storm on the 15th; the inner fort was escaladed by the light company of the 94th, headed by Captain Campbell, who opened the gates and admitted the rest of the assailants.*

The confederate chieftains had by this time become extremely solicitous for the termination of war. The rajah of Berar dispatched vakeels or envoys to the British camp the day after the battle of Argaum; but in consequence of the inveterate manœuvring and procrastination of the Mahrattas, even when really desirous of concluding a treaty, affairs were not finally arranged until the 17th of December. By the treaty of Deogaum, then signed, the rajah consented to surrender the province of Cuttack, including the district of Balasore, to the company, and to relinquish to the Nizam certain revenues extorted from him on various pretences. He further pledged himself to submit all differences which might arise between him and the Nizam or the peishwa to British arbitration, and promised to receive into his service no European or American subject of any state at war with the English, nor even any Englishman, without the express sanction of the governor-general.

Sindia had now no alternative but to

* The defence had been gallantly conducted by two Rajpoot leaders, whose bodies were found amid a heap of slain. Their wives and daughters were intended to have all shared their fate; but the terrible order had been imperfectly performed with steel weapons, instead of by the usual method of fire; and though several died, the majority being carefully tended, recovered of their wounds.—(*Wellesley Desp.*)

make peace on such terms as the conquerors thought fit to grant; and on the 30th of December he signed the treaty of Surjee Anjengaum in the British camp, by which he ceded his rights over the country between the Jumna and the Ganges (including the cities of Delhi and Agra), and to the northward of the Rajpoot principalities of Jeypoor and Joudpoor; also the forts of Ahmedabad and Broach, with their dependent districts. On the south he yielded Ahmednuggur to the peishwa, and some extensive districts to the Nizam. In return, the leading places conquered during the war, not above named, were restored to him. Shortly after this arrangement, Sindia entered the general alliance of which the British government formed the dominant portion, and agreed to receive a subsidiary British force, whose expenses were to be furnished from the revenue of the territories already ceded.

The leading objects of the war had been fully carried out, in accordance with the plans of the governor-general. Among the less conspicuous but important services rendered by Lake, were the formation of alliances with the rajahs of Jeypoor, Joudpoor, Boondi, and Macherry; with the Jat rajah of Bhurtpoor, the rana of Gohud, and Ambajee Inglia, the unfaithful successor of Perron in the service of Sindia.* Lord Wellesley was anxious to maintain the independence of the Rajpoot principalities against Mahratta aggressions, both as a matter of justice and policy. Their territories were guaranteed to them against external enemies, with immunity from tribute; but they were not to receive European officers into their service without the sanction of the British government, and were to defray the expense of any auxiliary force required to repel invaders from their dominions.

War with Holcar.—Despite so many brilliant victories, attended with such substantial results, the British armies could not quit the field. During the recent hostilities, Holcar had remained in Malwa, levying enormous contributions upon the adjoining provinces. The success of the British arms seems to have convinced him of his mistake in neglecting to co-operate with chiefs of his own nation against a power whose efforts were steadily directed to the suppression of the predatory warfare by which he had reached, and could alone expect to maintain, his present position. When too late he bestirred himself to negotiate with the Rajpoots, the Bhurtpoor rajah. the Rohillas, the Seiks, and finally with Sindia, whom he recommended to break the humiliating treaty he had recently formed, and renew the war. But Sindia had suffered too severely in the late hostilities to provoke their repetition; and being, moreover, exasperated by the time-serving policy of Holcar,† he communicated these overtures to Major Malcolm, then resident in his camp. The inimical feelings entertained by Holcar, had been already manifested by the murder of three British officers in his service, on a false charge that one of them had corresponded with the commander-in-chief. Still it seemed highly improbable that he could seriously intend flinging the gauntlet at a nation whose military achievements had become the theme of every tongue in India; and the English authorities, anxious to bring matters to a speedy and amicable conclusion, invited him to send commissioners to their camp, to explain his views and desires. The Mahrattas are ever apt to treat conciliatory measures as symptomatic of weakness; and Holcar was probably influenced by some such consideration in framing the conditions for which his vakeels were instructed to stipulate with General Lake as the terms of peace, and which included leave to collect *chout* according to the custom of his ancestors, with the cession of Etawa and various other districts in the Doab and Bundelcund, formerly held by his family. Holcar had not without reason blamed Sindia for too exclusive attention to the rules of European discipline, and the neglect of the guerilla warfare which Sevajee and Bajee Rao had waged successfully against Aurungzebe. This was the weapon with which he now menaced the English, in the event of non-compliance with his demands. "Although unable," he said, "to oppose their artillery in the field, countries of many coss should be overrun, and plundered, and burnt; Lake should not have leisure to breathe for a moment, and calamities would fall on lacs of human beings in continued war by the attacks of his army, which would overwhelm like the waves of the sea."

* Sindia seized the Gohud province, and gave it in charge to Ambajee Inglia, who went over to the English. They kept Gwalior, and divided the rest of the province between the rana and Inglia.

† Ameer Khan was actually dispatched by Holcar to co-operate with Sindia; but the news of the battle of Assaye reached him on the march, and he returned as he came.—(Ameer Khan's *Memoirs*.)

Such a menace, from one of the most reckless and powerful marauders by whom the timid peasantry of Hindoostan were ever scourged, was tantamount to a declaration of war—a formality which, it may be remarked, forms no part of Mahratta warfare. Yet it was not till further indications appeared of his intention to commence hostilities at the first convenient moment, that the negotiation, which Holcar desired to gain time by protracting, was broken off, and Lord Lake and Major-general Wellesley directed to commence operations against him both in the north and the south. The governor-general entered on this new war with unaffected reluctance. Once commenced, it could not be arrested by an accommodation such as that entered into with Sindia; for a predatory power must, he thought, be completely neutralised, in justice to the peaceable subjects of more civilised governments. It was important to secure the cordial co-operation of the subsidiary and allied states against the common foe; and this was effected by the declaration of Lord Wellesley—that all territory conquered from Holcar should be divided among the British auxiliaries without reserve.

The opening of the campaign was disastrous. Major-general Wellesley could not advance in consequence of a famine which prevailed in the Deccan. Lake, after storming the fort of Rampoora (16th May, 1804), was compelled to withdraw the main army into cantonments for the rainy season, leaving Colonel Monson, with five sepoy battalions and 3,000 irregular horse, to watch the movements of the foe. The proceedings of this commander were most unfortunate. Though "brave as a lion," he wanted decision of purpose and confidence in the native troops. After making an ill-advised entrance into the dominions of the enemy, he became alarmed at the reported approach of Holcar in person; and fearing the probable failure of supplies before the British could join the Guzerat force under Colonel Murray, he retreated forthwith. A retrograde movement on the part of British troops was proverbially more hazardous in native warfare than the boldest advance. Holcar eagerly followed, attacked and defeated the irregular cavalry left in the rear to forward intelligence of his proceedings, and summoned the main body to surrender. This being indignantly refused, furious and reiterated onsets were made by him on the sepoy battalions at the Mokundra pass, which they resisted with steadiness and success, till, at evening, their assailants drew off a few miles. Monson, not considering his position tenable, continued the retreat; the native troops behaved admirably, and, though harassed by the enemy, and exposed to heavy rains, reached Kotah in two marches.

Kotah was a Rajpoot principality, originally formed of lands separated from Boondi. It remained for above a century and a-half of secondary importance, until it fell beneath the sway of Zalim Sing, a Rajpoot of the Jhala tribe, who governed under the name of regent—it would appear, with the full consent of the rightful prince or rana, Omeida Sing. Zalim Sing played a difficult part with extraordinary ability, and by dint of consummate art, perfect self-control, and unfailing energy, so steered the vessel of state, that while every other Rajpoot principality tottered under the effects of the furious attacks or undermining intrigues of the encroaching Mahrattas, Boondi, though ever first to bend to the storm, raised her head as soon as it had passed over, as if strengthened by the trial. Excessive humility and moderation formed the disguise beneath which the regent attained the position of a general arbitrator in the never-ceasing disputes of neighbouring governments, which he fostered under pretence of mediation. His deep duplicity did not preserve him from incurring strong personal hostility; and Tod, after narrating no less than eighteen attempts at his assassination, represents him as sleeping in an iron cage for security. At the time at which we have now arrived, "the Nestor of India" was about sixty-five years of age. His position was one of peculiar difficulty. To keep peace with Holcar he had paid dearly, both in money and character, having stooped to form an intimate alliance with Ameer Khan as a means of averting the scourge of indiscriminate plunder from the fertile fields of Boondi, great part of which were cultivated for his exclusive benefit; yet Colonel Monson, on his arrival with the weary and half-famished troops, demanded from the regent nothing less than their admission into the city, which could not be granted without creating great confusion and insuring the deadly vengeance of the Mahrattas. To the English, Zalim Sing was yet more unwilling to give offence. Their paramount authority was being daily augmented and consolidated; nor could he

doubt that Kotah, like other native principalities, would eventually do well to find in a dependent alliance on the dominant power, an alternative from complete extinction.* Even now, he was ready to make common cause with the retreating and dispirited troops, or to do anything for their succour, to the extent of his ability, outside the walls of Kotah; but the pertinacity of Monson in demanding admittance was unavailing, and the detachment marched on to Rampoora, through an inundated country barely traversable for the troops, and impracticable for cannon and stores, which were consequently destroyed and abandoned. A reinforcement sent with supplies by General Lake, gave temporary relief to the harassed soldiers, but could not remedy the incapacity of their commander; and after many more struggles and reverses,† attended with a complete loss of baggage on the road to Agra, the confusion of one very dark night brought matters to a climax; the troops fairly broke and fled in separate parties to the city, where the majority of the fugitives who escaped the pursuing cavalry, found an asylum on the 31st of July, 1804.

These proceedings increased the rabble force of Holcar tenfold. Adventurers and plunderers of all descriptions (including the wreck of the armies of Sindia and the Bhonslay) flocked to his standard; and after making the regent of Kotah pay a fine of ten lacs for his partial assistance of the English,‡ the Mahratta chief invaded their territories, at the head of an immense army,§ in the character of a conqueror. At his approach the British troops abandoned Muttra with its stores; but the fort was reoccupied by a detachment sent by General Lake, who had marched hastily from Cawnpore, in hopes of bringing the enemy to action. He was, however, completely outwitted by Holcar, who occupied the attention of the British general by manœuvring his cavalry; while his infantry, by a rapid movement, succeeded in investing Delhi. The city, ten miles in circumference, had but a ruined wall, with scarcely more than 800 sepoys, for its defence; nevertheless, these troops, headed by Lieutenant-colonels Ochterlony and Burn, after nine days' operations, compelled a force of 20,000 men to raise the siege.‖ Holcar, with his cavalry, withdrew to the Doab, whither he was followed by Lake, who, after a long pursuit, by marching fifty-three miles in twenty-four hours, eventually came up with the enemy on the 17th of November, under the walls of Furruckabad. The Indian horse never could stand a charge in the field; their leader knew this, and was himself the first to fly, followed by his panic-struck adherents, of whom 3,000 were cut to pieces by the victors, and the rest escaped only by the superior swiftness of their horses. The Mahratta chief made his way to Deeg, a strong fort belonging to Runjeet Sing of Bhurtpoor, a Jat leader, who, after the defeat of the detachment under Monson, had quitted the English, and joined the opposite interest.

The determined proceedings of Lake induced the confederate chiefs to evacuate Deeg and retreat to Bhurtpoor, a city not very formidable in appearance, of six to eight miles in circumference, defended by a high mud wall, and a broad ditch not easily fordable. But the rajah was skilful and desperate. Holcar had little to boast of; for while himself heading a defeated army in the field, his strongholds, in various quarters, had been reduced by the English; and a detachment of troops from Guzerat had occupied Indore, and were preparing to intercept his retreat. Still he was a marauder by profession, whose kingdom was in his saddle; whereas the Jat rajah truly declared he had no home but in his castle—every hope was bound up in its battlements. The defence was most determined; and even when a practicable breach had been effected, attempts to take the place by storm were neutralised by the ready inven-

* When Colonel Tod was employed in forming an alliance between the supreme government and the Kotah principality, he took an opportunity of assuring Zalim Sing that the English desired no more territory. The old politician smiled, as he answered—"I believe you think so; but the time will come when there will be but one sicca (stamp of sovereignty on coin) throughout India. You stepped in at a lucky time; the *p'foot* (a sort of melon, which bursts asunder when fully matured) was ripe, and you had only to take it bit by bit. It was not your power so much as our disunion that made you sovereigns, and will keep you so."—(*Rajast'han*, i., 766.)

† When the younger European officers were heart-sick, and well-nigh sinking with fatigue, the sepoys were frequently heard bidding them be of good cheer; for they would carry them safely to Agra.—(Duff.)

‡ Zalim Sing and Holcar (both one-eyed men) met in boats on the Chumbul, each fearing treachery.

§ According to Malcolm, Holcar's army comprised 92,000 men (66,000 cavalry, 7,000 artillery, 19,000 infantry), with 190 guns.—(*Central India*, i., 238.)

‖ The sepoys were on duty day and night. To keep up their spirits under incessant fatigue, Ochterlony had sweetmeats served out, and promised them half a month's pay when the enemy was repulsed.

tion of the besieged. Stockades and bulwarks rose as if by magic to blockade the breach; the moat was rendered unfordable by dams; and, during the attack, pots filled with combustibles, and burning cotton-bales steeped in oil, were flung upon the heads of the assailants. The British were four times repulsed, with a total loss of 3,203 men in killed and wounded; nor did even their highly-prized military reputation escape unimpaired. On one occasion, the famous 76th, in conjunction with the 75th, refused to follow their officers after the 12th Bengal sepoys had planted the colours on the top of the rampart. The bitter reproaches of their general recalled them to a sense of duty, and, overpowered with shame, they entreated to be led to a last attack, in which they displayed much desperate but unavailing courage. The operations of the siege were for a time intermitted to procure further reinforcements. The rajah, convinced that his destruction, however temporarily retarded, was but a question of time, offered twenty lacs of rupees, with other concessions, as the price of peace, and the proposal was accepted, although at the risk of leaving on the minds of the natives a dangerous example of successful resistance. The advanced state of the season, the fear of the hot winds, together with the menacing attitude of Sindia, then under the influence of his father-in-law, the notorious Shirjee Rao Ghatgay, were sufficient reasons for refraining from engaging the flower of the British army, at a critical period, in a contest with a desperate man, who, if mildly treated, might be neutralised at once. The son of the rajah of Bhurtpoor was therefore taken as a hostage for the fidelity of his father, and the restoration of the fortress of Deeg held forth as its reward. The force of Holcar had been reduced by desertion, more than by actual loss, to less than a fourth of its number at the opening of the campaign. The separate treaty entered into by the rajah of Bhurtpoor left him no hope but in the co-operation of Sindia, who affected to be desirous of mediating with the British government on his behalf. The power of both chiefs was, however, broken, and few obstacles remained towards a general pacification, on terms very advantageous to the English; when their whole policy was abruptly changed by the passing of the office of governor-general from the hands of the Marquis Wellesley into those of Lord Cornwallis, in 1805.

As early as January, 1802, Lord Wellesley had signified to the Court of Directors his desire of quitting India. The motives for the proffered resignation were various. They included several acts, on the part of the directory, which the marquis deemed derogatory to the reputation of himself and his brothers, as well as to that of his stanch coadjutor, Lord Clive, the governor of Madras; but the chief ground of complaint was the disfavour shown to his favourite scheme of founding a college at Calcutta, for the express instruction of young civilians in the description of knowledge absolutely requisite for the fulfilment of their allotted duties. The glaring ignorance of native languages evinced by European rulers, had long been a manifest hindrance to the good government of the people of India, as well as a bar to the kindly intercourse which might otherwise have subsisted. It was this primary defect which the marquis hoped to rectify, and at the same time to infuse into the youths of the service something of the *esprit de corps*, which he remembered with such vivid pleasure to have existed at Eton. The *College of Fort William* was his favourite project. The company did not deny the want of systematic instruction, which was daily more painfully felt; but they could not be brought to consent to the expenditure which Lord Wellesley deemed absolutely needful to fulfil the double object of educating Europeans and affording encouragement to native talent. The Board of Control supported the views of Lord Wellesley; but the project was, after all, but very imperfectly carried out, so far as the Indian population was concerned: for the instruction of civilians destined to serve the E. I. Cy., a college (Haileybury) was founded in England a few years later. Another cause which rendered the governor-general unpopular with his employers, was his deliberate and avowed opinion in favour of the extension of trade with England to India-built shipping, instead of confining it solely to the chartered vessels of the E. I. Cy. Despite the obvious policy, as well as justice, of this measure, as the only means of preventing Indian commerce from finding its way to Europe by more objectionable channels, "the shipping interest," then greatly predominant in the counsels of the company, violently opposed any alteration which should trench on their monopoly, and contrived, in many ways, to render Lord Wel-

lesley sensible of their unfriendly feelings. Nevertheless, his proffered resignation was deprecated by an entreaty to remain at least another year, to settle the newly-acquired territories, and concert with the home authorities the foundation of an efficient system for the liquidation of the Indian debt. The renewal of war with the Mahrattas, despite the brilliant success with which it was attended, could not but involve an increase of immediate expenditure, though compensated by a more than proportionate augmentation of territory. But the investments were impeded; and a failure in the annual supplies was ill borne by the company, however advantageous the promise of ulterior advantages; consequently, a clamour arose against the marquis as a war-governor, which decided his recall at the time when all material obstacles were removed, and his whole energies directed towards the attainment of a solid and durable peace. He had been sent out for the express purpose of eradicating French influence, an object which he had completely accomplished, though, of necessity, at the cost of much war and more diplomacy.*

The Wellesley administration—from 1798 to 1805—formed a new era in the annals of the E. I. Cy. Principles of honour and public spirit were engrafted which bore much fruit in after days; and many a friendless cadet of the civil and military service found in rapid promotion the direct reward of talent and integrity. Nay, more; there are honoured veterans still with us, who, after the lapse of half a century, delight to attribute their success to the generous encouragement or kindly warnings of the good and gifted Marquis Wellesley.†

Perfect toleration was his leading rule; nevertheless, he did not hesitate to interfere for the suppression of such heathen customs as were manifestly incompatible with the spirit of a Christian government; such as the frightful amount of infanticide annually committed at the mouth of the Ganges. Neither was he withheld, by timid or sectarian views, from affording liberal encouragement to the able and zealous men (Buchanan and Carey, for instance) who had devoted themselves to the office of Christian missionaries. To all around him engaged in the cause of religion or good government, he extended cordial sympathy as fellow-workers; and if a shadow of blame can be cast on his ever-discriminating praise, it would be that of having been sometimes too liberally bestowed. But the full measure of love and confidence he gave so freely, was returned into his own bosom. Military and civil officials, of all ranks and classes—from the Earl of Elgin, at Constantinople, and Lord Clive, at Madras, to the humblest clerk—vied in affording the fullest and most correct information for the use of the governor-general; and the merchants and bankers seconded his measures in the most effective manner by furnishing government loans on the lowest possible terms. At the close of the administration of Sir John Shore, it had been difficult to raise money on usurious interest; but the Marquis Wellesley, on the eve of a hazardous war, found men who could appreciate the policy of his measures, and make them practicable, even at considerable pecuniary risk.‡

The general feeling in India was, unhappily, not appreciated or shared in England. The marquis returned, after an arduous and brilliantly successful administration, to find the uncertain tide of popular feeling turned against him. The British public were well acquainted with the aggressive and grasping policy of Hastings, and the manner in which he had made the weakness or wickedness of native princes conduce to the aggrandisement of his employers or his own personal interest. It was a very natural conclusion to be arrived at by persons ignorant of the general disorganisation of India, that a governor who had added hun-

* Into his minor measures, especially the restrictions placed on the liberty of the press, it is not practicable to enter: the motives for some of them were purely political—to check the conveyance of dangerous information, or lying rumours to foreign states; while the edict forbidding the publication of newspapers on Sundays, had the double object of reverence for the sabbath and a desire to show the nations, that not only the missionaries, but the Europeans in general had a religion—a fact which might well have been doubted.

† The rising talent of the civil service was called out in a peculiar manner by Lord Wellesley. The youths of the three presidencies, who had distinguished themselves in their examinations at the college of Fort William, were placed in the secretary's office of the governor-general, and educated under his immediate care for the respective departments, for the duties of which they were best fitted. Of those thus brought forward, three (Metcalfe, Adams, and Butterworth Bayley) became acting governors-general; and the majority attained high positions in India and in England.

‡ Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Forbes, the head of the well-known firm at Bombay, was the chief of those who, by taking up government paper at par, as well as furnishing supplies, restored the confidence of the wealthy natives in the stability of the E. I. Cy.

dreds of miles and thousands of subjects to an empire, which Hastings had been stigmatised as an usurper and oppressor for increasing by units and tens, must have been guilty of the same sins in an aggravated degree. Besides, the augmentation of territory and population had been effected in the teeth of a parliamentary prohibition of the most decided character. The oldest and ablest Indian politicians vainly strove to show the utter impracticability of neutrality, and argued that England, now the dominant power, could not relinquish her high position in measure, but must, of necessity, abandon territorial sovereignty and commercial advantage in almost equal degree. The company were smarting beneath the expenses of a war, which a little patience would have brought to the most satisfactory conclusion, by the prostration of the predatory power, which was equally opposed to all regular governments, foreign or native, But no! an immediate compromise was the order of the day; the withdrawal of the plundering Mahrattas from the company's territories was a relief to be obtained upon any terms, even by a direct violation of the pledge voluntarily given to the Rajpoot states to maintain their independence against their marauding foes. What matter if all Rajast'han were overrun by these eastern Goths. The company's investments would go on meanwhile; and when Sindia and Holcar had quite exhausted all outside the magic circle, it would be time enough to devise some other sop wherewith to engage them. This selfish policy, disguised by the few who understood the real state of the case by much abstract reasoning regarding the admitted justice of non-interference in general, deceived many good men and raised a strong, though short-lived clamour, against the champion of the opposite system. The feeling of certain leaders in the directory, joined with party politics of a very discreditable description in the ministry, found a channel in the person of a *ci-devant* trader named Paull, who, having accumulated a large fortune in India, came to England and entered parliament in the character of impeacher of the Marquis Wellesley, to whom, by his own account, he owed heavy obligations, and entertained, in common with the generality of Anglo-Indians, "the highest respect." The leading accusations were aggressions on native states: extravagance and disregard of home authorities,—at peculation or venality, not even calumny dared hint. The first charge regarding Oude was thrown out by the House of Commons, and the accuser died by his own hand, prompted by vexation or remorse. Lord Folkstone strove to carry on the impeachment by moving a series of condemnatory resolutions, which were negatived by a majority of 182 to 31, and followed by a general vote of approbation. Thus ended, in May, 1808, a persecution which cost the noble marquis £30,000, and excluded him from office during its continuance; for, with rare delicacy, he refused repeated solicitations to re-enter the service of the Crown until the pending question should be satisfactorily settled. He lived to see the general recognition of the wisdom of his policy; and on the publication of his *Despatches* in 1834–'5, the E. I. Cy. made the *amende honorable*, by the unusual procedure of the erection of his statue in the E. I. House,* a grant of £20,000, and the circulation of his *Despatches* for the instruction and guidance of their servants in India. He died beloved and honoured, aged eighty-three; having twice filled the office of viceroy of Ireland —been secretary of state for foreign affairs; beside other distinguished positions. This is not the place to tell of the efficient manner in which the illustrious brothers worked together for the defeat of the national foe, Napoleon: here we have to do with the marquis as an Indian governor; in that character let the pen of the historian of the E. I. Cy. speak his merits. "The Marquis Wellesley was ambitious; but his ambition sought gratification not in mere personal aggrandisement, but in connecting his own fame with that of the land to which he belonged, and of the government which he administered,—in the diffusion of sound and liberal knowledge, and the extension of the means of happiness among millions of men who knew not his person, and some of them scarcely his name. That name is, however, stamped for ever on their history. The British government in India may pass away—its duration, as far as human means are concerned, will depend on the degree in which the policy of the Marquis Wellesley is maintained or abandoned—but whatever its fate, or the length of its existence, the name and memory of the greatest statesman by whom it was ever administered are imperishable."†

* Lord Wellesley remarked, that to witness this compliment (rarely paid until after death), was "like having a peep at one's own funeral."

† Thornton's *India*, iii., 575.

SECOND ADMINISTRATION OF LORD CORNWALLIS.—The new governor arrived at Fort William in July, 1805, and immediately assumed the reins of office. The interval of thirteen years between his resignation and resumption of authority in India, had told heavily on his strength of mind as well as of body, and the once indefatigable commander-in-chief returned to the scene of his former successes a worn and weary man, fast sinking to the grave under the infliction of chronic dysentery. Yet the English authorities, in accordance with popular opinion, declared him to be the only man fit to curb and limit the too extensive dominion obtained by the late administration in conjunction with the gallant Lake, whose services, though their effects were denounced, had been acknowledged by a peerage.

Lord Cornwallis had given proof of moderation by suffering Tippoo to purchase peace with a third of his revenues, and had rather relaxed than straitened the connexion of the E. I. Cy. with various native states. Despite the unsatisfactory results of his arrangements, and still more so of those formed by Sir John Shore, the Directory and Board of Control agreed in reverting to the non-intervention system, and urged the arduous office of effecting an immediate and total change of policy upon the ex-governor-general with so much vehemence, that he, from self-denying but mistaken views of duty, would not suffer failing health to excuse the non-fulfilment of what, with strange infatuation, was pressed on him as a public duty. It is not easy to understand the process of reasoning by which Lord Cornwallis was led to adopt such extreme opinions regarding the measures to be taken towards Sindia and Holcar. He had warmly approved the arrangements of the Marquis Wellesley regarding the occupation of Seringapatam and the complete suppression of the usurping dynasty; yet, now the arrogant and aggressive Sindia, and the predatory Holcar were to be conciliated, not simply by the surrender of a succession of dearly-purchased conquests, but by the renunciation of alliance with the Rajpoot and other states, who had taken part with the British forces against the marauding Mahrattas in the late crisis.

Sindia had suffered, if not caused, the English residency attached to his camp to be attacked and plundered by a body of Pindarries, and had himself detained Mr. Jenkins; yet no reparation was to be demanded for this outrage: and the governor-general, in his impatient desire to conclude a peace, would even have waived insisting upon the release of the resident; but from this last degrading concession the English were happily saved by the intervention of Lord Lake. Nothing could exceed the indignation of the brave and honest general on learning the nature of the proposed treaty, which he felt to be based on the unworthy principle of conciliating the strong at the expense of the weak. The territories conquered from Holcar had been distinctly promised to be divided among the allies of England; instead of which, they were all to be restored to the defeated chief; and the breach of faith thus committed towards the only power able to resent it, was to be repaired at the expense of the powerless rana of Gohud, who had made over Gwalior to the English on being enrolled among the list of subsidiary princes. He was now to be reduced to the condition of a mere stipendiary, dependent on his hereditary foe for subsistence; for all Gohud, including Gwalior, was to be given to propitiate the favour of Sindia—"an act," writes the governor-general, "entirely gratuitous on our part." Equally so was the renunciation of our connexion with the numerous rajahs, zemindars, jaghiredars, and other chiefs on the further side of the Jumna, for whose protection the British faith had been solemnly pledged. Lord Lake, who had been mainly instrumental in forming the majority of these alliances, and had, in his capacity of commander-in-chief, received material assistance from several of the parties concerned, addressed an earnest remonstrance to the governor-general against the proposed repudiation, declaring that the weaker allied princes never could be induced by any argument or temporary advantage to renounce the promised support of the E. I. Cy., and that the bare proposition would be viewed "as a prelude to their being sacrificed to the object of obtaining a peace with the Mahrattas." This communication bore date the day following that on which Lord Cornwallis expired. For some time before his death, he passed the morning hours in a state of weakness amounting to insensibility; but the evening usually brought him sufficient strength to hear despatches read, and even to dictate replies. Had the energetic appeal and arguments of Lake been sent a few days earlier, they might perhaps have been instrumental in delaying and modifying the

ungenerous and selfish measures which cost England so dearly in character and blood and treasure, by strengthening the predatory power it was alike her duty and her interest to abase. It is hardly possible that the man who steadily befriended the rajah of Coorg, even at the hazard of renewing a perilous war with Tippoo, could seriously intend to abandon the Rajpoot and other princes to the shameless marauders against whom they had recently co-operated with the English, unless prejudice and ignorance, aided by mental debility, had blinded him to the plain facts of the case. But whatever effect the honest exposition of Lake was calculated to produce on the mind of Lord Cornwallis, can be only surmised from his habitual conscientiousness. He had been extremely desirous of personally superintending the progress of the negotiations, and hoped by short and easy stages to reach head-quarters; but at Ghazipoor near Benares, an accession of weakness stopped his journey, and after lingering some time in the state previously described, he died there October 5th, 1805, aged sixty-six years.

No provision had been made by the home government to meet this highly probable event.* Sir George Barlow, the senior member of council, on whom the chief authority temporarily devolved, had been associated with Lord Wellesley throughout his whole administration, and cordially seconded his lordship's views regarding subsidiary alliances. During the last illness of Lord Cornwallis, while hourly expecting his own accession to power, Sir George had expressed in writing "his confident hope that an accommodation would be effected with Sindia and with Holcar, on terms not differing essentially from those to which he was aware that Lord Wellesley was prepared to accede." Most certainly his lordship would never have consented to an accommodation which involved a direct breach of faith with numerous weak states. Sir George must have known this; but his conduct was in perfect accordance with the principle which enabled a certain well-known individual "to live and die vicar of Bray." The result was, however, less satisfactory; for though the E. I. directors were inclined to reward implicit obedience to their mandates with the highest position in their gift, the ministers of the crown were not equally compliant; and although they also were desirous of purchasing peace on any terms, the recent appointment was neutralised, and a rule laid down that thenceforth no servant of the company should fill the office of governor-general. Sir George was placed in charge of Madras; but before his removal from Calcutta he had contrived to neutralise, as far as possible, the effects of the measures which he had assisted in enacting; his avowed expectation being that the native states, when left to themselves, would forthwith engage in a series of conflicts which would, for the present at least, keep them fully employed, and prevent the renewal of hostilities with the English. Sindia† and Holcar received the proffered concessions with unmixed astonishment at the timidity or vacillation of their lately dreaded foe. The Rajpoot and other princes indignantly remonstrated against the renunciation of an alliance pressed upon them by the British government in her hour of need. The rajah of Jeypoor, who had especially provoked the vengeance of the Mahrattas, felt deeply aggrieved by the faithlessness with which he was treated, and his bitter reproaches were conveyed to Lord Lake through the mouth of a Rajpoot agent at Delhi. Disgusted at being made the instrument of measures which he denounced, and at the almost‡ total disregard manifested towards his representations, Lord Lake resigned his diplomatic powers in January, 1806, and after about twelve months spent in completing various necessary arrangements regarding the forces, and settling, agreeably to the instructions of the government, the claims of various native chiefs, he quitted India, leaving behind him a name that will be honoured and beloved so long as the Indian army shall subsist.§ He died in England, 21st February, 1808, aged 64.

* Lord Grenville publicly stated, that it had been generally supposed in London that Lord Cornwallis would not bear the voyage; and, in any case, could not long survive his arrival in India.—(Thornton.)

† One of the few concessions demanded from Sindia was the exclusion from office of his father-in-law; but even this was eventually renounced, and Shirzee Rao became again paramount. Happily his audacity at length grew offensive to Sindia, and an altercation took place which enabled the attendants, under pretence of securing the person, to take the life of a miscreant whose memory is still execrated in Poona for the cruel oppression practised there.

‡ Lord Lake was so far successful, that his representations against the immediate danger, as well as faithlessness, of dissolving the alliance with the rajahs of Macherri and Bhurtpoor, induced Sir George to delay the execution of a determination which he nevertheless declared to be unchanged.

§ Major-general Wellesley, after receiving a

Little difference of opinion now exists regarding the accommodation effected with the Mahrattas. The non-intervention policy was soon abandoned; but its results justify the declaration of Grant Duff, that the measures of Sir George Barlow were no less short-sighted and contracted than selfish and indiscriminating. His provisional administration terminated in July, 1807,* its concluding event being an alarming mutiny among the native troops in the Carnatic. The immediate cause was the enforcement of certain frivolous changes of dress, together with other orders trivial in character, but involving a needless interference with the manners and customs of the soldiery, which had been introduced without the knowledge of Lord William Bentinck, the successor of Lord Clive in the government of Madras. "The new regulations required the sepoys to appear on parade with their chins clean shaved, and the hair on the upper lip cut after the same pattern, and never to wear the distinguishing mark of caste, or their earrings when in uniform. A turban of a new pattern was also ordered for the sepoys."†

These ill-advised changes might possibly have been accomplished without occasioning any serious disturbance, had a cordial understanding subsisted between the British and the native officers. But this was not the case; and the consequence of the alienation existing between them was, that the sons of Tippoo Sultan, then resident at Vellore, took advantage of the princely income and unusual degree of liberty allowed them as state prisoners, to assemble a large band of adherents, who made it their business to inspire the soldiery with aversion to their foreign masters, on the ground that the newly-devised turban, and its concomitants, though ostensibly ordered for the sake of convenience and unanimity, were really the tokens and forerunners of a forcible conversion to Christianity. The assertion was an utter absurdity. The Hindoos themselves, whose creed makes no provision for converts, were scarcely more devoid of proselytising zeal than the English had shown themselves, despite the opposite tendency of a religion which directs its professors "to preach the gospel to all nations." The military officers had, as a body (for there were exceptions), no need to defend themselves against any imputation of over-anxiety to manifest the excellencies of their faith in their lives and conversation, or by any encouragement of missionary labours. Of Christianity the natives in the vicinity of Vellore knew nothing, and were consequently ready to believe just anything, except that its divine Founder had enjoined on all his disciples a code so fraught with humility, chastity, and brotherly kindness, that if observed it must infallibly render Christians a blessing to every state, whether as rulers or as subjects.

Rumours of the growing disaffection were abroad, but excited little attention in the ears of those most concerned. Unmistakable symptoms of mutiny appeared, and were forcibly‡ put down, until, on the 10th of July, 1806, the European part of the Vellore garrison were attacked by their native colleagues, and Colonel Fancourt and 112 Europeans had perished or been mortally wounded, before Colonel Gillespie, at the head of a body of dragoons, terminated a contest which involved the destruction of about 350 of the mutineers, and the imprisonment of 500 more. Lord William Bentinck became the sacrifice of measures adopted without his sanction, and was recalled, together with the commander-in-chief, Sir John Cradock. The obnoxious orders were repealed, the allowances of the sons of Tippoo were diminished, their place of imprisonment changed from Vellore to Bengal; and, by slow degrees, the panic wore off. The captive insurgents were gradually set at liberty; the cheerful obedience of the men, and their customary fidelity to those whose salt they ate, returned; and the British officers "ceased to sleep with pistols under their pillows."§

knighthood of the Order of the Bath, quitted India in 1805, ill-pleased with the manner in which the services of his brother and himself were received.

* Mill's *History of British India* terminates with the peace with the Mahrattas. In an able, but prejudiced, and without the comments of Prof. Wilson, misleading summary of the commercial results of the Wellesley administration, the revenues are shown to have been raised from £8,059,880, in 1805'-6, to £15,403,409; but the war expenditure, with the interest on the increased debt, which had been tripled, caused the annual charges to exceed the receipts by above two million. This was a temporary addition, but the revenues of the conquered territories were a permanent gain, viewed as so certain, that Barlow held forth the prospect of a million sterling as the annual surplus, to follow immediately on the restoration of peace.

† Auber's *India*, ii., 432.

‡ The severe coercion employed may be conjectured from the fact that 900 lashes each were inflicted upon two grenadiers for refusing to wear the "hat-shaped" turban.

§ Bentinck's *Memorial*.

Administration of Lord Minto—1806 to 1813.—The new governor-general (formerly Sir Gilbert Elliot) came to India strongly prepossessed in favour of a neutral policy, but was speedily compelled to modify his views.

Holcar, on his return to Malwa, found occupation in quelling the disturbances arising from the non-payment of arrears to his turbulent followers, who made use of the boy, Kundee Rao, to intimidate his uncle into the liquidation of their claims. The object being accomplished, the child became, as he had himself predicted, the victim of the wrath of Jeswunt Rao; and Casee Rao died suddenly soon after, having been likewise, it was supposed, assassinated to prevent the possibility of the rights of any legitimate descendant of Tukajee being brought into collision with those of Jeswunt Rao. These and other atrocities were the forerunners of madness, which appeared in temporary paroxysms, with intervals of partial sanity, employed by Jeswunt in making extensive military preparations, especially in casting cannon, a work which he superintended night and day, using stimulants to supply the place of food and rest. It soon became necessary to confine him; and twenty to thirty men with difficulty succeeded in binding the despot fast with ropes, like a wild beast. His fierce struggles gradually subsided into speechless fatuity, and, at the expiration of three years, during the greater part of which he was fed like an infant with milk, the dreaded freebooter died a miserable idiot in his own camp, on the 20th of October, 1811.* Before his insanity, Holcar had taken advantage of the withdrawal of British protection to ravage and pillage the states of Rajast'han, especially Jeypoor or Amber, under the old pretext of exacting arrears of chout. The quarrels of the Rajpoot princes gave full scope for his treacherous interference. The hand of Crishna Kumari, the high-born daughter of the rana of Oodipoor, was an object of dispute between Juggut Sing of Jeypoor, and Maun Sing of Joudpoor. Holcar was bought off by Juggut Sing, but this arrangement did not prevent him from suffering his general, Ameer Khan, to hire his services to the opposite party. The chief commenced his task by ridding the rajah of Joudpoor of a rebellious feudatory, named Sevaee Sing, whom he deluded, by oaths and protestations of friendship, into visiting his camp. The intended victim entered the spacious tent of the Patan with a body of friends and attendants, and was received with every demonstration of respect. Ameer Khan invented a plausible pretext for a short absence, and caused the cords of the tent to be suddenly loosened; then, taking advantage of the confusion, he ordered a sharp fire of musketry and grape to be poured indiscriminately on the whole of the crowded assembly. The massacre was complete; and not only the companions of the betrayed Rajpoot, but those of Ameer Khan himself, with a party of dancing-girls and musicians, were mercilessly sacrificed. The rana of Oodipoor was seriously alarmed by the enmity of so unprincipled an adversary. He vainly appealed to the British government, as possessing the paramount authority in India, to interfere for the protection of their oppressed neighbour: his entreaties, like those of Zalim Sing, were disregarded, and the proud representative of the Surya race (the offspring of the sun) was compelled to fraternise with the infamous Patan adventurer by the exchange of turbans, as well as to subsidise his troops at the cost of a fourth of the revenues of the principality. This was in itself deep abasement, but worse remained behind. Ameer Khan, in conjunction with Ajeet Sing, a Rajpoot noble, whose memory is, for his conduct on this occasion, execrated throughout Rajast'han, succeeded in convincing the unhappy rana, that the death of his child was absolutely necessary to save the principality from destruction at the hands of the rival suitors. With his consent, poison was mixed with the food of the princess; but she ate sparingly, and its murderous purpose was not accomplished. The high-spirited girl, on discovering the design thus temporarily frustrated, bade her father attempt no more concealment, since, if his welfare and the safety of the state required it, she was ready to die by her own act. Accordingly, having bathed and dressed, as if for a nuptial feast, she drank off the poison. The first two draughts proved harmless, for nature revolted, and the noxious beverage was rejected; but the third time a more insidious preparation was administered, and Crishna

* Holcar was of middle height, remarkably strong and active. A small but handsome mausoleum was erected to his memory near Rampoora, and his favourite horse ranged in freedom around it. Tod describes this animal with enthusiasm, as the very model of a Mahratta charger, with small and pointed ears, full protruding eyes, and a mouth that could drink out of a tea-cup.—(*Rajast'han*, ii., 720.)

slept to wake no more in this life. Her mother died of grief; her father survived to endure the galling reproaches of some of his most faithful chiefs; and Oodipoor, so far from benefiting by the unnatural crime, lost from that hour its remaining glories.*

Ameer Khan, elated by success, grew more daring in his plans; and, attended by large bodies of Pindarries, undertook, in 1809, an expedition against the indolent and effeminate rajah of Berar. Lord Minto became alarmed by the probable subversion of the principality, and, departing from the non-intervention policy, sent a strong detachment for the defence of Nagpoor, and notified to the invader that the territories of the rajah were under British protection. A blustering and defiant reply was returned, upon which Colonel Close marched into Malwa, and occupied Seronje, the capital of Ameer Khan, with other of his possessions. The strict commands of the home authorities, together with considerations of finance, prevented the governor-general from following up these vigorous measures by the complete overthrow of "one of the most notorious villains India ever produced;"† and the immediate safety of Berar having been secured, Ameer Khan was suffered to escape with undiminished powers of mischief. Before the close of his administration, Lord Minto had reason to repent this mistaken lenity. Berar was again invaded, and one quarter of the capital burnt by the Patan and Pindarry freebooters, a party of whom proceeded to set at nought British authority, by an irruption into the fertile province of Mirzapoor. The advisability of reverting to the bold and generous policy of the Marquis Wellesley became evident; and Lord Minto, whose term of office had nearly expired, urged upon the directors the necessity of vigorous measures. Indeed, the leading acts of Lord Minto himself were neither of a strictly defensive nor neutral character. Sir George Barlow's withdrawal of protection from the petty chiefs south of the Sutlej, had tempted a neighbouring potentate, with whom the company had heretofore no connexion, to extend his conquests in that direction. The leader in question was the famous Runjeet Sing, rajah of Lahore, a Seik chief of Jat descent. To prevent further aggression, the minor Seik powers menaced by him were declared under British supremacy, and a strong force assembled for their defence. Runjeet Sing, unwilling to provoke a contest, concluded a treaty with the company, by which he consented never to maintain a larger body of troops on the left bank of the Sutlej than was needful to support his authority already established in that quarter. As a further guarantee for his good faith, a detachment, under Sir David Ochterlony,‡ took up a permanent station at Loodiana, on the eastern side of the river.

The multiplied aggressions of France on the vessels of the E. I. Cy., and the fear of attempts to regain a territorial position in India, induced the dispatch of embassies to Persia§ and Cabool, for the sake of forming a more intimate alliance with those kingdoms. The Mauritius, Bourbon, and the Moluccas were captured by the British in 1810; and Java, with its dependencies, was conquered by Lord Minto, in person,‖ in 1811. Of these valuable acquisitions, Bourbon, the beautiful island of Java, and the Moluccas, were relinquished at the general pacification in 1815.

Some few remaining incidents of importance, which occurred in the time of Lord Minto, remain to be chronicled. The first of these is the death of the aged emperor Shah Alum, in 1806, aged eighty-

* Malcolm's *Central India*, i., 340. Tod's *Rajast'han*, i., 466. Malcolm states, that the circumstances attending the death of the princess excited loud and bitter wailing throughout the city of Oodipoor. An aged chief, named Sugwan Sing, having heard of the intended sacrifice, mounted his horse and rode with breathless haste to the palace. He found the rana and his counsellors seated in solemn silence; and to his impetuous inquiry, whether Crishna were alive or dead, Ajeet Sing, the instigator of the tragedy, replied by an injunction to respect the affliction of a bereaved parent. Sugwan Sing unbuckled his sword and shield, and laid them at the feet of the rana, saying, "my ancestors have served yours for more than thirty generations, but these arms can never more be used on your behalf;" then turning to Ajeet Sing, he reproached him with having brought ignominy on the Rajpoot name, adding, as he quitted the assembly, "May the curse of a father light upon you—may you die childless." The malediction excited considerable attention, and the successive deaths of all the children of the guilty noble, were viewed as its fulfilment.

† Tod's *Rajast'han*, i., 468.

‡ Sir David Ochterlony and Runjeet Sing, like Holcar and Zalim Sing, were both one-eyed men.

§ Sir John Malcolm was sent to Persia by E. I. Cy.; Sir Harford Jones and Sir G. Ouseley, by the Crown.

‖ Lord Minto had been compelled to visit Madras in 1809, in consequence of the strong dissatisfaction which prevailed among the European officers, arising from reduced allowances; but greatly aggravated by the dogged and tyrannical proceedings of the governor, Sir George Barlow. By a judicious blending of firmness and conciliation, Lord Minto succeeded in allaying an alarming tumult.

three. He was succeeded in his titular authority by his eldest son, Akber Shah, who made some feeble attempts at the acquisition of real power, but soon renounced the futile endeavour. The exertions of the Travancore authorities in 1809, to throw off the yoke of the E. I. Cy., involved some destruction of life, but terminated in the principality becoming completely dependent on Fort St. George. The tribute exacted from Cochin was also largely increased.

The last feature was an impending rupture with the Goorkas, a tribe who had come into notice about the middle of the eighteenth century, and had gradually assumed a dominant influence over the whole of the extensive valley of Nepaul. During the second administration of Lord Cornwallis, they had completed the attainment of territory (less by violence than by fraud and corruption) which presented, on the side of the English, a frontier of 700 miles. Disputes had arisen between the Goorkas and certain chiefs, who, through the cessions made by the vizier of Oude, or other arrangements, had become British feudatories. The so-called pacific policy of Lord Wellesley's successors had emboldened aggression in all quarters; and the seizure of Bhootwal (a border district of the ancient viceroyalty of Oude) was followed by renewed invasion; until, in 1813, a new turn was given to affairs by the demand of the English authorities for the immediate surrender of the usurped territories. Before an answer could arrive from the court of Nepaul, the reins of government passed from the hands of Lord Minto, who returned to England, where he died (June, 1814), aged sixty-five. He was an able and energetic man; and the removal of his prejudices paved the way for a similar change of feeling on the part of his countrymen.*

Moira, or Hastings' Administration, 1813 to 1823.—Lord Moira reached Calcutta in October, and, in the following month, received the tardy reply of the Goorkalese sovereign to the demand of Lord Minto for the evacuation of Bhootwal and Sheoraj. It was complimentary in manner, but uncompromising in substance. There were many reasons for avoiding immediate hostilities in this quarter, and attempts were made to settle the question by amicable negotiation; but the persistance of the commissioners from Nepaul in reviving points previously settled, being at length silenced by a positive refusal to enter on such discussions, the British agent was warned to quit the frontier; and the envoys were recalled to Katmandoo, the capital of Nepaul. Lord Moira was too anxious to avert a frontier war, to give place to hasty resentment; and he addressed a remonstrance to the Nepaulese government regarding the insulting manner in which the late negotiation had been broken off. No answer being returned to this communication, a detachment was sent from Goruckpoor to occupy the disputed lands, an object which was effected without opposition. The British troops placed the direction of affairs in the hands of native officials, and withdrew, congratulating themselves on the easy fulfilment of an unpromising task.

The position of the northern mountaineers was but very imperfectly understood by the Calcutta functionaries, who now wielded the sceptre of the Mogul. During the palmy days of the empire, while the reins of government were held by too firm a hand for servants to appropriate to themselves the delegated sway of the sovereign, the plains at the foot of the mountains, between the river Teesta on the east and the Sutlej on the west, had been possessed by numerous petty Hindoo rajahs, who became tributary to the emperor, and received, in return, protection from the aggressions of the lawless hill-chiefs, most of whom maintained their independence, though some were content to own a sort of vassalage to the empire, in return for the possession of a portion of the magnificent forest of *Sál* trees, and of the rich plain called the *Turaee*, lying between them and Hindoostan. The old highland rajahs, whose families had warred with their lowland countrymen from time immemorial, held their own during the continuance and after the decline of Mohammedan power, until one of themselves, an aspiring chief, named Prithi Narayan Sah,† rajah of the small state of Goorka, to the north-west of Nepaul, incited by the early victories of the English in Bengal, armed and disciplined a body of troops after the European fashion, and proceeded to absorb the surrounding states, in a manner described as closely

* In 1813, an attempt to impose a house-tax occasioned great excitement in the holy city of Benares: the people practised a singularly combined, and eventually successful system, of passive resistance.

† According to Col. Kirkpatrick, the Goorka dynasty claim descent from the ranas of Oodipoor. Hamilton states, they belong to the Magar tribe, which has but very partially yielded to Brahminism.

resembling that which had rendered the nation he imitated masters of India. The nabob of Moorshedabad, Meer Cossim Ali, attempted to interfere on behalf of some of the weaker chiefs in 1762-'3, but sustained a signal defeat; and an expedition sent by the Bengal government, in 1767, to succour the rajah of Nepaul, proved equally unsuccessful. Prithi Narayan died in 1771, but his successors carried on the same scheme of conquest, crossed the Gogra river, seized Kumaon, and even strove to gain possession of the rich valley of Cashmere. The lowland rajahs, when transferred by the cession of the vizier of Oude from Mussulman to British rule, were suffered to retain undisturbed possession of their territories on payment of a fixed land-tax. The Goorkalese, on the contrary, as each hill-chieftain was successively vanquished, exterminated the family, and, with the conquered possessions, took up the claims and contests of their former lords, and were thus brought in contact with numerous rajahs and zemindars, actually occupying the position of British subjects. The complaints laid before the supreme government by these persons were generally but lightly regarded; and, unless under very peculiar circumstances, the Goorkalese were treated as good neighbours, whom it was desirable to conciliate. Under a strong government at Calcutta, outrages on the frontier were of comparatively rare occurrence, and, when firmly demanded, reparation was usually made; but the unfortunate measures of Sir George Barlow incited aggressions which were not to be so easily checked as heretofore. The rajah (a prince with a long string of names, differently given by different authorities)* was a minor. The chief authority rested in the hands of a military aristocracy, headed by a powerful family called Thappa, of whom one member, Bheem Sein, exercised the office of prime minister, with the title of general, while his brother, Umur Sing, held command of the army. The expediency of war with the English was much canvassed by the Goorkalese chiefs. The decision arrived at was, that their native fastnesses would always afford an invulnerable position, and by issuing thence on predatory incursions, a state of hostility could be made more advantageous, than peace purchased at the sacrifice of their favourite system of encroachment. The British, on their part, viewed the approaching struggle with little apprehension. The Bengal officers, especially, made sure of victory. From the days of Clive to those of Lake, with scarcely an exception, they had but to take the field and march straight against the enemy, to ensure his precipitate flight. The uncontested occupation of Bhootwal and Sheoraj, seemed the natural effect of their military reputation, and considerable surprise was excited by tidings that the Goorkalese had set them at defiance, by taking advantage of the withdrawal of the troops to surround the three police-stations in Bhootwal, where after killing and wounding twenty-four of the defenders, the superior local officer of the British had been murdered in a very barbarous manner. The governor-general demanded from the court of Katmandoo the disavowal of any share in this outrage, and the punishment of its perpetrators; but received a menacing reply, which precluded further hope of an amicable arrangement, and occasioned the issue of a declaration of war by Lord Moira in November, 1814.

The army destined for the invasion of the enemy's frontier, formed four divisions, of which the first, under Major-general Marley, comprised 8,000 men, and was intended to march against Katmandoo. The other three divisions, under Maj.-generals Wood, Gillespie, and Ochterlony (4,500, 3,500, and 6,000 strong), were directed to attack different portions of the hostile frontier; besides which, Major Latter was furnished with a body of 2,700 men for the defence of the Purneah frontier, to the eastward of the Coosy river.† The campaign opened with the siege of the petty fortress of Kalunga or Nalapanee, situated on an insulated hill, a few miles from Dehra, the chief town in the Doon (or valley.) The garrison consisted of about 600 men, headed by a nephew of Umur Sing. The English expected to carry the place by storm according to custom, and the gallant Rollo Gillespie, with fatal impetuosity, led an assault, in which, while waving his hat to cheer the troops, he was shot through the heart. The siege was discontinued pending the arrival of a battering train from Delhi;

* Styled by Fraser, Jirban Joodeber Bheem Sah; by Prinsep, Maharajah Kurman Jodh Bikram Sah Bahadur Shumsheer Jung. His father was assassinated by his own brother in full durbar, in 1805. The fratricide was slain in the ensuing barbarous affray, in which most of the chief nobles perished, and the royal family was nearly extinguished. The present rajah (then an infant) was secreted in the zenana.

† Major (now General) Latter rendered good service by his negotiations with the rajah of Sikkim (a hill state east of Nepaul), and his small detachment "accomplished more than it was destined to attempt."

but even when a breach had been effected, the soldiers, dispirited by their former repulse, could not be induced to advance. It was not until the assailants had sustained a loss, in killed and wounded, considerably beyond the entire number of the garrison, that measures were taken to shell the fort, and cut off the supply of water obtained without the walls. The besieged were compelled to evacuate the place on the 30th November, 1814. The conquerors found in the mangled bodies of hundreds of men and women, dead or dying of wounds and thirst, fearful evidence of the determination of the foe with whom they had now to deal. This inauspicious commencement seems to have inspired three out of four of the leaders of the British army (including Martindell, the successor of Gillespie) with a degree of timidity and distrust, which can scarcely be disguised beneath the name of prudence; and General Marley was struck off the staff for neglect and incompetency. General Ochterlony displayed a quickness and energy which, combined with discretion, enabled him to cope with difficulties of a new and unexpected order, and, although opposed by Umur Sing in person, to obtain triumphs to counterbalance the disasters which attended the other divisions. He had formed from the first a just estimate of the character of the enemy, whom he met with their own weapons, especially by the erection of stockaded posts, before unknown in Anglo-Indian warfare. The opening movements of the English veteran were cautious and laborious. The making of roads, and diplomatic proceedings with wavering chiefs, occupied much time before his masterly policy could be developed; but its effects were manifested by the reduction of the Ramgurh and other forts, and by the withdrawal of Umur Sing, with his entire force, to the strong position of Maloun. The stone fort thus named, and that of Soorajgurh, formed the extremities of a line of fortified posts, erected on a lofty and difficult ridge projecting into the Sutlej. Of the intervening peaks, all were occupied by stockades except Ryla peak and Deothul. Of these two, Ochterlony, on his approach, succeeded in obtaining possession; the first without difficulty, the second after a sanguinary conflict on the 15th April, 1815. Bhukti Thappa, a famous leader, above seventy years of age, who commanded at Soorajgurh, represented to Umur Sing the necessity of dislodging the British from Deothul; and on the morning of the 16th, an attack was made by the flower of the Goorkalese army on all accessible sides.* Happily, the previous night had been spent in throwing up defences in expectation of a renewed struggle. The enemy came on with such furious intrepidity, that several men were bayoneted or cut to pieces within the works; and their fire was directed so effectively against the artillerymen, that at one time three officers and one bombardier alone remained to serve the guns. A reinforcement, with ammunition from Ryla peak, arrived at a critical moment, and the British, after acting for two hours on the defensive, became in turn assailants; Bhukti was slain, his followers put to flight, and a complete victory obtained, at the cost of 213 killed and wounded. The enemy left about 500 men on the ground before Deothul. The event afforded a great triumph to the native troops, by whom it was almost wholly achieved. It was followed by the evacuation of Soorajgurh, and the concentration of the hostile force in Maloun, against which place a battery was raised by the end of the first week in May.

In the meantime, the governor-general had been actively employed in initiating a series of spirited operations on the side of Rohilcund. While visiting the north-western provinces, he had learned that the inhabitants of Kumaon were held in rigorous subjection by the Goorkalese, who frequently seized and sold their wives and children to enforce the most arbitrary exactions. To supply the place of regular troops, levies were made from the warlike Patans of Rohilcund, under the auspices of two commanders (Gardner and Hearsey), who had come over from Sindia at the time of the Mahratta war. The corps organised by Major Hearsey was dispersed by the enemy, and its leader made prisoner; but Lieutenant Gardner succeeded in making his way into the heart of the province of Kumaon, and took up a position in sight of Almora, the capital, where a force of regular infantry and artillery, under Colonel Nicholls, joined him in

* The Goorkalese displayed throughout the campaign an unexpected amount of chivalry, and exhibited, in many ways, their confidence in the good faith of the British. After the battle of Deothul, they asked for the body of Bhukti Sing, whose loss they loudly bemoaned, declaring that the blade of their sword was broken. Ochterlony complied with the request, and sent the gory corpse, wrapped in rich shawls, in acknowledgment of the bravery of the fallen chief. His two widows sacrificed themselves on the funeral pile next day, in compliance with his injunction.—(H. T. Prinsep's *Trans. in India*, i., 170.)

the middle of April. The Setolee heights, distant from the fort about seventy yards, were gained after a severe contest; and the governor, thus closely menaced, and straitened for want of supplies, signed terms of surrender for the whole province, and for the retirement of the Goorkalese troops to the east of the Kalee river—articles which were duly executed.

Tidings of the fall of Almora facilitated the conquest of Maroun. The dispirited Goorkalese entreated Umur Sing to make terms for himself and his son Runjoor, whom General Martindell had ineffectually besieged in the fort of Jythuk. The old chief refused, declaring, that the rainy season, now close at hand, would compel the British to withdraw; and he used the most severe coercion to retain the allegiance of the troops. But in vain: the majority of both officers and men came over to the British camp as prisoners of war; and Umur Sing, with but 250 remaining adherents, beheld the batteries ready to open upon the walls of Maloun. Convinced of the hopelessness of prolonged resistance, the proud chief resigned his last stronghold, together with all the territory from Kumaon westward to the Sutlej, including, of course, Jythuk. Thus a campaign which, in January, promised nothing but disaster, terminated in May with the conquest of the whole hilly tract from the Gogra to the Sutlej, a country hitherto deemed impenetrable to Europeans. The triumph was, in fact, mainly due to native troops; of whom, with the exception of a few artillerymen, Ochterlony's division was exclusively composed. It is important to add, that this force was extremely well officered, and that its operations were materially facilitated by the ability of the field engineer, Lieutenant Lawtie, who died, aged twenty-four, of fever, brought on by excessive fatigue and exposure endured before Maloun.*

Ochterlony received a baronetcy, and a pension of £1,000 a-year in acknowledgment of his services. The governor-general was rewarded by a step in the peerage, being created Marquis of Hastings. Various important arrangements attended the conclusion, or rather interruption, of hostilities. Many of the Goorkalese entered the British service, and were formed into what were termed the *Nuseeree* battalions; a provincial corps was also raised for civil duties in Kumaon, which now became a British province. The Doon was retained, and ultimately annexed to the Seharanpoor district. The remaining hill country was restored to the several chiefs from whom it had been wrested by Umur Sing, with the exception of a few military posts; and the whole territory was declared under British protection.

The Katmandoo government was not, however, yet sufficiently humbled to accept the terms of peace offered by Lord Hastings. Umur Sing and his sons strenuously advocated the renewal of war, in preference to suffering a British resident and military establishment to be stationed at the capital. Another object of dispute was the fertile but insalubrious Turaee and the adjacent Sâl (*shorea robusta*) forest, of which, according to a Goorkalese saying, "every tree is a mine of gold."† The proposed treaty was therefore rejected, and Sir David Ochterlony again took the field in January, 1816, at the head of nearly 17,000 effective men, including three European regiments. All the known passes through the first range of hills had been carefully fortified by the enemy; but, happily, a route was discovered through a deep and narrow ravine, by which the Cherea heights were gained without resistance, and the position of the Goorkalese completely turned. The British general marched on to the beautiful valley of the Raptee, and was moving up to Mukwanpoor, when a skirmish of posts paved the way to a general action, in which he obtained a signal victory; whereupon the royal red seal was hastily affixed to the rejected treaty of Segoulee, and a duly qualified envoy presented it on his knees at the durbar of General Ochterlony, in presence of all the vakeels in the camp.

By a politic concession, a part of the Turaee was surrendered to the Nepaulese. The portion skirting the Oude dominions was retained, and, together with Khyreegurh, a pergunnah of Rohilcund, was made over to Ghazi-oo-deen, in payment of a second loan of a crore of rupees obtained from him during the war, and furnished out of the hoards of his father, Sadut Ali, the late nabob-vizier, who died in 1814.

During the Goorkalese war, indications

* General Ochterlony deeply lamented his brave coadjutor. The whole army went into mourning, and afterwards erected a monument to the memory of Lieut. Lawtie in the cathedral church of Calcutta.

† The timber is used in ship-building, though far inferior to the teak of Malabar and of the Burman empire. The elephant, rhinoceros, and buffalo abound in the forest, and ravage the plain.

of a desire to take advantage of any symptom of weakness in the British government were not wanting on the part of Sindia, or even of the peishwa, who now began to think himself strong enough to stand alone, and was well inclined to kick aside the ladder by which he had risen to fortune. The triumphant conclusion of the late hostilities checked the development of these feelings, and left Lord Hastings at liberty to direct his chief attention to the suppression of the predatory bands of Pindarries and Patans, who had arisen, "like masses of putrefaction, out of the corruption of weak and expiring states."* The chief difference between them was, that the Patans were military mercenaries, associated for the purpose of invading or plundering such states as they could overpower or intimidate; while the Pindarries were cowardly and desperate banditti, whose object was universal rapine. Against both these descriptions of marauders the English authorities were compelled to be continually on the alert. The most effectual defensive measure was considered to be the establishment of subsidiary troops in Berar. The death of Ragojee Bhonslay appeared likely to facilitate this arrangement; for his only son Pursajee, being paralysed and an idiot, the nephew of the late rajah Moodajee, commonly called Appa Sahib, assumed the regency; and the better to establish his ascendancy, sought the recognition of the English at the cost of entering upon the defensive alliance which they particularly desired. Appa Sahib was, at heart, decidedly opposed to the establishment of foreign influence at Nagpoor, and no sooner felt himself firmly seated on the *gadi*, than he sought the means of recovering the purchase-money of his position by entering into negotiations with the court of Poona, then the nucleus of a powerful confederacy forming against the English—a proceeding which he accompanied by the precaution of causing his young and afflicted ward to be strangled in the night of February 1st, 1817.

Before this event, the incursions of the Pindarries had alarmingly increased, and in 1816 they remained twelve days within the British frontier, during which time they were ascertained to have plundered 339 villages, put 182 persons to a cruel death, severely wounded 505, and subjected 3,603 others to different kinds of torture.† The losses sustained by individuals at Guntoor (in the Northern Circars) and elsewhere, were estimated at about £100,000 sterling. The peishwa, Sindia, and the divided authorities on whom the management of the Holcar principality had devolved, affected to desire the suppression of these enormities; but as it was notorious they favoured the perpetrators, it became necessary to take steps against such deceitful governments.

The policy pursued by the peishwa toward his English patrons, had become evidently hostile since the accession to office, in 1815, of one Trimbukjee Dainglia, a menial servant, who had found the path to power by promoting the gratification of his master's ill-regulated desires. The assassination of Gungadhur Shastree,‡ the representative of the Guicowar chief, who had come to Poona to settle a question of finance, under the express protection of the English, justified the resident (Mountstuart Elphinstone) in demanding the removal from office of the instigator of the crime. Bajee Rao, with characteristic indecision, first surrendered his favourite, and then unceasingly solicited his deliverance from the imprisonment which was the only punishment the English authorities desired to inflict. Artifice effected the deliverance of the prisoner. The Mahratta groom of one of the British officers in the garrison of Tanna, in the island of Salsette, while engaged in exercising his master's horse, sang beneath the window of Trimbukjee what appeared to be one of the monotonous ballads of the country, but which really communicated to the captive a plan of escape, of which he took advantage on the evening of the 12th of September, 1816. Having made an excuse for

* Malcolm's *Central India*, i., 431. Sir John, on the authority of the Pindarry leader, Kureem Khan, gives the etymology of the term Pindarry—from *Pinda*, an intoxicating drink which they were constantly imbibing. Kureem Khan was a Rohilla.

† No fewer than twenty-five women drowned themselves to escape violation; many sacrificed also their young children. The ordinary modes of torture inflicted by the Pindarries were—heavy stones placed on the head or chest; red-hot irons applied to the soles of the feet; tying the head of a person into a tobra or bag for feeding horses, filled with hot ashes; throwing oil on the clothes and setting fire to them; besides many others equally horrible. Their favourite weapon was the long Mahratta spear.

‡ Gungadhur was the name of the ambassador; Shastree, a title denoting intimate acquaintance with the Shastras, a portion of the sacred writings of the Hindoos. Bajee Rao was himself supposed to have sanctioned the murder, to revenge an affront given by the Shastree in refusing to allow his wife to visit the palace of the peishwa, then the scene of licentiousness unparalleled during the sway of any of his predecessors.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, iii., 374.)

quitting his rooms, he reached an embrasure, and lowered himself into the ditch by means of a rope, secured to a gun by one of his accomplices. This adventure greatly increased the reputation of Trimbukjee with his own countrymen, and he began to assemble troops on the Mahadeo hills to the north of the Neera. The military preparations of the peishwa, and his secret correspondence, and even interviews, with a subject against whom he affected to desire the co-operation of British troops, left little doubt of his perfidious intentions; and the governor-general considered himself justified in adopting a very summary mode of diminishing the power which he expected to see employed in counteracting his plans for the destruction of the Pindarries. Bajee Rao was treated as an avowed enemy, and required, as the only means of averting war, to surrender Trimbukjee, to renounce the right of supremacy over the Mahratta confederation, and to surrender certain territories in Malwa, Guzerat, and the Deccan, for the purpose of supporting a force of 5,000 cavalry and 3,000 infantry, to be maintained in lieu of the previous British contingent. Other humiliating concessions were exacted from Bajee Rao, by the treaty of Poona ratified in June, 1816, which in fact reduced him from the position of an independent prince to that of a mere vassal. The treaty of Bassein had been censured for the sacrifices it entailed on the peishwa; and "the extension of the subsidiary system in 1805, had led the way to the retirement of the most enlightened statesman who had ruled in India."* By this time the weathercock of public opinion had veered round, and the Court of Directors expressed themselves well satisfied with the course of events, and convinced "of the irrepressible tendency of our Indian power to enlarge its bounds and to augment its preponderance, in spite of the most peremptory injunctions of forbearance from home, and of the most scrupulous obedience to them in the government abroad."†

The sanction of the E. I. Cy. was likewise given to offensive operations to the extent requisite to drive the Pindarries from their haunts on the Nerbudda and from Mâlwa. The views of the Marquis of Hastings were more comprehensive: he considered that the peace of Central India demanded the total extermination of these predatory bands; and to that end "did not hesitate boldly to assume the principle that, in the operations against the Pindarries, no power could be suffered to remain neutral, but all should be required to join the league for their suppression."‡

At this period (1817) the Pindarries, under their respective leaders, were stated, by the lowest computation, at 15,000 horse, 1,500 foot, with twenty guns. Other writers carried the estimate as high as 30,000; but authorities agreed, that when joined by volunteers and adventurers from other native armies, they often exceeded the latter amount. The Patans, under Ameer Khan, were estimated at 12,000 horse, 20,000 foot, and 200 guns. Supposing the contemplated confederation between the four Mahratta leaders (the peishwa, Sindia, Holcar, and the Bhonslay), the Nizam, Ameer Khan,§ and the Pindarries, to have been carried out, a force of above 130,000 horse, 87,000 foot, and nearly 600 guns might have been brought into the field to dispute British supremacy.‖

Measures had been already taken to diminish the danger of hostility on the part of the peishwa, and the subsidiary alliance lately formed with Berar was expected to ensure neutrality in that quarter. The plan of the campaign, therefore, was principally formed with relation to the independent states of Sindia, Holcar, the Rajpoots, the nabob of Bhopal, and the chiefs of Bundelcund. Something after the fashion of the old "circular hunts" was to be attempted, by assembling armies round these countries which should, by simultaneous movements, close in so as to encompass the Pindarries and their abettors at all points, provision being made for the defeat of the project through the strength or cunning of the enemy, as well as for the defence of the

* Auber's *British Power in India*, ii., 528.

† Secret Letter of Directory to Bengal, Jan., 1818.

‡ Prinsep's *Military Transactions*, ii., 21.

§ Among the malcontents assembled under Ameer Khan was Dya Ram, a refractory *talookdar*, or zemindar of the Doab, who, in 1816, had been expelled by British troops from his fort of Hatras.

‖ The peishwa had command over 28,000 horse; 13,800 foot; 37 guns. Sindia—14,250 horse; 16,250 foot; 140 guns. Holcar—20,000 horse; 7,940 foot; 107 guns. Bhonslay—15,766 horse; 17,826 foot; 85 guns. Nizam—25,000 horse; 20,000 foot. The Nizam himself was too weak and indolent, if not incapable, to be suspected of any intention to intrigue against the English; but his sons were turbulent youths, whose vicious practices it had been necessary to assist their father in restraining; and it was difficult to judge what might be the conduct of the numerous armed population of Hyderabad, in the event of reverses attending our arms.

British territory. The forces destined to carry out this extensive scheme comprised above 91,000 regular troops, and 23,000 irregular horse,* divided and subdivided in accordance with the plan of the campaign. On the 20th October, 1817, the marquis, in person, assumed command of the grand army at Secundra (near Kalpee), and after crossing the Jumna by a bridge of boats, proceeded to occupy a position south of Gwalior, where Sindia had established his permanent camp;† while another division of the Bengal troops took up its station at Dholpoor. Undoubted evidence had been obtained that Sindia had not only pledged himself to support the Pindarries, but had even attempted a treacherous correspondence with the Nepaulese. His intercepted communications proved him to be only wanting a favourable opportunity to take the field, and thus give an example which would assuredly have been followed by the open appearance in arms of Ameer Khan and his Patans, who were at present inclined to hold back from their Pindarry friends. Sindia had inherited the ambition without the judgment or decision of his predecessor. He had not anticipated the skilful movement by which he found himself menaced by a formidable force in front and in the rear. To bide the event of a siege in Gwalior, or to repair to his distant dominions and join the Pindarries, with the chance of being intercepted and compelled to risk the event of a general engagement, were both humiliating and dangerous measures, which he thought best to avoid by agreeing to the demands of the English. These involved active concurrence against the Pindarries, and the temporary surrender of the forts of Hindia and Aseerghur, as a pledge of fidelity. The treaty exacted from Sindia was followed by the submission of Ameer Khan, who agreed to disband his army, if confirmed in possession of the territory of which he was in the actual tenure under grants from Holcar. As this notorious chief was a mere adventurer, whose demands could only be conceded by legalising the usurpations on which they were founded, it may be doubted whether temporary expediency, rather than justice, was not the actuating motive in the arrangement entered upon with him. Treaties with Zalim Sing of Kotah, and other minor potentates, were made in a spirit similar to those formed by Lake under the auspices of Lord Wellesley; and the nabob of Bhopal, especially, entered cordially into the intended expedition against the despotic freebooters from whose ravages his small territories had sustained almost irremediable damage.‡

The Pindarry chiefs, meanwhile, aware of the extensive preparations made against them, employed themselves during the rains in recruiting their respective *durrahs* or camps. The want of cordiality between the principal leaders—namely, Cheetoo, Kureem Khan, and Wasil Mohammed—prevented their forming any combined plan of resistance. With the exception of some *luhburs*, or plundering expeditions dispatched against the unprotected territory of the British or their allies, little attempt at opposition was made; and losing their usual activity, the majority of the Pindarries retreated passively before the advancing foe, fixing their last hope on the secret assurances of support received from Poona.

The governor-general does not appear to have anticipated any struggle on the part of the peishwa to recover his lost authority. Mr. Elphinstone, in his capacity of resident, had seen ample reason to take precautions against this highly probable event; but Bajee Rao, in an interview with the political agent, Sir John Malcolm, had conducted himself so plausibly, that Sir John, completely duped by professions of grateful attachment for early support, mingled with sad complaints of the harsh policy recently adopted, forgot the character of the arch-hypocrite with whom he had to deal, and actually advised the peishwa to continue

* The Deccan force, under Sir Thomas Hislop (including a reserve corps, the Guzerat division, and the troops left at Poona, Hyderabad, and Nagpoor) numbered 57,000 regulars, of whom 5,255 were cavalry. The Bengal force comprised 34,000 regulars, including 5,000 cavalry.—(Col. Blacker.)

† Sindia seized Gwalior upon the death of Ambajee Inglia, in 1808, and established his army in the neighbourhood, where he remained until his own demise in 1827. A city sprang up there which soon rivalled Oojein, if not in the costliness of its structures, at least in the amount of population.

‡ In 1797, two Pindarry leaders, named Heeroo and Burrun, who were also brothers, offered the services of themselves and their 5,000 followers to the state of Bhopal, as auxiliaries in the war then carried on with Berar. Being rejected, they went off and made a similar proposition to Ragojee Bhonslay, who received it favourably, and bade them lay waste Bhopal, then in a most flourishing condition. The order was obeyed with cruel and lasting effect. The chiefs were plundered by their employer the Berar rajah. Heeroo, the father of Wasil Mohammed, died in prison; Burrun at Aseerghur.

enlisting recruits for the laudable purpose of co-operating with his good friends the English. Thus encouraged, Bajee Rao openly levied troops from all quarters, and secretly endeavoured to induce the British sepoys stationed at Poona to desert their colours. The native officers and regulars were, without exception, proof against these solicitations, which in many instances were made known to their commanders. But the irregular battalions, under Major Ford, contained a large proportion of Mahrattas, and these were naturally more subject to temptation. It is asserted that the peishwa desired, before proceeding further, to be rid of the resident by assassination; but that Bappoo Gokla, the chief Mahratta leader, positively refused to suffer the perpetration of so base a crime, the more especially since he had received peculiar kindness from the intended victim. Happily, Mr. Elphinstone was on his guard alike against national and individual hostility, and waited anxiously the first symptom of undisguised hostility, in anticipation of which a regiment had arrived from Bombay. Thinking the cantonment in Poona too exposed, the station was changed to the village of Kirkee, four miles distant; a step which, being attributed to fear, greatly encouraged the Mahrattas, who began to plunder the old cantonments. At length, on the 4th of Nov., 1817, Moro Dikshut, the minister of the peishwa, actuated by personal attachment, warned Major Ford to stand neuter in the coming struggle, and thus save himself and his family from the destruction which was shortly to overwhelm the whole British detachment. Up to this moment the major, though in daily communication with the city, had been so completely hoodwinked by Bajee Rao, as to entertain no suspicion of intended treachery. On the following day, news of the approach of a light battalion from Seroor, determined the irresolute peishwa to defer the attack no longer. Efforts were continued to the last to throw the British off their guard; and an emissary, bearing some frivolous message from the court, had scarcely quitted the residency, before intelligence arrived that the Mahratta army was in movement. Mr. Elphinstone and his suite had just time to mount and retire by the ford of the Moola river, to join their comrades at Kirkee, before the enemy arrived and took possession of the residency, which was speedily pillaged and burned.

The British brigade, leaving their cantonments, advanced to the plain between Kirkee and the city, to meet the Mahratta troops. The peishwa, disconcerted by this daring movement, sent word to Gokla not to fire the first gun. Gokla, seeing the messenger, and suspecting the nature of his errand, waited not his arrival, but commenced the attack by opening a battery of nine guns, detaching a strong corps of rocket camels, and pushing forward his cavalry to the right and left. A spirited charge was made under his direction by Moro Dikshut, with a select body of 6,000 horse, bearing the *Juree Putka* or swallow-tailed golden pennon of the empire. They came down like a torrent on the British front, but were steadily encountered by the 7th battalion. Colonel Burr had "formed and led" this corps; and now, though completely paralysed on one side, he took his post by its colours, calm and collected. One ball went through his hat, another grazed the head of his horse, two attendants were shot by his side; but the infirm officer, unhurt and undismayed, continued to cheer and direct his men. The advance of the assailants was happily impeded by a deep slough (the existence of which was not previously suspected by either party), situated immediately in front of the British line. The cavalry, while scrambling out of the mire, were exposed to the reserved fire of Burr's detachment; Moro Dikshut was killed, the force of the charge broken, confusion spread through the Mahratta ranks, and the advance of the English proved the signal for a general retreat. The battle of Kirkee must ever remain conspicuous among the hard-fought fields of India, for the great disproportion of the combatants. The Mahratta force comprised 18,000 cavalry and 8,000 foot: their loss was 500 men in killed and wounded;* beside which, a considerable number of their valuable and highly-cherished horses were disabled. The whole number of the British troops engaged in this affair, including Major Ford's battalion (part of which deserted), was 2,800 rank and file, of whom 800 were Europeans. Their loss was 186 killed and fifty-seven wounded.

During the engagement, the peishwa remained on the Parbuttee hill, with a guard of 7,000 men. At the first outbreak of hostilities, his orders were vindictive and ferocious in the extreme;† but he became

* Moro Dikshut was mortally wounded by a shot from a gun attached to Captain Ford's battalion.

† Several Europeans were killed in cold-blood;

alarmed by the unexpected turn of events, and gave over all power into the hands of Gokla, who was anxious to continue the contest. "We may have taken our shrouds about our heads," he said, "but we are determined to die with our swords in our hands."* This was not, however, the general feeling of the Mahrattas. They had little cause for attachment to the grasping and incapable Bajee Rao; and he displayed an utter want of confidence in their will or ability to protect him, by taking the approach of a British reinforcement, under General Smith, as the signal for a midnight retreat towards Sattara. Poona, thus a second time deserted by its sovereign, surrendered on the following day; and the necessary arrangements having been made for its retention, General Smith started off in pursuit of the peishwa, who, though a fugitive, was still at the head of a formidable army. He was further strengthened by the open adhesion of Appa Sahib, the rajah of Berar, between whom and the British force, under Colonel Scott, a severe conflict took place on the heights near Nagpoor, on the night of the 26th of November. The rajah being defeated, made terms of peace, for the fulfilment of which he was himself to be the guarantee, as a sort of prisoner in his own palace; but Mr. (afterwards Sir Richard) Jenkins, learning that Appa Sahib was only waiting an opportunity of escape, seized and sent him strongly escorted towards Benares. The captive, though treated heretofore without much ceremony, was suffered to choose his own escort; the result of which was, that the British officer on guard, having been made to believe that his charge was an invalid, gave a hasty glance at the bed on which Appa Sahib usually slept, and turned away after this slack performance of his nightly duty, without discovering that a pillow had been made to take the place of a person who was already many miles distant.

General Smith followed the peishwa through the Ghauts, but failed in bringing him to action. This much-desired object was, however, unexpectedly accomplished on the 1st of January, 1818, by a detachment proceeding to support Colonel Burr in resisting an expected attack on Poona. Captain Staunton, with one battalion of N. I. 600 strong, 350 irregular horse, and two 6-pounders, manned by twenty-four Europeans, after a long night march, reached the hills above Corygaum, a village overhanging the steep bank of the Beema river, and beheld with surprise the whole force of the peishwa, estimated at 25,000 to 28,000 men, encamped on the opposite bank. Both parties pushed on for the village, and succeeded in occupying different portions; but the British gained possession of a small *choultry*, or place of refreshment, which had originally been a temple. Here the detachment remained, under a burning sun, cut off from the water from noon to nine o'clock, disputing every foot of ground, and repulsing repeated attacks with the bayonet. The peishwa ascended an adjoining eminence, and, with the rajah of Sattara by his side, awaited what seemed a certain victory. Gokla and Trimbukjee (who had now joined his master) directed the attacks; and the Arab mercenaries, whose superior courage was acknowledged by superior pay, at one time became masters of the choultry, but it was soon recaptured. The struggle seemed hopeless, but surrender was not thought of. "See," said Captain Staunton, pointing to the headless trunk of Lieutenant Chisholm, lying beside a gun, "the mercy of the Mahrattas!" The troops, though some were fainting and others nearly frantic with thirst, declared that sooner than fall into the hands of their foes, they would die to a man: and the result seemed probable. Happily, towards nightfall, a supply of water was procured. The firing gradually ceased; and at daybreak, when the brave band prepared to renew the conflict, the enemy was descried moving off on the road to Poona, in consequence of the rumoured advance of General Smith. Captain Staunton, who was unhurt, retreated to Seroor; and the government, in commemoration of this gallant affair, raised the corps engaged† to the much-coveted rank of grenadiers, and added "Corygaum" to the name of "Mangalore," previously borne by the first regiment of Bombay native infantry.

Sattara was besieged by a combined force under generals Smith and Pritzler, on the 9th of February, and capitulated on the following day. A manifesto was issued by Mr. Elphinstone, on behalf of the British government, taking formal possession of the dominions of the peishwa, with the view of

and the families of the native troops who fell into the hands of the Mahrattas were cruelly maltreated

* Duff's *Mahrattas*, iii., 429.

† The battalion (2nd of 1st Bombay N. I.) lost 153 killed and wounded; the artillerymen (26 in all), 18; cavalry, 96; officers, 5 out of 8, including 2 surgeons.

retaining all except a small tract to be reserved for the rajah of Sattara, who, with his family, was still in the hands of Bajee Rao. General Smith again started off in pursuit, and came up with the Mahratta force at Ashtee, to the north-westward of Sholapoor. Bajee Rao, as usual, thought only of making good his retreat, and left Gokla, with a body of eight or ten thousand horse, to fight the English. General Smith,* though in other respects a good officer, is said to have been ignorant of the art of manœuvring cavalry, and he was opposed by a leader of unrivalled skill in that favourite branch of Mahratta warfare. The English chief was cut down, and some confusion ensued; of which before Gokla could take advantage, he was himself slain—falling, as he had promised, sword in hand. There was no one capable of taking his place, and the Mahrattas fled in wild dismay, leaving elephants, camels, and baggage of all descriptions, to the victors.† The rajah of Sattara, with his mother and two brothers, voluntarily threw themselves on British protection; and being placed under the care of Mr. Elphinstone, and assured of the favourable intentions of the British government, the rajah assumed the state of a sovereign. The wound of General Smith did not prove dangerous, and he was soon enabled to resume the pursuit of Bajee Rao, which the excessive heat of the weather rendered an extremely arduous and depressing task. The men fell beneath sun-strokes more surely and speedily than in the recent engagements, and the hospitals became crowded. The fugitive peishwa had long been desirous to make terms of peace; and at length, when his intended passage across the Nerbudda was intercepted by Sir John Malcolm, he made proposals which that officer considered as affording satisfactory ground for an arrangement. The terms finally agreed to were the complete renunciation of every political right or claim by Bajee Rao, in return for an allowance of not less than eight lacs of rupees a-year. Beithoor, a place of sanctity near Cawnpore, was appointed for his future residence. Trimbukjee was soon after captured in his lurking-place by a party of irregular horse under Lieutenant Swanston (one of the victors at Corygaum), and sent prisoner to the fort of Chunar, in Bengal.

To revert to the operations simultaneously carried on against the Pindarries. Soon after the signing of the treaty of alliance with Sindia, on the 5th of Nov., 1817, the army under Lord Hastings was overtaken by a violent pestilence, since known as cholera,‡ which traversed the whole of India, from Nepaul to Cape Comorin. The year was one of scarcity, the grain of inferior quality, and the situation of the British cantonments low and unhealthy. For ten days the whole camp was an hospital; and the deaths in that short period amounted to a tenth of the total number collected. Towards the end of the month the troops removed to a healthy station at Erich, on the Betwa, and the epidemic had evidently expended its virulence. Notwithstanding this calamity, the object of Lord Hastings in advancing to Gwalior, was fully answered by the prevention of any co-operation between Sindia and the Pindarries. The latter, after being expelled from their haunts in Malwa, were compelled to retreat in various directions, and annihilated or dispersed, with the exception of those under Cheetoo, who being pursued by Sir John Malcolm, took refuge in the camp of Holcar, near Mahidpoor. The government of the Holcar principality at this time rested in the hands of Toolsae Bye, the favourite mistress of the late Jeswunt Rao, who had exercised the chief authority during his insanity. After his death, she placed on the musnud his infant son Mulhar Rao, and proceeded to give vent to all the cruel caprices which could suggest themselves to the imagination of a woman of thirty years of age, handsome and of fascinating manners, but of an imperious and merciless temper and most licentious* morals. Her last favourite, who assumed *ex officio* the reins of government, was the Dewan, Gunput Rao. He wavered between fear of the English and a desire to take part with the peishwa, then in arms. The commanders of battalions, especially the Patans, were adverse to entering upon any treaty by which their consequence was likely to be lowered; and fearing that the force under Malcolm, to which the division under Sir Thomas Hislop

* Afterwards Sir Lionel Smith, govr. of Jamaica.

† The British loss amounted to only nineteen killed and wounded; that of the enemy, to 200.

‡ *Transactions in India*, 1813 *to* 1823, i., 107—111. Mr. Prinsep was present at head-quarters, and lost seven servants and a *moonshee* in four days. During one week, 764 soldiers and 8,000 camp followers perished. Total deaths of Europeans in camp in Nov.—148. The epidemic, called by the natives the "black death," visited Calcutta in September, 1817, and for a long time destroyed above 200 per diem in that city.—(Prinsep: Wilson, ix., 253.)

had since been added, would overawe their vacillating rulers into submission, they threw Gunput Rao into prison, enticed away the child, Mulhar Rao, from the tent before which he was playing, and carried off Toolsae Bye, by night, to the banks of the Seepra, where, despite her cries, she was decapitated, and the body thrown into the river.*

On the following day (21st of December, 1817), a pitched battle took place, in which the British were completely successful, though at the cost of nearly 800 in killed and wounded. The enemy lost 3,000 men, chiefly in the flight to Mundissoor. The mother of the child Mulhar Rao, though a woman of inferior rank, being now the acknowledged regent of the Mahratta state, made full submission to the English; and in return for the cession of all claims in Rajast'han and south of the Sautpoora range, was confirmed in the actual possession of the remaining territories of the principality, at the court of which a British resident was to be established. Many of the old leaders repudiated this engagement, and set off to join Bajee Rao—an attempt in which some succeeded, but others were intercepted, and cut off or dispersed.† The ministers, under the new order of things, "did not deplore an event which disembarrassed a bankrupt state of a mutinous soldiery, and cancelled a number of old and troublesome claims."

The struggles of the Pindarries were nearly ended; Kureem Khan, and other chiefs, surrendered on the promise of pardon and a livelihood, and received small grants of land. Wasil Mohammed poisoned himself. Cheetoo for some time contrived to elude pursuit, but was surprised in Dec., 1817, with the main body of his followers, and dispersed by a detachment from the garrison at Hindia. The Bheels (aboriginal peasantry) and the Grassias (native landowners), remembering the outrages they had long passively sustained, now spared not a Pindarry who fell into their hands; but Cheetoo, with about 200 followers, still remained at large.‡ Though driven from place to place, the daring freebooter bore up against misfortune with a spirit worthy a better cause; till he suddenly disappeared—none, not even his son and few remaining followers, knew how or where; for they had parted from him to hunt the forest for food. After some days, his horse was discovered grazing near the jungles of Aseerghur (where Appa Sahib had sought refuge), saddled and bridled: at a little distance lay a heap of torn and blood-stained garments, and a human head, the remains of a tiger's feast. It was a fitting death for the last of the Pindarries—the last that is deserving the name; for these bold marauders, deprived of their leaders, without a home or a rendezvous, never again became formidable. After the termination of the war with the peishwa, they gradually merged into the ordinary population, following the example of their leaders. Many of them settled in the Deccan and Malwa, as cultivators; and some, employing their energies to a right use, became distinguished as active, improving farmers. The remaining Patan troops were conciliated or dispersed without further bloodshed.

The flight of Appa Sahib caused much anxiety, which terminated with the fall of the fortress of Aseerghur (April, 1819), whence the ex-rajah escaped disguised as a fakeer, and soon sank into a state of insignificance, from which he never emerged. An infant grandson of Ragojee Bhonslay was chosen to bear that name and fill the vacant *gadi*, or throne of Berar, with the title of rajah, under the nominal regency of his grandmother, the British resident being vested with the actual control of affairs during the minority. The remaining operations of the war were chiefly directed to the expulsion

* The career of Toolsae Bye resembles that of the heroine of a romance. She passed as the niece, but was generally supposed to be the daughter, of Adjeeba, an ambitious priest, who, though a professed mendicant, rose to rank and influence. He spared no pains in the education of Toolsae; and she, Malcolm not very gallantly remarks, was "tutored in more than the common arts of her sex." Jeswunt Rao became enamoured with the fair *intrigante* at first sight. She was married, but that mattered little. In a few days the lady was in the palace of Holcar, her husband in prison, from whence he was released and sent home to the Deccan with some presents. Toolsae Bye had an artful waiting-maid, double her own age, who, after having attained high station and amassed large sums by extortion (thereby exciting the envy of the minister on whom the fleeting affections of her mistress for the moment rested), was flung into prison, cruelly tortured, and driven to end her agonies by taking poison.—(Malcolm.)

† An excellent account of the Mahratta and Pindarry campaigns of 1817-'18-'19, has been given by an officer engaged therein—Lieutenant-colonel Blacker.

‡ Conditions of surrender were discussed on behalf of Cheetoo, but his terms were extravagant: moreover, he feared treachery and transportation; and even when dreaming, used to talk with horror of the sea, the hateful *Cala pani*, or black water. After his tragical end, a few fields were allotted for the subsistence of his son, a youth of weak intellect.

of various Arab garrisons from Candeish, a province which, though professedly under the sway of the Poona government, had been gradually usurped by Arab colonists. Malligaum, the strongest fort in the Candeish valley, was gained after an obstinate siege in June, 1819, at a cost to the successful besiegers of 200 killed and wounded.*

The E. I. Cy. evinced their sense of the conduct of the governor-general during the late "glorious and successful wars," by granting him the sum of £60,000 from the territorial revenues of India, for the purchase of an estate in the United Kingdom. Few remaining events in the administration of Lord Hastings need here be mentioned. Its commencement was marked by the renewal of the company's charter for twenty years; by the opening of trade with India to the nation at large; and by the formation of an ecclesiastical establishment for British India.† The occupation of Singapore, in 1817, was effected through the efforts of Sir Stamford Raffles, to whose zeal and discernment may be attributed the possession of the British portion of the Indian Archipelago. Protracted negotiations were carried on with Holland by Mr. Canning, then President of the Board of Control, which terminated in the Netherlands' treaty of 1824, by which the Dutch settlements on the continent of India, with Malacca, and the undisputed right to Singapore, were ceded to England in exchange for Sumatra, which was needlessly surrendered.

The financial dealings with Oude have been noticed. The pecuniary loans of the nabob aided in enabling him to assume the title of vizier without the sanction of the emperor; and, in 1819, the style of vizier was changed for that of king—an indiscreet admission on the part of the E. I. Cy. The chief blot upon the character of Lord Hastings' administration, was caused by the countenance lent by him to the nefarious transactions of certain persons who, under pretence of mercantile dealings, obtained the sanction of government to the most shameless and usurious practices, carried on at the expense of the weak and incompetent Nizam. It was in fact a new version of the "Carnatic debt," conducted in the name of Messrs. Palmer and Co., one of the confederates or partners being Sir Thomas Rumbold, who stood almost in the position of son-in-law to the governor-general, having married a niece whom his lordship had brought up from infancy, and for whom he avowedly cherished the feelings of a father. Strong domestic attachment and excessive vanity conspired to induce Lord Hastings to defend a course into which he had been misled by the artifice of covetous men; and when his late secretary, Charles Metcalfe, on entering upon the duties of British resident at Hyderabad, set forth in very guarded and moderate language, the necessity of introducing a better order of things, the marquis manifested great annoyance, and subsequently addressed a most intemperate letter to the directory, in return for their very just animadversions on the nature of a firm which, without office or establishment, carried on "dealings to the extent of nearly £700,000, occurring under an imperceptible progress."‡ Payments for real or imaginary loans, at sixteen to eighteen per cent., were made by the Hyderabad government, by cash and by assignments of revenue; notwithstanding which, £600,000 were claimed by Messrs. William Palmer and Co., as the balance of accounts with the Nizam in 1820.

During the course of his prolonged administration, the Marquis of Hastings, involved in numerous and intricate military operations, found little opportunity to study with success questions connected with the civil administration of the empire, and the complicated and anxious question of revenue.§ His lordship resigned his office into the hands of the senior member of

* In the course of the Mahratta war, considerable service was rendered by Sir Thomas Munro, who, with a few hundred men, was deputed to take possession of the country ceded by the treaty of Poona, which was effected with some fighting, but chiefly by conciliation. Sir David Ochterlony likewise played a conspicuous part in the Pindarry war. His death, in 1825, occurred under painful circumstances. He was twice appointed resident at Delhi, and removed each time against his inclination: on the last occasion, vexation of spirit increased the morbid melancholy which hastened the close of his eventful career; and his last words, as he turned to the wall, were—"I die disgraced."—(Kay's *Life of Metcalfe*, ii., 132.)

† The first Bishop of Calcutta (Middleton) came out in 1814. He died in 1822, and was succeeded by Reginald Heber, who was cut off by apoplexy in 1826. Bishop James died in 1828. Turner in 1830.

‡ Auber, ii., 558 to 566. Thornton, iv., 583.

§ Sir Thomas Munro was sent to Madras in 1814, at the head of a commission formed for the purpose of revising the judicial system. He exerted himself very efficiently in the decision of arrears of causes which had been suffered to accumulate to a shameful extent. In 1821, he became governor of Madras, and carried out a settlement with a portion of the individual cultivators, called the ryotwar assessment, by which each small holder was not simply put in

council, Mr. Adam, and quitted India in January, 1823.* Though nearly seventy years of age, pecuniary embarrassments prevented him from spending his remaining days in his own country; and he was appointed governor of Malta, where he died, in consequence of a fall from his horse, in 1826.†

For six months the supreme authority rested in the hands of Mr. John Adam, an honest and able man, but somewhat prejudiced. He had uniformly dissented from the conduct adopted by the late governor-general with regard to the house of Palmer and Co.; and he was ready and willing to carry out the orders of the court for making the large advance to the Nizam necessary to free him from the hands of his rapacious creditors, who were forbidden to have any further dealings with the court of Hyderabad. The circumstances of the case are involved in mystery; but it is certain that the failure of the concern created a great commotion in Calcutta, many persons being secretly interested in these transactions whose names were never made public. The proprietors of East India stock called for documents calculated to throw light on the whole affair; and, after much tedious discussion during the next twenty years, political influence procured a decision more favourable to the claims of the European money-lenders, against various native debtors in Oude, than was consistent with the honour of the British government.

This provisional administration was marked by the deportation of Mr. Silk Buckingham, the editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, for a breach of the regulation forbidding editorial comments on public measures. The successful efforts of Mr. Adam for the reduction of expenditure, especially of the interest of the Indian debt, were highly meritorious, as were also his unavailing attempts for the extension of native education.

AMHERST ADMINISTRATION: 1823 TO 1827.—The place of Lord Hastings was at first destined to be filled by Mr. Canning; but the changes in the cabinet, consequent upon the death of the Marquis of Londonderry, opened more congenial employment to the newly-appointed governor-general, and he remained at home in charge of the foreign office. Lord Amherst was selected for the control of Indian affairs, and arrived in Calcutta in August, 1823. The first object pressed on his attention was the open hostility in which a long series of disputes with the Burman empire abruptly terminated. The power of the Burmese was of comparatively recent growth. The people of Ava, after being themselves subject to the neighbouring country of Pegu, revolted under a leader of their own nation, in 1753. Rangoon, the capital of Pegu, surrendered to the Ava chief, who assumed the title of Alompra,‡ and the style of a sovereign; and during the succeeding eight years, laid the basis of an extensive state, which was subsequently enlarged by acquisitions on the Tenasserim coast taken from Siam, and by the annexation of the previously independent states of Arracan, of Munnipoor, and of Assam. Proceedings connected with the conquest of Arracan, brought the Burmese in contact with the British government; for, at the close of the eighteenth century, many thousand persons of the tribe called Mughs, sought refuge from the insufferable persecution of their oppressors in the British province of Arracan. The numbers of the immigrants excited apprehension, and attempts were made to prevent any more of them from crossing the boundary line formed by the Naaf river. But this was impracticable by means consistent with

the position of a mere yearly tenant, but was compelled to pay a fluctuating amount assessed annually at the pleasure of the collector for the time being, whose chief object was naturally the realisation of an immediate amount of revenue, without regard to the permanent welfare—indissolubly united—of the governors and the governed. This system, much praised at the time, reduced the Madras ryots to a state of extreme depression. Munro died of cholera near Gooty, in 1827.—(*Vide Life*, by Gleig.)

* The revenues of India rose from £17,228,000, in 1813-'14, to £23,120,000 in 1822-'3; but a considerable share of this increase is attributable to the accession of territory made under the Wellesley administration. The more than proportionate augmentation of military expense is no less clearly ascribable to the unjustifiable measures of Lord Cornwallis and Sir G. Barlow, and especially to the sufferance long extended to the ferocious Pindarries and the encroaching Mahrattas. For five years (1817 to 1822), the average annual military expenditure was £9,770,000. In 1822-'3, the expenses still reached £8,495,000. The Indian debt increased from £27,002,000, in 1813-'14, to £29,382,000 in 1822-'3; showing an augmentation of £2,380,000. An able and comprehensive summary of the Hastings administration is given by Josiah Conder, whose history terminates at this point.

† Lord Hastings married Flora Campbell, Countess of Loudon, who lived with him in India in the full blaze of vice-regal splendour. In 1827, the sum of £20,000 was granted to the young marquis.

‡ Alompra (correctly, *Alaong-b'hura*), a term applied by the Buddhists of Ava to an individual destined to become a Budd'ha, and attain the supreme felicity of absorption into the divine essence.

ordinary humanity. In 1798, not fewer than 10,000 Mughs rushed to the frontier in an almost frenzied state, and were followed by another body still more numerous, leaving the capital of Arracan nearly depopulated. They had fled through wilds and deserts without any preconcerted plan, leaving behind them abundant traces of their melancholy progress in the dead bodies of both old and young, and of mothers with infants at the breast. The leader of one party, when told to withdraw, replied that he and his companions would never return to Arracan: they were ready to die by the hands of the English, or, if forcibly driven off, would seek refuge in the jungles of the great mountains, the abodes of wild beasts. The wretched multitudes attempted no violence, but sustained life as best they could on "reptiles and leaves," numbers daily perishing, until the British government, taking pity upon their misery, provided the means of sustenance, and materials for the construction of huts to shelter them from the approaching rains. Extensive tracts of waste lands, in the province of Chittagong, were assigned to the refugees, whom, perhaps, it would have been advisable to have settled in a more central position, since a colony of 40,000 persons, established under such circumstances, would, as they grew stronger, be very likely to provoke hostilities with the already incensed and barbarous sovereign of Ava.

The surrender of the Mughs was repeatedly demanded by this potentate, but the Marquis Wellesley returned a decided refusal; qualified, however, by an offer to give up any proved and notorious criminals, and by a promise to prohibit any renewed immigration of Burmese subjects. Some communications took place of little importance; and the discussion might have passed off without producing further hostility, but for the restless spirit of the Mughs, and their natural longing to regain possession of their ancient rights and former homes. A chief, named Khyen-bran (miscalled Kingberring), arose among them inspired with an insatiable desire of vengeance against the Burmese, which he manifested by annual irruptions into Arracan. The Calcutta government strove to check these aggressions, and Lord Hastings gave leave to the Burmese to pursue the depredators to their haunts in Chittagong; but this concession did not appease the King of Ava, who attempted to form a confederacy with Runjeet Sing and other Indian princes, for the expulsion of the English from India. After the death of Khyen-bran, in 1815, the border warfare greatly diminished, and the British authorities, considering the chief cause of contention removed, maintained a very conciliatory tone, which being interpreted by the nameless* majesty of Ava as significant of weakness, only rendered his representatives more insolent and overbearing. Still no actual rupture took place until September, 1823, when a thousand Burmese landed by night on the small island of Shahpoori, at the entrance of the Tek Naaf, or arm of the sea dividing Chittagong from Arracan. The islet was little more than a sandbank, affording pasturage for a few cattle. The guard consisted only of thirteen men, three of whom were killed, four wounded, and the rest driven off the island.

An explanation of this conduct was demanded, and given in the form of a vaunting declaration, that Shahpoori rightfully belonged to the "fortunate king of the white elephants, lord of the seas and earth," and that the non-admission of the claim of "the golden foot" would be followed by the invasion of the British territories. The threat was carried into execution, and a Burmese force actually took post within five miles of the town of Sylhet, only 226 miles from Calcutta. The governor-general entered upon the war with unfeigned reluctance, and its commencement was materially impeded by ignorance of the country, its routes, and passes. The advance from Bengal was at one time intended to have been made through Arracan, but this plan was set aside from regard to the health of the troops; and the main part of the force designed for the campaign, comprising about 11,000 men,† of whom one-half were Euro-

* The names of the kings of Ava, like those of the zamorins of Calicut, were kept secret until their deaths. The style of the Ava court, was to speak of "the golden presence," to address "the golden ear," or lay petitions before "the golden foot;" and on state occasions, the royal head was literally oppressed with the weight of a golden pyramid, and the body clothed in wrought gold.—(Trant's *Two Years in Ava*, 270; Havelock's *Ava*, 245.)

† This included the combined strength of Madras and Bengal; but the excessive repugnance manifested by the native troops in the service of the latter presidency to forsake their families and forfeit caste by embarking on board ship, rendered it impossible to employ any considerable portion of them. It appears, moreover, that great neglect existed on the part of those entrusted with the charge of the commissariat, as in the case of the refusal to march

peans, assembled in May, 1824, at Port Cornwallis, in the Great Andamans. Major-general Sir Archibald Campbell took command of the land, and Commodore Grant of the marine portion of the expedition, but the latter commander was speedily compelled, by ill-health, to give place to Captain Marryat. The forces safely reached Rangoon, the chief port of Ava, which was evacuated after a very feeble attempt at resistance.* On the 10th of June, a successful attempt was made on the fortified camp and stockades at Kemendine, on the Irawaddy river. The outwork was taken by storm; the first man to gain the summit being Major (afterwards Sir Robert) Sale. These conquests were followed by a disastrous expedition, which involved not only loss of life, but of character. A Burmese detachment had formed stockades, under cover of a fortified pagoda, at Kykloo, fourteen miles from Rangoon, and a body of Madras infantry was dispatched to drive them off, under Lieutenant-colonel Smith. The Burmese suffered the English to approach within sixty yards of the pagoda, and then opened their reserved fire with deadly effect. The sepoys may well be excused for quailing before the foe when British officers fairly lost all self-control, and lay down to screen themselves from danger. Colonel Smith ordered a retreat, which soon became a flight, and many lives would doubtless have been sacrificed had not the approach of reinforcements arrested the progress of both pursuers and pursued. A strong force was sent by Sir A. Campbell to drive the Burmese from Kykloo, but they had previously absconded. This affair, which occurred in October, 1824, was not calculated to cheer the army, or encourage them in a position daily becoming less endurable. No consideration of pity for the unfortunate people of Rangoon had prevented the complete devastation of the country by its sovereign, and the invaders were consequently disappointed in their hopes of obtaining supplies of fresh meat and vegetables, and compelled to feed on putrid meat and bad biscuit. The influence of dense jungle and pestilential swamp, aggravated by intense heat and deluges of rain, spread fever and dysentery through the camp: scurvy and hospital gangrene followed in their train; and by the end of the monsoon scarcely 3,000 men were fit for active duty. The King of Ava relied on the proverbial unhealthiness of Rangoon to aid the efforts of his ill-disciplined troops, and facilitate the performance of his command to drive the invaders into the sea, or bring them to the capital to suffer torture and ignominy. Notwithstanding this vaunting language, his majesty of the golden foot became extremely uneasy on witnessing the pertinacity of the English, and despite much affected rejoicing at their having fallen into a trap by taking up a position at Rangoon, he compared himself, in an unguarded moment, to a man who, having got a tiger by the tail, knew not whether to hold on or let go.† He is said to have been encouraged in "holding on," by an odd tradition (if any such did really exist) that the capital would remain invincible until a magical vessel should advance against it without oars or sails!‡

The *Diana* steamer, which accompanied the flotilla on the Irawaddy, though possessed of no magic power, did great service in capturing and destroying the war-boats and fire-rafts sent out by the Burmese. The arrival of reinforcements and supplies from Bengal restored the number of troops at Rangoon to about their original amount, and infused new life into the survivors, and spirit to resist the repeated but ill-

against the Burmese, made by the 47th regiment (about 1,400 in number), at Barrackpoor, in 1825. The men entreated to be dismissed and suffered to return to their homes, but without effect. The regiment was paraded, and the refusal of the men to march or ground their arms (which they held unloaded, though furnished with forty rounds of ammunition), was punished by a murderous discharge of artillery, which killed numbers of them. About 200 were taken prisoners, of whom twelve were hanged, and the remainder condemned to labour in irons. The court of inquiry appointed to report on the whole affair, declared the conduct of the unhappy soldiers "to have been an ebullition of despair at being compelled to march without the means of doing so."—(Thornton's *India*, iv., 113.) How military men can reconcile their consciences to such proceedings as these, is perfectly incomprehensible.

* Crawfurd's *Embassy to Ava in* 1827: App., p. 65.

† The Shwe-da-gon, a Buddhist temple of great size and remarkable sanctity, being deserted by its priestly guardians, was used by Sir A. Campbell as a military outwork. The building was of solid brickwork, elaborately decorated, and coated with gilding, whence its name—the Golden Pagoda. The portion deemed peculiarly sacred, was a solid cone 300 feet high, which was supposed to enshrine, or rather entomb, relics of the four last Budd'has—the staff of Krakuchunda, the water-pot of Gunaguna; the bathing-robe of Kasyapa, and eight hairs from the head of Gautama, or Sakyasinha.—(Wilson's Mill, ix., 50. Also Hough, Symes, Snodgrass, Trant, and Havelock.)

‡ Auber gives the tradition upon the authority of Col. Hopkinson, who commanded the Madras artillery in the Burmese war.—(ii., 579.) Trant also mentions it.—(*Two Years in Ava*, 241.)

directed attempts of the various forces dispatched against them from Ava.

The provinces of Assam and Cachar were captured by troops sent from Hindoostan, with the aid of native auxiliaries. In January, 1825, 11,000 men were assembled in Chittagong, and dispatched, under General Morrison, to Arracan, with instructions to reduce that province, and then join Sir Archibald Campbell on the Irawaddy. The first object of the mission was fulfilled; but ignorance of the Aeng Pass rendered the Youmadoung mountains an impracticable barrier, and prevented the performance of the latter order. By the close of the rainy season one-fourth of the men were dead, and more than half the survivors in hospital, from the unhealthiness of the climate. The remainder were therefore recalled, with the exception of a few divisions left on coast stations. Happily the war had been more successfully prosecuted in Ava. The whole of Tenasserim was conquered by detachments from Rangoon* before the close of 1824; and in the following February, General Campbell prepared to advance, by land and water, against Prome, the second city of Ava. On the 25th of March, the troops came in sight of Donabew, a fortified place, where the flower of the Burmese army lay encamped. Our flotilla was attacked without success. Bandoola, the ablest and most popular of the Burmese commanders, was killed by a shell; upon which Donabew was abandoned by the enemy and immediately occupied by order of General Campbell, who advanced against Prome, which was evacuated on his approach. The King of Ava had not yet lost hope: levies were raised in every part of the kingdom; and in November, a heterogeneous force marched under the command of the prime minister for the recovery of Prome. An engagement took place on the 1st of December, which terminated in the death of the Burmese leader and the dispersion of the entire force. The British general prepared to follow up his victory by marching on the capital, but his progress was delayed by overtures of peace, which proved to be mere pretexts to gain time. The same stratagem was repeated more than once; and even at the last, when the evident futility of resistance seemed to attest the sincerity of the defeated Burmese, the boast of a military adventurer, that he would be answerable for the discomfiture of the invaders if enabled to lead an army against them, induced the renewal of offensive operations by the King of Ava. Troops to the number of 16,000 were assembled under the new leader, who was dignified by the name of Nuring Thuring, prince of Sunset (which our troops, being poor linguists, translated as prince of Darkness), and entrusted with the charge of covering the capital against the approach of the British army. The so-called "retrievers of the king's glory" encountered about 1,300 men, under Colonel Campbell (two brigades being absent on duty), and were dispersed with greater loss than had been sustained by their predecessors on any previous occasion. Their brave, though boastful leader, ventured to prostrate himself before the golden throne, and solicit a more powerful force, but was immediately put to death by the enraged and humiliated sovereign. No time could be spared now for procrastinating schemes if Ava were to be saved from the grasp of the English army, which marched on to Yandaboo, only forty-five miles distant. Two American missionaries (Messrs. Price and Judson), "the only negotiators in whom the king had any confidence," were dispatched to the British camp to conclude peace. General Campbell made no increase on the terms already stipulated for, and a treaty was finally concluded in February, 1826, by which the King of Ava ceded Arracan and Tenasserim to the English; agreed to pay them a crore of rupees (about a million sterling), to receive a resident at his court, and to grant to their ships the privileges enjoyed by his own. He likewise renounced all claim upon Asam, Jyntia, Cachar, and Munnipoor, which were to be placed under princes named by the British government.

The "peacock signet" was affixed to the treaty, the provisions of which were fulfilled, including the money stipulation, after some delay and discussion; and thus ended the first Burmese war. The dangers, disasters, and heavy cost of life and treasure involved therein, afforded strong arguments to both parties in favour of a durable peace.

* Among the expeditions sent against the English at Rangoon, was one under the immediate superintendence of the king's two brothers, and numerous astrologers. A band of warriors termed "invulnerables" by their countrymen, accompanied the princes, and were remarkable for the elaborate tattooing of their bodies, which were covered with figures of animals, and literally inlaid with precious stones. Despite their name, and real though ill-directed valour, they fled before European musketry.

The main body of the invading force returned as they came, by the line of the Irawaddy; but a body of native infantry succeeded in finding a practicable route to the Aeng Pass, and thus clearly proved that nothing but ignorance of the geography of the country had, humanly speaking, been the sole means of preventing "a portion of General Morrison's army from wintering in Ava, instead of perishing in the mountains of Arracan."*

Before the termination of the Burmese war, proceedings had occurred in another quarter which involved a fresh appeal to arms. The successors of Runject Sing of Bhurtpoor, had faithfully observed the treaty of 1805. The latter of these rajahs, Baldeo Sing, had taken pains to ensure the protection of the supreme government for his son, Bulwunt Sing, a child of five years old, by entreating the political agent at Delhi, Sir David Ochterlony, to invest the boy with a *khelat*, or honorary dress, which was the form prescribed by Lord Wellesley as the official recognition necessary to legal succession on the part of all subsidiary and protected princes. The request of the rajah was granted early in 1824, in consideration of his infirm health; and his death a year after, not without suspicion of poison, was followed by a train of events which proved the justice of the precautions adopted on behalf of the heir. For about a month the reins of government rested quietly in the hands of the guardian and maternal uncle of the young rajah; but at the expiration of that time, the citadel was seized, the uncle murdered, and the boy made prisoner by Doorjun Sal (a nephew of the late Baldeo Sing), who assumed the direction of affairs. This daring usurpation involved a defiance to the British government, which Sir David Ochterlony felt keenly; he also knew on how slender a thread hung the life of the boy, for whose protection the honour of England had been solemnly pledged. An immediate demand for the surrender of Bulwunt Sing was refused; but the promptitude and determination with which it had been made, probably prevented another name from being added to the long list of Indian princes born too near a throne to escape death by a poisoned opiate, or the dexterous hand of an athlete. Sir David was anxious to waste no time in inconclusive negotiation: he wished to march at once against Bhurtpoor, before the enemy should have opportunity to take measures of defence. With this intent, the veteran general, then in his sixty-eighth year (fifty preceding ones having been spent in India), set on foot the necessary preparations, which were arrested by counter-orders from the supreme government. The heavy pecuniary cost, and numerous disasters attendant on the early stages of the Burmese war, combined with mortifying recollections of the issue of the former siege of Bhurtpoor, rendered Lord Amherst reluctant to enter on an undertaking which, if unsuccessful, might, it was feared, add to existing embarrassments—that of "hostilities with every state from the Punjab to Ava."† The successful defence of this Indian fortress against Lake, was still the favourite vaunt of every secret and open foe to English supremacy: the repetition of such an event was to be avoided at any cost. The annulment of the recent measures may be vindicated as a necessary act; but there can be no excuse for the harsh and peremptory manner in which it was enforced, to the bitter mortification of Ochterlony, who after being before deprived of the position of Delhi resident by Sir George Barlow, was now compelled to tender his resignation, which he survived only a few months.‡

Doorjun Sal attributed the conduct of the British government to fear, and was consequently emboldened to drop the submissive tone which he had adopted while military preparations were in progress, and assert his claims, not as regent, but as rajah. The new Delhi resident, Sir Charles Metcalfe, advocated the same policy as that which had cost his predecessor so dearly; and his representations, in conjunction with the warlike proceedings of Doorjun Sal, induced the supreme government to resolve on espousing the cause of Bulwunt Sing. An attempt at negotiation having failed, an army, comprising about 21,000 men and above a hundred pieces of heavy ordnance, marched against Bhurtpoor in December, 1825, under the direction of Lord Combermere. The garrison was believed to comprise 20,000 men, chiefly Rajpoots and Jats, with some Afghans; but the best defence of the fortress consisted in its thick high walls of indurated clay, rising from the edge of a broad and deep ditch, flanked by thirty-five tower-bastions, and strengthened by the

* Trant's *Two Years in Ava*, 447. · Prof. Wilson's *Documents Illustrative of Burmese War*.
† Wilson's Mill's *India*, ix., 191.
‡ *See* Note to p. 421

outworks of nine gateways. Of these fortifications several had been added since 1805: one in particular, termed the Bastion of Victory, was vauntingly declared to have been built with the blood and bones of Englishmen there laid low. On the previous occasion the besieged had, nevertheless, enjoyed advantages far superior to those on which they now relied. An immense number of troops, stated, doubtless with exaggeration, at 80,000,* were then assembled within the walls, whence they could issue at pleasure to draw supplies from the adjacent country; for the limited number of Lord Lake's force confined his operations to a single point. Moreover, the English at that time trusted too exclusively to hard fighting, and neglected the resources of engineering skill, especially the construction of mines—a measure now adopted by Lord Combermere, at the suggestion of Major Galloway† and Lieutenant Forbes of the engineers, who was on duty at the siege. The communication between the moat of the fortress and the extensive piece of water by which it was supplied, was cut off, the ditch nearly emptied, and mines were carried across and above it; while the operation of powerful batteries covered the approaches and kept down the fire of the enemy. By the middle of January the walls had been effectively breached, and the army impatiently waited the order to storm. It was given on the 18th, the appointed signal being the springing of a mine containing 10,000 lbs. of powder. The foremost of the storming party, in their anxiety to advance immediately after the explosion, crowded too near the opening, and the quakings of the earth, and the dull tremulous sound beneath their feet, came too late to save several of them from sharing the fate of numbers of the enemy assembled to defend the breach, who perished in the convulsion which darkened the air with dense clouds of dust and smoke, and hurled disjointed masses of the hardened ramparts in all directions. The fate of their comrades gave a momentary check to the ardour of the assailants; but the order to advance was issued and obeyed—the troops scaled the ramparts, and after overcoming a resolute resistance at different points, gained possession of the town and outworks, at the cost of about 600 killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy was estimated at 14,000, of whom 8,000 were slain in the assault; many being cut off by the British cavalry while attempting to escape through the gates on the western face of the fortress. The citadel surrendered in the afternoon. At the commencement of the assault, Doorjun Sal had quitted the fortress with his wife and two sons, escorted by forty horsemen, and sought refuge in an adjoining wood, where he remained for several hours, and then endeavoured to escape unperceived. The attempt failed; the fugitives were overtaken by a troop of native cavalry, and secured without opposition. Doorjun Sal was sent as a prisoner of state to Allahabad, and the young rajah reinstated on the throne of his ancestors; but though the nominal regency was made over to the principal widow of Baldeo Sing, and the partial management of affairs entrusted to his leading ministers, the paramount authority was vested in a British resident permanently appointed to Bhurtpoor. The army appropriated booty to the amount of about £22,000. Before the fall of Bhurtpoor, the conduct of the Ava war, though not entirely approved, procured an earldom for Lord Amherst. Lord Combermere was created a viscount. The diplomatic arrangements made during this administration were of some importance. In 1824, Malacca, Singapore, and the Dutch possessions on the continent of India, were ceded by the King of the Netherlands in exchange for the British settlement of Bencoolen, in Sumatra. Dowlut Rao Sindia died in March, 1827, leaving no son. His favourite, but not principal wife, Baiza Bye, was, in accordance with his wish, suffered to adopt a child and assume the regency—a procedure for which the consent of the company was solicited and obtained, provision for the continued maintenance of a British contingent being made by the advance of a loan or deposit of eighty lacs of rupees, the interest of which, at five per cent., was to be employed in the support of the troops.

Lord Amherst visited the titular king of Delhi early in 1827, and then repaired to Simla on the lower range of the Himalaya, which from that time became the favourite retreat of the governors-general of India, from its beauty and salubrity. While there, hostilities broke out between Russia and Persia, and the latter and of course much weaker power demanded the aid of the Calcutta government, in accord-

* Creighton's *Siege of Bhurtpoor in 1825-'6*, p. 152.

† Better known as Major-general Galloway, the author of a valuable work on the mud forts of India.

ance with the treaty concluded at Tehran in 1814. The point at issue regarded the boundary line between the two countries. The cabinet of St. Petersburg positively refused to accept the arbitration of British officers; and the result was, that a struggle ensued, in which the British took no part; and the Persians, being worsted, were compelled to make peace with Russia by the surrender of the contested territory, in February, 1828.

In the same month Lord Amherst resigned his position, and returned to England. The restoration of tranquillity had enabled him to pay some attention to civil matters; and the diffusion of education had been promoted by the formation of collegiate institutions at Agra and at Delhi, as also by the establishment of schools in various provincial towns. The pressure of financial difficulties impeded the full execution of these as well as of other measures required to lighten the burdens and stimulate the commerce of the people of India. The war with Ava had necessitated heavy disbursements. In two years (1824 and '25), the sum of nineteen million sterling had been raised; and at the close of the Amherst administration, "the financial prospects of the country were of a most alarming complexion."* Nearly eighteen months elapsed before the arrival of a new governor-general, and during that time the supreme authority rested in the able hands of the senior member of council, Butterworth Bayley, who busily employed himself in laying the foundation of various internal reforms, which were carried out during the ensuing—

Bentinck Administration, 1828 to 1835. —After his recall from the government of Madras, in 1807, Lord William Bentinck had remonstrated forcibly against the injustice of making him the victim of measures adopted without his cognizance; and his arguments being seconded by influential family connexions (with Mr. Canning and the Portland family), he eventually obtained the appointment of governor-general, and in July, 1828, arrived in Calcutta. At that time unaccustomed tranquillity prevailed throughout India, and the character of Lord William Bentinck was considered the best guarantee against its disturbance by any aggressive or domineering spirit on the part of the English. A vivacious French traveller (Jacquemont) declared that the actual possessor of the sceptre of the Great Mogul thought and acted like a Pennsylvanian quaker: yet some of the acts of this administration would certainly not have been sanctioned by the great American coloniser. The influence of Lady Bentinck was unquestionably of the best description; and the improved tone of thought and feeling which pervaded the society of government-house, diffused itself throughout Calcutta and the British presidencies.† All the support derivable from a manly and conscientious spirit, was needed by one who came out burdened with the execution of immediate and sweeping retrenchments. No opposition was made to the extensive reduction of the army; but the old question of *batta* (extra pay) which had called forth the energies of Clive, became afresh the source of bitter discontent. The total diminution, on the present occasion, did not exceed £20,000 per annum; but it fell heavily on individuals: and although the governor-general could not avoid enforcing the accomplishment of stringent orders, he was thereby rendered permanently unpopular with the military branch of the service. The press commented freely on the *half-batta* regulations, and the discontented officers were wisely suffered to vent and dissipate their wrath in angry letters. The same forbearance was not manifested when the excessive flagellation, which at this period disgraced the discipline of the army, became the theme of censure; for Lord W. Bentinck, "though a liberal to the very core," held, as had been proved at Vellore, very stern notions on military affairs; and in this, as also in some other cases, showed himself decidedly "inclined to put a gag into the mouth of the press."‡

In 1829, a regulation was enacted, by which the practice of *suttee*—that is, of burning or burying alive Hindoo widows —was declared illegal, and the principal persons engaged in aiding or abetting it, became liable to trial for culpable homicide, and were punishable with imprisonment and fine. This enactment was far from exciting the expected degree of opposition. The same unlooked-for facility attended another measure (denounced still more de-

* Wilson's continuation of Mill, ix., 234.

† The altered tone of Calcutta society may be conjectured, from the fact of Jacquemont's going on Sunday to the house of the chief justice, Sir Charles Grey, to hear some music, play chess, and seek a refuge from the general devotion of the English.—(*Letters from India*, i., 101.)

‡ Kaye's *Life of Metcalfe*, ii., 253.

cisively) in prospect, as a perilous innovation, not on "the rights of women" only, but on those of the entire Hindoo community; namely, the abrogation of the intolerant laws which decreed the forfeiture of all civil rights as the penalty of conversion to Christianity. The convert not only became an outcast, but an outlaw; incapable of inheriting personal or family property. The wonder was that a Christian government had not sooner put a stop to such bigotry. Now, the necessary steps were taken with much caution, and the alterations were so mixed up with other ordinances, as to create little commotion or excitement even when first published.

In 1831, active measures were adopted for the extirpation of the numerous and formidable gangs of depredators, known by the name of Thugs or Phansi-gars; the former term (signifying a cheat) being the more common, the latter (denoting the bearer of a noose or phansi, wherewith to commit murder by strangulation) the less general, but equally appropriate designation. The lasso was not, however, necessary to these miscreants, whose horrible dexterity enabled them, with a strip of cloth, or an unfolded turban, to destroy the unwary traveller speedily and surely;—the dead body was then buried in the ground, and every trace of the crime carefully obliterated. Hundreds upon hundreds of husbands and fathers perished none knew how, save the members of this horrible confederacy, who, whether of Hindoo or Mohammedan origin, were usually thieves and murderers by hereditary descent. Of the doctrines of the Koran they were wholly ignorant, and of Brahminism they knew nothing but its worst superstitions; which are those connected with the sanguinary worship of the goddess Doorga or Cali, the wife of Siva, whom they regarded as their peculiar patroness, and looked to for guidance and counsel, which they believed to be communicated through the medium of the flight and utterance of birds, beasts, and reptiles. Fearful oaths of secrecy were interchanged; and the difficulty of detection was enhanced by the consummate art which enabled the stealthy assassin to maintain the bearing of an industrious peasant or busy trader. Remorse seems to have been well-nigh banished from this community by the blinding influence of the strange predestinarian delusion that they were born to rob and kill their fellow-men—destined for this end by Providence by a law similar to that which impels the savage beast of the forest to slay and devour human beings. "Is any man killed from man's killing?" was their favourite argument. "Are we not instruments in the hand of God?" The mysterious workings of that almighty and ever-present power, which controls the actions, but leaves the will free, was unthought of by these unhappy men, whose excesses rendered them a by-word of fear and loathing throughout India. Lord Hastings made some efforts for their suppression by military detachments, but with little effect. Summary and organised measures of police were adopted by Lord Bentinck, and ably carried out by Mr. Smith, Major Sleeman, and other functionaries. In the course of six years (1830 to 1835) 2,000 Thugs were arrested and tried at Indore, Hyderabad, Saugor, and Jubbulpoor, of whom about 1,500 were convicted and sentenced to death, transportation, or imprisonment. The strange *esprit de corps* which for a time sustained them, at length gave way; many purchased pardon at the expense of full and free confession: formidable gangs were thus reduced to a few scattered and intimidated individuals; and the Thugs became a bugbear of past times.

The most exceptionable feature in the Bentinck administration was the deposition of the rajah of Coorg, Veer Rajundra Wudiyar, and the conversion of his mountainous principality into a province of the Madras presidency. The immediate occasion appears to have been a domestic quarrel with his sister and her husband, which led them to seek the protection of the British resident at Mysoor. The rajah was described as fierce, cruel, and disposed to enter on intrigues against the supreme government with the rajah of Mysoor. These vague charges, together with some angry letters, demanding the surrender of his fugitive relations, and the imprisonment of a servant of the company, were considered to justify the dispatch of a powerful force for the subjugation of Coorg. The British advanced in four divisions, and entered the principality from as many quarters. The alleged unpopularity of the rajah was contradicted by the determination of his defenders, despite a proclamation offering protection to person and property as the price of neutrality; but the efforts of the brave mountaineers were rendered unavailing, less by the overwhelming superiority of

numbers and discipline on the part of the invaders, than by the avowed disinclination of Veer Rajundra to organised opposition against the powerful protectors of his ancestors. Merkara, the capital of Coorg, was captured in April, 1834, and the rajah, with his family, surrendered unconditionally. A committee of inquiry was instituted into the charges adduced against him, and the search made after the seizure of Merkara, brought to light the bodies of seventeen persons, including three relatives of the rajah, who had been put to death by decapitation or strangling, and thrown into a pit in the jungle. This was a melancholy revelation; but such severities are unhappily quite consistent with the ordinary proceedings of despotic governments; and it may well be doubted whether, even if proved beforehand, they could warrant the interference of a foreign state for the deposition of the prince by whom they were committed, in opposition to the will of the people he governed. Certainly the assumption of sovereignty over the Coorgs could be excused only by the most rigid adherence to the promise given, "that their civil rights and religious usages should be respected, and that the greatest desire should invariably be shown to augment their security, comfort, and happiness. How far these objects have been effected," adds Professor Wilson, "may admit of question; but the province has remained at peace, and the Coorgs have shown no disposition to reassert their independence."*

The rajah became a pensioner on the E. I. Cy. Some few years ago he came to England, bringing with him a daughter, a lady-like and intelligent child, to be educated as a Christian. Queen Victoria, by a graceful act of spontaneous kindness calculated to endear her to the vast Indian population beneath her sway, officiated in person as godmother to the young stranger, who, it is to be hoped, will live to merit and enjoy a continuance of the royal favour. The rajah himself has no trace, either in countenance or bearing, of the insane cruelty ascribed to him; and the satisfactory arrangement of the pecuniary question† now at issue between him and the E. I. Cy. is desirable, as the best means of strengthening the confidence of Indian princes in the good faith of the nation in general.

Whatever view may be taken of the conduct of Lord W. Bentinck in this case, and of certain complex arrangements, of comparatively small interest, with Oude, Mysoor, Nagpoor, Jeypoor, and other Indian states, there can be no doubt that the general result of his administration was highly beneficial to the cause of religious civilisation.‡ Public institutions, whether for educational or charitable purposes, were warmly encouraged; and the almost exclusive agency of European functionaries, which had been the radical defect of the Cornwallis system, was to some extent remedied by the employment of natives in offices of trust and emolument,—not, indeed, to the extent which they have a right to expect eventually, but as much perhaps as the circumstances of the time warranted. The opening of the "overland route" by way of the Red Sea, Egypt, and the Mediterranean, and the consequent reduction of the length of transit from four or five months to forty or fifty days (an immense boon to the Anglo-Indian community), was effected mainly through the instrumentality of the late Lieutenant Waghorn, R.N.

The navigation of the Ganges by steam-vessels was attempted, and proved entirely successful.§ Measures were adopted to procure the unobstructed navigation of the Indus, with a view to the extension of British trade with the countries to the westward as far as the Caspian Sea, and also in the hope of establishing a commanding influence on the Indus, in order to counteract the consequences which might be anticipated from the complete prostration of Persia, and its subservience to the designs of Russia against British India. The orders of the cabinet of St. James were positive, and Lord W. Bentinck must therefore be acquitted of blame for the complex relations formed with the Mohammedan states of Bahawulpoor, Sinde, and Afghanistan, and especially with the wily and ambitious Seik, Runjeet Sing, to whom a present of several

* Continuation of Mill's *India*, ix., 359.

† Relating to the proprietary right to a large sum of money invested by the prince and his family in the Anglo-Indian funds, the interest of which had been regularly paid to the rajah, Veer Rajundra, up to the time of his deposition, which the E. I. Cy. now appear disposed to regard as confiscated.

‡ The efforts of Lord W. Bentinck were especially directed to the diffusion of the English language among the natives—a measure difficult indeed, but highly desirable in the sight of all their well-wishers.

§ The first voyage between Bombay and Suez, made by the *Hugh Lindsay* in 1830, occupied thirty days; the second, in the same year, only twenty-two. The passage between England and India now requires fewer weeks than it formerly did months.

English horses, of unusual size and stature, were presented by Lieutenant Burnes, in the name of William IV., in October, 1831.

The renewal of the charter of the E.I. Cy. for the term of twenty years (1833 to 1853), was attended with a complete change in the constitution of that powerful body, which, after commencing in a purely commercial spirit, now consented to place in abeyance its exclusive privileges of trade with China as well as with India, but retained its political rights; and, in conjunction with the Board of Control, continued to direct the affairs of Hindoostan. The fixed dividend guaranteed to the shareholders, and charged upon the revenues of India, the means of redeeming the company's stock, with other arrangements then made, are set forth in the opening page of this history. Lord William Bentinck resigned his position on account of ill-health, and quitted India early in 1835. The brief provisional sway of Sir Charles Metcalfe was distinguished by a measure which procured him much exaggerated applause and equally indiscriminate censure. This act was the removal of the restrictions on the public press of India, which, though rarely enforced, were still in existence. It is worthy of remark, that the liability to government interference was confined to Europeans; for native editors could publish anything short of a direct libel: and after the banishment of Mr. Silk Buckingham by Mr. Adam, his paper was continued by a successor of mixed race, an Anglo-Indian, whom the law did not affect. The views of Sir Charles Metcalfe, with regard to the precarious nature of our Indian empire, were of a decidedly exaggerated and alarmist character. In 1825, he had declared the real dangers of a free press in India to be, "its enabling the natives to throw off our yoke;" and a minute recorded by him in October, 1830, expressed, with some sharpness, the inconvenience attendant on the proceedings of government finding their way into the newspapers. Despite some apparent inconsistency, the strenuous advocacy of the freedom of the press, at all hazards, would have been a proceeding worthy his frank and manly character; but it would be difficult to justify his conduct in enacting a measure, however laudable in itself, in opposition to the will, and, as it was generally supposed, to the interests of his employers. The change could scarcely have been long delayed; for now that Englishmen were to be suffered to settle at pleasure in India, it was not likely they would tamely submit to have summary deportation held over them as the penalty of offending against the prerogative of a despotic governor, in a time of external and internal tranquillity.

AUCKLAND ADMINISTRATION: 1835 TO 1842.—The person first nominated as the successor of Lord William Bentinck was Lord Heytesbury; but the brief interval of power enjoyed by the Tory ministry having expired before his lordship could quit England, the appointment was cancelled, the large sum granted as usual for outfitting expenses being forfeited by the E. I. Cy.

The restored Whig cabinet, under Lord Melbourne, bestowed the Indian viceroyalty on Lord Auckland, a nobleman of amiable character and business habits, who, it was generally supposed, might be safely entrusted with the charge of the supreme government, which had certainly never been assumed by any preceding functionary under more favourable circumstances. Perfect tranquillity, a diminishing debt, and increasing commerce, seemed to promise an easy and honourable administration; unhappily, it proved the very reverse. The first event of importance was one which, though vindicated by an author whose impartiality reflects equal credit on himself and the E. I. Cy.,* nevertheless appears to the writer of the present work an act of cruel injustice, the blame of which rests chiefly on the Bombay authorities; for the new governor-general gave but a tardy and reluctant assent to their decision. The measure in question was the deposition of the rajah of Sattara, the legitimate successor of Sevajee, who had been placed on the musnud in 1819. The policy or impolicy of his reinstatement need not be discussed. Pertab Sein, then twenty-seven years of age, showed unbounded delight at his restoration to what he undisguisedly viewed as real power, and diligently set about improving his little sovereignty. Successive residents at his court—Grant Duff, generals Briggs and Robertson, and Colonel Lodwick—bore witness to the general excellence of his administration from 1819 to 1837-'8, the last gentleman with some qualification, the specified drawback being the new feature of weakness of mind manifested by an excessive addiction to Brahminical superstitions, and the employment

* Mr. Edward Thornton, head of the statistical department at the India House.

of women in the management of elephants, as guards, and in other unusual offices. These complaints were the first indication of an altered tone on the part of the local authorities, and were probably the earliest results of a conspiracy formed against the rajah in his own palace. The favourable nature of the testimony regarding his conduct previously sent to England, had drawn from the Court of Directors repeated expressions of warm and generous praise. In 1829 he was declared to be "remarkable among the princes of India for mildness, frugality, and attention to business;" in 1831, "his disposition and capacity for government" are again noticed; and in December, 1835, a letter was addressed to him, lauding the "exemplary fulfilment" of his duties as "well calculated to promote the prosperity of his dominions and the happiness of his people," and acknowledging "the liberality displayed in executing various public works of great utility, which has so justly raised your reputation in the eyes of the princes and people of India, and gives you an additional claim to our approbation, respect, and applause." This testimony was accompanied by a handsome sword, the most marked tribute of respect which could be offered to a Mahratta. The letter and sword were arbitrarily detained by the Bombay government, and never presented to the rajah, whose feelings about this time became irritated by a controversy with them regarding certain jaghires to which he laid claim. A conspiracy was, it is believed, concocted against him by a vindictive, ungrateful, and profligate brother, and the rajah was accused of endeavouring to procure the overthrow of British power by three extraordinary measures:—first, by striving to corrupt the entire Anglo-Indian army through two native officers of a regiment stationed at Sattara; second, by inducing the Portuguese at Goa to land 30,000 European troops in India, who were to be marched overland for the purpose; third, by corresponding with the fugitive ex-rajah of Nagpoor, who had neither character, influence, nor ability,—not a shilling, nor an acre of territory,—and was himself dependent on charity. The seals of the rajah were forged, pretended correspondence produced, and other artful schemes successfully carried through. There was at this time a vague feeling of alarm throughout India relative to a general rising against British supremacy: the press at home and abroad gave countenance to the idea; and Sir Charles Metcalfe declared he should not be surprised "to wake some fine morning and find the whole thing blown up." Sir Robert Grant, then governor of Bombay, and some officials around him, fell into the trap, and despatches of several hundred paragraphs were written regarding the alleged application of the rajah for the aid of 30,000 Portuguese soldiers, when, at that time, *thirty* would have been an impossibility; and great alarm was professed lest 200,000 British soldiers—Mussulmen as well as Hindoos, who had ever proved themselves true to their salt—should be seduced from their allegiance by this petty prince, who was no warrior, but an excellent farmer and landlord. The supreme government of India at first treated the affair with the contempt it merited: but reiterated calumnies began to take effect; and the alarm once given, the most absurd stories, many of which carried with them the proof of their falsehood,* were believed by men who were afterwards ashamed to confess their credulity. Sir R. Grant died, and Sir James Carnac, then chairman of the Court of Directors, succeeded him. He went to Sattara in 1839, and required the rajah to acknowledge his guilt, sign a new treaty, and all would be forgiven. Pertab Sein refused to declare himself a traitor to the British government; asked for a copy of the charges against him, and demanded a fair hearing and a public trial. Sir J. Carnac was a kind and moderate man; but the strong prejudices—not to use a harsher term—of his associates warped his judgment, and led him to view the conduct of the rajah as the continued contumacy of a rebel, instead of the offended feelings of an innocent man. A body of troops marched at midnight into the palace, led by the successful plotter, Appa Sahib: the rajah was made prisoner in his bed, all his property seized; and ere morning

* Since the deposition of the Sattara rajah, on the evidence of forged documents and perjured witnesses, a similar case has come to light. Ali Morad, one of the Ameers of Sinde, having been convicted of forgery, had a large portion of his territories confiscated by the British government. The accuser, Sheik Ali Hussein, had been prime minister of the chief, and was dismissed for malpractices: at his death (8th May, 1853), he confessed that all he had sworn against Ali Morad was untrue, and that he had given false evidence for purposes of revenge.—(*Bombay Gazette*, 10th May, 1853.)

dawned, the victim of a foul conspiracy was ignominiously hurried away as a prisoner to Benares, where he died. The brother who had caused his ruin was placed on the throne. After a few years of profligacy and indolence Appa Sahib died, leaving no son, and the little principality of Sattara devolved, in default of heirs, upon the British government. The whole transaction is painful, and reflects little credit on any concerned therein: time, the revealer of truth, has exposed the folly and injustice of the procedure; and had the ex-rajah survived, some measure of justice would probably have been rendered him.*

The next and all-absorbing feature of the Auckland administration is the Afghan war, to understand the origin of which it is necessary to explain the condition of the territories on our western frontier. Zemaun Shah, the Afghan ruler of Cabool, against whom a treaty was negotiated with Persia in 1801, by Sir John Malcolm, was deposed and blinded in the same year by his brother Mahmood—treatment precisely similar to that bestowed by him on his immediate predecessor, Humayun. Mahmood was, in turn, displaced by a fourth brother, named Soojah-ool-Moolk. With unwonted clemency the conqueror refrained from inflicting extinction of sight, which, though not a legal disqualification to sovereign power, usually proves an insuperable bar to the claims of any candidate. Soojah could not keep the throne he had gained; but being expelled by the reviving strength of Mahmood, sought refuge with Runjeet Sing, who plundered him of all his valuables, including the famous Koh-i-Noor (the gem of the English Exhibition of 1851), and made him prisoner. By the exertion of an unexpected amount of skill and resolution, Shah Soojah succeeded in making his escape in the disguise of a mendicant, and reached the British station of Loodiana in September, 1816, whither his family, together with Zemaun Shah, had previously found refuge. Mahmood did not, however, possess the throne in peace. His vizier, Futteh Khan, an able chief, who had been mainly instrumental in carrying out the late revolution, evinced indications of a desire to elevate his numerous brothers to almost exclusive authority, and to make the Barukzye clan, of which he was hereditary chief, the governing class. The youngest of his brethren, the afterwards famous Dost Mohammed, treacherously occupied the fortress of Herat, committed great excesses there, and even profaned the harem by seizing the ornaments of its inmates, and especially by violently tearing away a jewelled girdle from the person of one of the royal princesses.

The insulted lady sent the torn robe to her relative, Prince Kamran, the son of Mahmood Shah, with a demand for vengeance. Dost Mohammed fled to Cashmere, where his brother, Azim Khan, was governor. Futteh Ali was made prisoner, and blinded by the dagger of Kamran. Subsequently, on his refusal to call upon his brothers to surrender, the unfortunate vizier was literally hacked to pieces by the courtiers in attendance on the king and prince.

Dost Mohammed raised an army, and made himself master of the city of Cabool, in 1818. Shah Mahmood and Kamran established themselves in Herat, and the usurper turned his attention to the affairs of government, and proved a much better ruler than either of his predecessors. He had many difficulties to contend with, including the jealous intrigues of his brothers, several of whom became in fact independent princes. Their hostility encouraged Shah Soojah to attempt regaining possession of Cabool, but without effect. At the commencement of Lord Auckland's administration, Dost Mohammed reigned over the chief remaining portion of the Doorani kingdom founded by Ahmed Shah, which, at the time of the death of that ruler, extended from the west of Khorassan to Sirhind, and from the Oxus to the sea. Of the seventeen provinces it then comprised, only six now remained—namely, Cabool, Bameean, Ghoreband, Ghuznee, Candahar, and Jellalabad. Beloochistan had become independent, under a chief named Mohammed Khan, in 1802; Khorassan had been recovered by Persia; Herat was retained by Prince Kamran, after the death of Mahmood; Balkh was taken by the King of Bokhara, in 1823; and the Punjab, Mooltan, Dera Ghaza Khan, Dera Ismael Khan, and lastly Peshawur, fell to the share of Runjeet Sing. Sinde was still nominally dependent on Cabool; but its rulers—three brothers

* Sir Charles Forbes, Bart., Mr. John Forbes, M.P., and several leading directors of the E. I. Cy., with Mr. Joseph Hume, M.P., Arthur Lewis, of the chancery bar, and many other members of the Court of Proprietors, who were the warm friends of the ex-rajah, never ceased to seek a hearing and trial for him, and entertained a strong and permanent conviction of his innocence.

who governed conjointly under the title of "the Ameers"—generally needed the presence of an army to compel the payment of their arrears of tribute. Cabool itself, and a considerable portion of the Hazerah country, was under the immediate sway of Dost Mohammed; Candahar, and the adjacent territory, was held by his three brothers, Kohen-dil-Khan, Rehem-dil-Khan, and Mehir-dil-Khan, under the name of sirdars or governors.

The divided and independent governments beyond the Indus were in a condition well calculated to secure our power, without any infraction of the strict neutrality which the English rulers so ostentatiously declared it their desire to preserve, when, in 1838, an attack was made on Herat by the Shah of Persia, with the aid of Russian officers.* Herat has been called the key of Afghanistan: it is also the gate towards which all the great roads from Central Asia to India converge; and the Calcutta authorities became exceedingly alarmed at the probability of its falling under the influence of Russia. They became very solicitous that Afghanistan should maintain entire independence, and reject the proffered alliance with the Muscovite court. Lieutenant Burnes was dispatched on an embassy to Dost Mohammed, or "the Dost," as he was commonly called; but although the instructions of Burnes were explicit regarding the non-reception of Russian envoys, and other demands to be exacted on the part of the English, he had nothing beyond idle professions of regard to offer in return; not even mediation with Runjeet Sing for the restoration of Peshawur, which the Seik conqueror was willing to surrender to any one except to the ruler of Cabool, from whom it had been taken.

The contrast between the magnificent presents brought by Mountstuart Elphinstone to Afghanistan, on a former occasion, with the pistol and telescope, pins, needles, and playthings, now offered to the Dost for himself and the inmates of the zenana, could not but be painfully felt; yet the chief knew the value of British protection, and was not disposed to take offence lightly. But he could not afford to reject the direct offers of assistance, in men and money, made by the secretary of the Russian legation, without some clear guarantee against the evil effects of such rejection; and as this was positively refused, he had literally no alternative but to accept the Russo-Persian alliance. It would have been only common prudence, on the part of the supreme government, to have waited the issue of the siege of Herat, before proceeding further; but Lord Auckland was unhappily enjoying the cool breezes of Simla, away from his legitimate advisers at Calcutta, and was, it is said, considerably under the influence of two or three clever and impulsive men, who may have been excellent secretaries and amusing table-companions, but were very ill-adapted for wary counsellors.† It would have been an easy matter to convert Dost Mohammed, the sirdars of Candahar, and the whole Barukzye clan, into firm allies; nevertheless, Lord Auckland, in an hour of weakness and indecision, was induced to seek the co-operation of Runjeet Sing for the restoration of Shah Soojah; and, although the defeat of the Persian army, and its withdrawal, after a ten months' siege,‡ secured the independence of Herat, and removed one main incentive to war, the projected invasion was carried out despite the apathy of the Seik ruler (now fast sinking to his grave, under the combined influence of age and the most hateful excesses) and the scarcely disguised distrust of Soojah, who could not comprehend why the assistance repeatedly refused by Lord W. Bentinck, was bestowed unasked by Lord Auckland.

Perhaps so perilous an enterprise was never more rashly and needlessly undertaken. It was wrong in principle, weak in execution, and appalling in its results. Shah Soojah was not even presumptive heir to the usurped dominions of his grandfather; for Kamran, the son of the elder brother Mahmood, had a prior claim. The professed object of the Tripartite Treaty now formed, viz., to restore a legitimate sovereign to the throne from whence he had been wrongfully expelled, was therefore absolutely false; and as if to make the spirit of the whole transaction more evident, Runjeet Sing affixed his signature to the treaty at Lahore, June, 1838, with the ill-gotten Koh-i-Noor gleaming on his arm.§ In return for furnishing a few thousand troops

* One of the alleged reasons being the activity with which the slave-trade was carried on at Herat.

† Mr. H. Torrens, and John Colvin, Lord Auckland's private secretary.—Kaye's *War in Afghanistan*.

‡ Lt. Eldred Pottinger cheered, counselled, and fought with the garrison throughout the weary siege.

§ This famous stone is said by several modern writers on the Afg[illegible] to have formed part of

to be paid by Shah Soojah, Runjeet Sing was to be confirmed in possession of all the territories (including Peshawur) wrested by him from Cabool.* As to the English, they were willing to lavish men and money on the trappings of war, and to get up "a grand military promenade," for the sake of terrifying Russia by a formidable demonstration of our power and energy. Those† who ventured to speak of the dreary defiles, inclement climate, and, above all, of the warlike temper of the people upon whom a rejected yoke was to be reimposed by English bayonets, were censured as timid, prejudiced, or misinformed; and the assembling of the "army of the Indus" was a source of agreeable excitement, fraught with promotions and appointments, commissariat contracts, and honours from the Crown; for, despite the neutral policy urged by the home authorities, it was pretty evident that a brilliant campaign was no less certain to procure for its promoters rank and emolument, than to inflict new burdens on the Indian revenues, and increase the pressure of taxes which it was alike the duty and the interest of the government to mitigate.

A declaration of war was issued from Simla, in 1838, and a British force was speedily gathered of 28,350 men, partly from Bengal, partly from Bombay. It was deemed advisable by the governor-general that the Shah should "enter Afghanistan surrounded by his own troops;" and, for this end, about 4,000 camp followers‡ were levied from the E. I. Cy.'s military stations, and placed under the nominal command of Timur, the eldest son of Soojah-ool-Moolk; the whole being led by British officers, and paid from the British treasury. Runjeet Sing was to supply a contingent of 6,000 men, and to station 15,000 men as an army of observation in Peshawur. The commissariat arrangements were extremely deficient, and the enormous number of camp followers, amounting to nearly 100,000 persons, imparted new difficulties to a march of extraordinary length, through an almost unexplored and hostile territory. The invading force had only physical difficulties, and the depredations of certain mountain tribes, to encounter on the road to Candahar. It was expected that the Ameers of Sinde would offer opposition on the score of the manifest infraction of the treaty of 1832, by which the E. I. Cy., when desirous to open the navigation of the Indus, expressly declared that it would be employed by them solely for mercantile uses. The Ameers, however, saw the folly of remonstrating with a powerful force thirsting for the plunder of the rich city of Hyderabad. They paid £100,000 as an instalment of the £280,000 demanded by Shah Soojah on the favourite plea of arrears of tribute, and surrendered the fortified island of Bukkur in the Indus, the possession of which was deemed necessary to the security of the English force. The army of the Indus

Shah Jehan's peacock throne, which was carried off from Hindoostan by Nadir Shah; but there does not seem evidence to support the statement. Several diamonds of extraordinary value were seized by different invaders, and one in particular was given by the exiled Humayun to his ungracious host the Shah of Persia.—(*See* p. 91.)

* The concessions made to Runjeet Sing at this period were no less undignified than unwise. At the meeting which took place with Lord Auckland at Ferozepoor, caresses were lavished on the "lion of the Punjab," who though now a decrepit and paralysed old man, continued to outrage public decency by the practice of shameful sensualities. There he sat in his golden chair, shaped like a hip-bath, with his attenuated limbs gathered beneath him, and his single restless eye flashing in rivalry of the Koh-i-Noor (the only ornament he wore, except a string of 300 pearls of the finest water and the size of small marbles), listening to the civilities of the English authorities, which happily did not extend to compliance with his previous demand for an English wife.—(Osborne's *Court and Camp of Runjeet Sing*, 199.) The fact that the old debauchee entertained some at least of his official visitors with the "burra tomacha" (great fun) of intoxicating "nautch" girls, for the sake of seeing them beat and abuse one another. [illegible] to the remark of a British officer, who, commenting on the indulgence evinced to the vices of Runjeet Sing, writes—"It was impossible not to feel that this complaisance was carried a little too far, when he was exhibited in the character of a Bacchus or Silenus, in the presence of an assemblage of English gentlewomen, and when their notions of decency were further outraged by the introduction, to whatever extent sanctioned by culpable usage in other parts of India, of bands of singing and dancing courtesans."—(Havelock's *War in Afghanistan*, i., 87.) After all the Seiks were not conciliated: they watched the Feringhees (foreigners) with extreme suspicion; and when their infirm old chief, in his anxiety to examine a present of two howitzers, fell prostrate before them, the accident was regarded as a fearful omen.

† In October, 1838, the author, deeply convinced of the unjust and perilous nature of the war, drew up a memorandum, which the Marquis Wellesley transmitted to Sir John Cam Hobhouse, then President of the Board of Control. His lordship addressed a subsequent communication to Sir John against the Afghan war, predicting that "our difficulties would commence where our military successes ended." The Duke of Wellington, Elphinstone, Edmonstone, Metcalfe, and other Indian statesmen, took the same view of the question.

‡ Col. Dennie's *Campaigns in Afghanistan*, 51.

traversed the weary Bolan Pass, and the dangerous and difficult Kojuck defile with success, but at a fearful cost of life,* especially on the part of the camp followers, from heat and want of water. Candahar (the capital of Western Afghanistan), was occupied without resistance by Shah Soojah and his allies, in April, 1839. Kohun-dil-Khan and his brother sirdars fled as the foe advanced; and English gold scattered lavishly on all sides, enabled the returning monarch to win the temporary suffrage of several Barukzye chiefs. In the following June the army under Sir John Keane and Shah Soojah left a garrison at Candahar and set out for Ghuznee. This ancient fortress proved stronger than had been expected; but a nephew of Dost Mohammed deserted from the garrison, and betrayed the important secret, that an entrance called the Cabool gate had not, like the rest, been built up with stone, but had been left slightly barricaded in the expectation of supplies. The besiegers, acting on this information, fastened bags of gunpowder upon the wooden door at night, and by setting them on fire effected a practicable breach, through which a storming party, led by Colonel Dennie, immediately secured an entrance, captured the town, and, after some hours' resistance, the citadel also, receiving little loss, but slaying 1,000 Afghans: 3,000 more were wounded or captured. Among the prisoners were about fifty fanatics of all ages, who had assumed the name of *Ghazee*, in right of being engaged in holy warfare against infidels. These men, the first taken in arms against Shah Soojah, "were hacked to death with wanton barbarity by the knives of his executioners."†

So much for the magnanimity of the restored monarch in his short hour of triumph. The campaign thus successfully opened, was to some extent overshadowed by tidings of the death of Runjeet Sing, in 1839; but notwithstanding the jealous dislike evinced towards the English by the new authorities at Lahore, the Seik contingent, wretchedly insufficient as it was, became serviceable in the hands of Colonel Wade; and this energetic officer, with his nominal coadjutor the Shahzada (Prince Timur), who was "an absolute cypher," contrived, partly by fighting, partly by diplomacy, to traverse the formidable Khyber Pass, at the head of a motley assemblage of Hindoos, Seiks, and Afghans. Akber Khan, Dost Mohammed's favourite "fighting son," was recalled from his camp near Jellalabad, to join his father at Cabool, and the path being left open, Wade marched on and seized Jellalabad.

The position of Dost Mohammed was daily rendered more perilous by the desertion of his relatives and followers. Very shortly after the taking of Ghuznee, he attempted to compromise matters by offering to submit to the restoration of Shah Soojah, on condition of his own nomination to his late brother Futteh Khan's position of vizier. This proposition was of course rejected; for so far from being inclined to delegate authority to his opponent, Shah Soojah desired nothing better than to "hang the dog"—a procedure which the British envoy, Mr. Macnaghtan, does not appear to have considered otherwise than advisable, provided they could catch him.‡

The Dost desired to give the invaders battle at Maidan, on the Cabool river, but treachery and disaffection surrounded him on every side, and his camp at Urghundeh fairly fell to pieces. The venal Kuzzilbashes (or Persian guard) forsook the master whose salt they had eaten thirteen years. In vain he entreated them to stand by him in one charge against the Feringhees, that he might die with honour,—the spirit-stirring appeal fell on the listless ears of men determined to purchase safety by desertion; and, attended by a few faithful followers, Dost Mohammed in despair turned his horse's head towards the Hindoo-Koosh, leaving his guns standing.

Cabool opened its gates with "sullen, surly submission;" and Shah Soojah entered the Balla Hissar or palace-citadel in triumph, while his British allies sounded a long loud note of triumph, the European echoes of which were destined to die away in the very saddest cry of anguish and humiliation ever uttered by the proud conquerors of India. The authorities at Cabool soon discovered that the foreign bayonets and foreign gold which had been the means of replacing Shah Soojah on the throne of Afghanistan, were likewise the sole method of keeping him there. Lord Auckland desired the return of the entire "army of the Indus;" but the unpopularity of the Shah was too evident to admit of such a step, unless we were willing to c[illegible]e whole affair a

* Of 100,000 camp followers, only 20,000 reached Candahar.—(Capper's *Three Presidencies*, p. 212.)

† *Vide* John William Kaye's graphic and fearless *History of the War in Afghanistan*, i., 445.

‡ *Idem.*, 561.

failure, and escort his majesty back to Loodiana, or if he thought fit, leave him to take his chance among his own countrymen. An open confession of error, however mortifying, would have been incalculably wiser than following up one false step with a multitude of others. In 1839 a portion of the troops returned to Calcutta. The commander-in-chief, Sir John Keane, immediately proceeded to England, where he was elevated to the peerage by the title of Baron Keane of Ghuznee, and further remunerated by a pension of £2,000 per ann. for himself and his two next heirs male. The governor-general, from a baron, was made an earl. Mr. Macnaghten was created a baronet, and orders of the Bath were bestowed, not with the most discriminating hand.*

The winter of 1839 passed in tolerable tranquillity. The British took military possession of the country by establishing garrisons in the cities of Cabool and Candahar, and in the principal posts on the main roads to Hindoostan—viz., Ghuznee and Quettah on the west, Jellalabad and Ali-Musjid on the east. Some minor detachments were left in various other isolated positions; thus dividing a force which, united, was scarcely sufficient for its own protection. Moreover, the military authorities in Cabool, instead of retaining their position in the Balla Hissar, were induced to build costly and indefensible cantonments on the adjacent plain, in compliance with the scruples of Shah Soojah, who soon began to feel his throne somewhat too closely hedged in by foreign troops. The first flush of triumph over, he could not but find it a weary thing to live shut up in a fortress, despised by his own subjects; and as he looked forth from the Balla Hissar on the city beneath, he said "everything appeared to him shrunk small and miserable; and that the Cabool of his old age in no respect corresponded with the recollections of the Cabool of his youth."

The yearnings of romance were soon swallowed up in real dangers. Insurrections took place in various quarters. Dost Mohammed again appeared in arms, and several sharp encounters took place in the course of the year 1840; but the Afghans, despite some partial successes, offered no combined or systematic resistance. The Dost, after making a brave and successful stand at Purwan in November, thought the time had arrived when he might, with a good grace, surrender himself to the English (into whose hands the ladies of his family had already fallen.) Turning from the field of battle in despair, he galloped towards Cabool, and twenty-four hours spent on the saddle, brought him face to face with the British envoy, who was returning homeward from an evening ride. Dost Mohammed sprang to the ground, tendered his sword, and claimed protection as a voluntary captive. The kindly peace-loving nature of Sir William had been sadly warped since he had exchanged the ordinary routine of official duties and scholarly recreations for the arduous post of counsellor to Shah Soojah; and immediately before this unlooked-for greeting, he had been inquiring with regard to the Dost—"Would it be justifiable to set a price on this fellow's head?" for "it appears that he meditates fighting with us so long as the breath is in his body." But the chivalrous bearing of the defeated Ameer banished all harsh thoughts. Sir William refused the proffered sword; and when the Dost was sent as a state prisoner to Hindoostan, actually advocated his being provided for by the British authorities "more handsomely than Shah Soojah had been," for the following memorable reason:—"The Shah had no claim upon us. We had no hand in depriving him of his kingdom; whereas, we ejected the Dost, who never offended us, in support of our policy, of which he was the victim." Lord Auckland tacitly admitted the fact by receiving the deposed ruler with extreme courtesy, and burdening the Indian population with a new pension of two lacs, or about £20,000 per ann. for his support. At this time the revenues of Cabool, gathered by force of arms, did not exceed fifteen lacs, and barely paid the ordinary expenses of government. The Anglo-Afghan treasury was well-nigh exhausted, and there were grounds for doubting whether the E. I. Cy. would not think a million and a quarter a-year too dear a price to pay for the maintenance of their nominee at Cabool. The reduction of outgoings was attempted by the diminution of the "black mail" paid to certain Khilji chiefs for checking the excesses committed by the predatory tribes who infested the passes. The experiment proved very dangerous; the Khiljies assumed a haughty tone; the Kojucks, and many tribes of whose very names the English had until now remained in happy ignorance, rose in

* Dennie's services at Ghuznee were overlooked.

what was misnamed "rebellion" against Shah Soojah. In Kohistan and the Khyber, that region of snowy precipices and roaring torrents, where every man is a good marksman behind his native rock, more than usual excitement prevailed. The British envoy, considering with some reason the state of Afghanistan to be at the best of times one of chronic unrest, paid too little heed to the numerous signs of an approaching crisis which alarmed Shah Soojah. The noses of the Dourani Khans (or lords) had, Macnaghten said, been brought to the grindstone, and all was quiet, from Dan to Beersheba.* Impressed with this agreeable conviction, he prepared to resign his position, and return to Hindoostan to fill the honourable station of governor of Bombay. His intended successor, Sir Alexander Burnes, had long ardently desired the office of envoy; but from the conflicting and contradictory character both of his official and private statements, it is difficult to say what his actual opinions were concerning the condition of the country and the feelings of the people. He must have known that the military occupation of Afghanistan (of necessity sufficiently unpopular) had been rendered peculiarly hateful and galling by his own unbridled licentiousness, and by that of other officers, whose example was closely imitated by the mass of the European soldiery. Lady Macnaghten, Lady Sale, and other Englishwomen resided within the cantonments, yet their presence did not check the excesses, the terrible retribution for which they were soon to share. Shah Soojah, whom Macnaghten declared to be "the best and ablest man in his dominions,"† and whose fidelity was evinced by the warnings he repeatedly gave the English authorities of the impending danger, and his entreaties that they would take up their abode in the Balla Hissar, remonstrated forcibly against the immorality of the officers, and pointed out the indignation which it excited among his countrymen. "I told the envoy," writes the Shah to Lord Auckland, January, 1842, "what was going on, and was not listened to. I told him that complaints were daily made to me of Afghan women being taken to Burnes' moonshee (Mohun Lal), and of their drinking wine at his house, and of women being taken to the chaonee, and of my having witnessed it."‡ Kaye states, "the scandal was open, undisguised, notorious. Redress was not to be obtained. The evil was not in course of suppression. It went on till it became intolerable; and the injured then began to see that the only remedy was in their own hands."§

That remedy was the death of the leading offender, and the expulsion of the English from Afghanistan. Warnings of various kinds were not wanting; but they passed unheeded. The week fixed for the departure of the envoy arrived, and preparations were made for his journey, and for the comfort of his successor in office, and of the other functionaries during the coming winter, which was expected to pass like the two former ones, in a succession of pastimes, including shooting, card-playing, drinking,|| and various amusements, innocent or otherwise, according to the tastes and habits of those concerned. On the evening of the 1st November, 1841, Burnes formally congratulated Macnaghten on his approaching departure during a period of profound tranquillity.¶ At that very time a party of chiefs were assembled close at hand discussing in full conclave the means of redressing their national and individual wrongs. At daybreak on the following morning, Burnes was aroused by the message of a friendly Afghan, informing him of approaching danger, and bidding him quit the city and seek safety in the Balla Hissar or the cantonments. The vizier of Shah Soojah followed on the same errand, but all in vain; the doomed man sent to ask mili-

* News had arrived at Cabool, in the course of the summer, which greatly relieved the apprehensions of Macnaghten and Burnes, both of whom had a tendency to look out for dangers from afar, rather than guard against those by which they were immediately surrounded. The raising of the siege of Herat had only temporarily allayed their fears of Russian aggression, which were soon aroused by the dispatch of a powerful force, under General Peroffski, ostensibly directed against the man-stealing, slave-holding principality of Khiva, but it was believed, intended to act offensively against the English. Whatever the true design may have been, it was frustrated by the intense cold and inaccessible character of the country, which, together with pestilence, nearly destroyed the Russian army, and compelled Peroffski to turn back without reaching Khiva.

† Kaye, i., 533. ‡ *Idem*, ii., 364. § *Idem*, i., 615.

|| Dost Mohammed prohibited the sale of a fiery spirit distilled from the grape. The English restored the Armenian manufacturers to full employment.

¶ It is asserted, that on the same day, intelligence so clear and full of a hostile confederacy had been given to Burnes, that he exclaimed the time had come for the British to leave the country. Burnes was impulsive, vacillating, ambitious, and unprincipled. It is possible that he deceived himself sometimes: it is certain that he constantly misled Macnaghten.

tary support, and persisted in remaining in his own abode, which adjoined that of Captain Johnson, paymaster of the Shah's forces. This officer was absent in cantonments, but the treasury was under the care of the usual sepoy guard, and they were ready and even desirous to fire on the insurgents. Burnes refused to give the necessary orders, in the hope of receiving speedy succour; meanwhile the crowd of stragglers grew into an infuriated mob, and his attempted harangue from the balcony was silenced by loud clamours and reproaches. Two officers had slept that night in the house of Sir Alexander: one of them, Lieutenant Broadfoot, prepared to sell his life dearly, and it is asserted, slew no less than six of his assailants before a ball struck him to the ground a corpse; the other, Lieutenant Charles Burnes, remained beside his brother while the latter offered redress of grievances, and a heavy ransom to the populace as the price of their joint lives. But in vain; the outraged Afghans loved vengeance better than gold; and after setting fire to the stables, a party of them burst into the garden, where they were fired upon by the sepoys under Lieutenant Burnes. Sir Alexander disguised himself in native attire, and strove to escape, but was recognised, or rather betrayed by the Cashmerian who had induced him to make the attempt. A fearful shout arose from the party in the garden on discovering his presence—"This is Secunder (Alexander) Burnes!" and in a few moments both brothers were cut to pieces by Afghan knives. The sepoys in charge of the treasury fought desperately, and surrendered their charge only with their lives. Massacre followed pillage; every man, woman, and child (Hindoo and Afghan) found in the two English dwellings perished:* finally, the buildings were fired; and all this with 6,000 British troops within half-an-hour's march of the city. The only energetic attempt made to check the insurrectionary movement emanated from the Shah, and was performed by one of his sons; but it proved unsuccessful, and the British authorities displayed an apathy quite inexplicable, even supposing the outbreak to have been directly occasioned by the ill conduct of its chief victim. General Elphinstone, the commander-in-chief, was an officer of high character, and of brave and kindly bearing; but increasing physical infirmities pressed heavily on him; and before the catastrophe he had applied for his recall from Afghanistan, where, indeed, he ought never to have been sent. Between him and Macnaghten no sympathy existed: they could not understand each other, and never acted in concert. The one was despondent and procrastinating, the other hopeful and energetic, but too much given to diplomacy. The consequence of this tendency was the adoption of various compromising measures when the occasion loudly called for the most active and straightforward policy. Post after post was captured from the British in the immediate vicinity of Cabool, and it soon became evident that the out-stations were in extreme peril; for the insurrection, from being local, speedily became general. The "frightful extent" of the cantonments (erected before Elphinstone's arrival), the loss of a fort four hundred yards distant, in which the commissariat stores had been most improvidently placed, together with the deficiency of artillery, so disheartened and unnerved the general, that he suffered day after day to pass without any decisive effort to gain possession of the city, and began to urge on Macnaghten the propriety of making terms with the enemy. The king remained shut up in the Balla Hissar, "like grain between two millstones." He was a man of advanced age and weak purpose, and the hostility of his subjects being avowedly directed against the Feringhees, he strove to keep his crown upon his head, and his head upon his shoulders, by a trimming policy, which rendered him an object of distrust to both parties, and cost him eventually life as well as honour. Avarice had grown on him, and he beheld with extreme annoyance the sums of money lavished by the British envoy in the futile attempt to buy off the more influential of the confederate chiefs. The urgent solicitations of Elphinstone, the growing difficulty of obtaining supplies for the troops, the unsatisfactory results of daily petty hostilities, and the non-arrival of the reinforcements of men and money solicited by Macnaghten from Hindoostan, at length induced him to offer to evacuate Afghanistan on honourable terms. The tone adopted by the chiefs was so arrogant and offensive, that the conference came to an abrupt termination; both parties being resolved to resume hostilities sooner than abate their respective pretensions. During the interview a strange

* Moonshee Mohun Lal, who did "the dirty work of the British diplomatists," made his escape.—(Kaye.)

scene took place outside the cantonments. Thinking that a treaty of peace was being concluded by their leaders, the British and Afghan soldiery gave vent to their joy in mutual congratulations. The Europeans lent over the low walls (misnamed defences), conversing familiarly with their late foes, and even went out unarmed among them, and thankfully accepted presents of vegetables. The result of the meeting between the envoy and the chiefs was the renewal of strife, and the men whose hands had been so lately joined in friendly greetings, were again called on to shed each other's blood for the honour of their respective countries. The English troops showed so little inclination for the work, that Macnaghtan angrily designated them a "pack of despicable cowards," and was soon compelled to reopen his negotiations with the enemy. Affairs were in this precarious condition when Akber Khan returned to Cabool, after more than two years of exile and suffering. His reappearance caused no additional anxiety to the beleagured English; on the contrary, the fact that the ladies of the family of the young Barukzye were, with his father, prisoners in Hindoostan, inspired a hope that he might be made the means of procuring favourable terms from the hostile leaders who, on their part, welcomed the return of the favourite son of the Dost with extreme delight. Akber (styled by Roebuck the "Wallace of Cabool") was, beyond doubt, a favourable specimen of an Afghan chief, strikingly handsome in face and figure, full of life and energy, joyous in peace, fearless in war, freedom-loving, deeply attached to his father and his country, susceptible of generous impulses, but uneducated and destitute of self-control. For some time he took no leading part against the English, and neither aided nor opposed the dominant party in formally setting aside the authority of Shah Soojah, and proclaiming as king in his stead the Nawab Mohammed Zemaun Khan, a cousin of the late Cabool chief. The selection was fortunate for the English, the Nawab being a humane and honourable man, well inclined to grant them acceptable terms of evacuation; and his turbulent and quarrelsome adherents were, after much discussion, induced to sign a treaty, the stipulations of which, mutual distrust prevented from being fulfilled by either party. The English consented to surrender the fortresses they still retained in Afghanistan, and their cannon, on condition of receiving a supply of beasts of burden from the enemy, to facilitate their march. Shah Soojah was to be allowed to return with them or to remain in Cabool, with the miserable stipend of a lac of rupees per annum; and one moment he resolved on accompanying the retreating army, while the next he declared it his intention to remain where he was, and wait a new turn of events. In either mood, he declaimed, with reason, against the folly of his allies in divesting themselves of the means of defence, asking indignantly whether any people in the world ever before gave their enemies the means of killing them? The officers in charge of Candahar and Jellalabad (Nott and Sale) took the same view of the case; and, arguing that the order of surrender must have been forcibly extorted from General Elphinstone, positively refused to abandon their positions. The treaty was thus placed in abeyance, and the troops in cantonment lived on from day to day, frittering away their resources, and growing hourly more desponding; while Macnaghten, Elphinstone, and the second in command, Brigadier Shelton, passed the precious hours in angry discussion. The ill-health of the general, increased by a painful wound caused by a musket-ball, obliged him to delegate many duties to Shelton, an officer of great personal courage, but overbearing and prejudiced, with the especial defect of being unable to sympathise with the sufferings, or appreciate the noble devotion of the much-tried native troops. The civilian is said to have been the truest soldier in the camp; but he had no confidence in his colleagues, and his own powers of mind and body were fast sinking beneath the load of anxiety which had so suddenly banished the delusion (sedulously cherished by the unhappy Burnes to the last day of his life) of the tranquil submission of Afghanistan to a foreign yoke. Never had day-dreamer a more terrible awakening. Incensed by the refusal of the holders of inferior posts to obey his orders, and by the non-fulfilment of the promises made by the Barukzye chiefs of carriage cattle, Macnaghten, chafed almost to madness, was ready to follow any *ignis fatuus* that should present a hope of escape for himself and the 16,000 men whose lives trembled in the balance. Although ostensibly bound by treaty with the Barukzyes, he was ready to side with Doorani or Populzye, Khilji or Kuzzilbash, or, in a word, to join any native faction able to

afford cordial co-operation. In this mood he lent a willing ear to a communication made to him on the evening of 22nd Dec., 1841. The proposal was that Akber and the Khiljies should unite with the British for the seizure of the person of Ameen-oollah Khan, a leading Barukzye chief, and a party to the late agreement, whose head, for a certain sum of money, would be laid at the feet of the envoy. Happily for his own honour and that of his country, Macnaghten rejected the proposition so far as the life of the chief was concerned,* but was prepared to aid in his capture without the preliminary measure of declaring the treaty void. The envoy gave a written promise for the evacuation of Afghanistan in the coming spring; Shah Soojah was to be left behind, with Akber for his vizier; and the representative of the British government further guaranteed to reward the services of Akber by an annuity of £40,000 a-year, and a bonus of no less than £300,000.

On the following morning Macnaghten sent for the officers of his staff (Capts. Lawrence, Trevor, and Mackenzie), and, in an excited but determined tone, bade them accompany him to a conference with Akber: lastly, he informed the general of his intentions, desiring that two regiments might be got ready for service, and, to some extent, explaining the matter in hand. Elphinstone asked what part Nawab Zemaun Khan, and other leading Barukzyes, were expected to take? "None," was the reply; "they are not in the plot." The old general was scrupulously honest, and the word grated on his ear. But Macnaghten would listen to neither remonstrance nor entreaty. Impatiently turning aside from the feeble but chivalrous veteran, he exclaimed—"I understand these things better than you;" and rode off to the fatal interview,—not, however, without some misgiving as to its result; for he declared to his companions, that come what would, a thousand deaths were preferable to the life he had of late been leading. The meeting commenced in apparent courtesy; Macnaghten offered Akber a noble Arab horse, which the young chief accepted with thanks, at the same time acknowledging the gift of a pair of double-barrelled pistols, sent on the previous day, which he wore at his girdle. The whole party, English and Afghans, dismounted, and seated themselves on cloths spread on some snow-clad hillocks, near the Cabool river, and about 600 yards from the cantonments. Macnaghten stretched himself at full length on the bank; Trevor and Mackenzie seated themselves beside him; but Lawrence knelt on one knee, ready for action. There was abundant cause for suspicion: the presence of a brother of Ameen-oollah, the excited and eager manner of the Afghans, and the numbers gathering round the English, drew from Lawrence and Mackenzie a remark that such intrusion was not consistent with a private conference. "They are all in the secret," said Akber; and, as he spoke, the envoy and his companions were violently seized from behind. Resistance was hopeless: their slender escort of sixteen men galloped back to cantonments to avoid being slain, save one who perished nobly in attempting to join his masters; the three *attachés* were made prisoners; but Macnaghten commenced a desperate struggle with Akber Khan, and a cry being raised that the troops were marching to the rescue, the young Barukzye, in extreme excitement, drew a pistol from his girdle, and shot the donor through the body. A party of fanatical Ghazees came up, flung themselves on the fallen envoy, and hacked him to pieces with their knives. Trevor slipped from the horse of the chief who was bearing him away captive, and shared the fate of his leader; and the other two officers were saved with difficulty by Akber Khan, who, remorseful for his late act, "drew his sword and laid about him right manfully"† for the defence of the prisoners against the infuriated crowd.

While the mangled remains of the victims were being paraded through the streets and great bazaar of the city, the military leaders remained in their usual apathetic state; nor was it until the morrow that authentic information was received of the catastrophe. Major Eldred Pottinger, on whom the office of political agent devolved, entreated the authorities assembled in

* The same right principle had not been invariably adhered to during the Afghan war, and the chiefs had good grounds for suspecting that blood-money had been offered for their lives. John Conolly (one of three brothers who followed the fortunes of their uncle, Sir W. Macnaghten, and like him, never lived to return to India), addressed from the Balla Hissar repeated injunctions to Mohun Lal, to offer from ten to fifteen thousand rupees for the heads of certain leading chiefs; and, in the cases of Abdoollah Khan and Meer Musjedee, the rewards were actually claimed but not accorded; nor do the offers of Conolly appear to have been made with the concurrence or even cognizance of Macnaghten, much less with that of Elphinstone.—(Kaye, ii., 57—104.)

† Capt. Mackenzie's words.—(Lt Eyre's *Journal.*)

council, either to take refuge in the Balla Hissar, or endeavour to force a way to Jellalabad, and there remain until the arrival of reinforcements from India, tidings of which arrived within two days of the massacre. But his arguments were not regarded, and new terms were concluded, by which the representatives of the Indian government engaged to abandon all their forts, surrender their guns, evacuate Afghanistan, restore the deposed Dost, and pay a ransom of £140,000 in return for the supplies necessary for the retreat. Hostages were demanded and given for the performance of these humiliating conditions; but Lawrence and Mackenzie were released. Akber Khan desired that the English ladies should be left behind, as security for the restoration of the female members of his family; but the married officers refused the advantageous offers made from head-quarters to induce them to consent, and "some (says Eyre) declared they would shoot their wives first." On the 6th of January, 1842, though deep snow already lay on the ground, the troops quitted the cantonments, in which they had sustained a two months' siege, to encounter the miseries of a winter march through a country of perhaps unparalleled difficulty, swarming with mountain tribes predatory by profession, and bitterly incensed against the foreign invaders. The records of that terrible journey are written in letters of blood. No circumstances could possibly have occurred under which regularity and discipline were more needed to ensure the safety of the retreating force; yet even the semblance of it was soon abandoned in one general attempt to keep on with the foremost rank: to lag behind was certain death from Afghan knives or Afghan snows. In the dark and terrible pass of Koord Cabool, five miles in length, through which a roaring torrent dashed on between blocks of ice, while its heights were crowned by the pitiless Khiljies, 3,000 persons perished. The Englishwomen rode through, on horseback or in camel-paniers, uninjured, except Lady Sale, who received a bullet in her arm; but, brave-hearted as they were, it seemed scarcely possible they and their infant children could long continue to bear up against the intense cold and incessant fatigue.* The only alternative was to accept the protection of Akber Khan, who, it is said, promised to convey them to Peshawur; and to him the whole of the married Englishwomen, their husbands, and children, with Lady Macnaghten and her widowed companions, were confided. It was a tempting opportunity for barbarian revenge. The wives and babes of the proud Feringhees were at the mercy of the Afghans; yet there is no record of any insult having been offered to them, or any attempt to separate them from their natural protectors, now defenceless as themselves. On the contrary, Akber Khan earnestly craved the forgiveness of Lady Macnaghten, assuring her he would give his right arm to undo what it had done; while, in many ways, he strove to alleviate the hardships of the march by bearing the weaker of the party over fords on his own steed, binding up the wounds of the officers with his own hands, and suffering the ladies to encumber the march with the costly baggage which two or three of them still retained. The voluntary surrender of such a prize was of course not to be expected while his father, brothers, and wives were retained in exile. As it was, his "guests," as they were termed, had every reason to rejoice at finding in temporary captivity an alternative for the loss of life. On the very next day (10th January), the remnant of the doomed force was intercepted on the road to Jellalabad, in a narrow gorge between the precipitous spurs of two hills, and the promiscuous mass of sepoys and camp followers were hewn down by the infuriated Afghans. Elphinstone sent to Akber Khan, who, with a body of horse, still hovered on the flanks of the retreating force, to entreat him to stop the massacre; but he replied, that it was impossible,—at such times the Khiljies were uncontrollable even by their immediate chiefs: there was but one chance for the English—an immediate and unconditional surrender of arms. The general sadly resumed his march to the Jugdulluck

* Some of them had just become, or were about to become mothers. The widow of Capt. Trevor had seven children with her, and an eighth was born at Buddeeabad. The idea of a grand military promenade was certainly carried out, when not only ladies and children, but a pack of foxhounds, and one of Broadwood's best pianos, were brought through the Bolan Pass.—(Fane's *Five Years;* Ex-political's *Dry Leaves.*) The troops in Cabool, though in many respects needlessly encumbered, do not seem to have been attended by a single chaplain; an omission which tends to justify the description given by a Beloochee of the Feringhee force, of whom one sort (the Hindoos) were idolaters; the white (English) had no religion at all; but the third were good Mussulmen, "and say their prayers as we do."—(*Idem.*)

heights, and there the troops who remained—of ranks all but destroyed by death and desertion—found a brief respite, and strove to quench their burning thirst with handsful of snow, and to still the cravings of hunger with the raw and reeking flesh of three newly-killed bullocks. The night was spent at Jugdulluck; on the following day Akber Khan requested a conference with the General, Brigadier Shelton, and Captain Johnson. It is strange, with the recollection of the Cabool plot fresh in their minds, that the three military authorities should have accepted this significant invitation; but they did so, were courteously received, refreshed with food, provided with a tent, and—made prisoners. They entreated their captor to save the survivors of the force, and he really appears to have exerted himself for that purpose, but in vain. Captain Johnson, who understood the Persian language, heard the petty chiefs of the country between Jugdulluck and Jellalabad declaiming, as they flocked in, against the hated Feringhees, and rejecting large sums as the price of a safe conduct to Jellalabad. On the evening of the 12th, the wreck of the army resumed its perilous march. The sepoys had almost wholly perished, and of the Europeans only 120 of the 44th regiment and twenty-five artillerymen remained; but their movements were still impeded by a comparatively large mass of camp followers, who "came huddling against the fighting men,". thus giving free scope to the long knives of the Afghans. The soldiers, after some time, freed themselves from the helpless rabble, turned against their foes with the bayonet, drove them off, and pursued their way to the fatal Jugdulluck Pass, where their sufferings and struggles found a melancholy termination. A barricade of boughs and bushes arrested further progress; officers, soldiers, and camp followers desperately strove to force a passage, though exposed to the deliberate aim of the "jezails" (long rifles) of the enemy. Anquetil, Thain, Nicholl, and the chief of the remaining leaders fell here. About twenty officers and forty-five European soldiers cut their way through, hoping to gain Jellalabad; but weak and wounded, with only two rounds of ammunition left, they could not make head against the armed villagers who came crowding forth against them from every hut. The majority fell at Gundamuck; a few escaped and struggled onwards: but even they fell—one here, one there; until a single European (Dr. Brydon), wounded and worn out by famine and fatigue, mounted on a jaded pony, alone survived to announce to the gallant garrison of Jellalabad the total annihilation of the force of 16,500 men which had quitted Cabool only seven days before.*

The terrible tidings reached Lord Auckland at Calcutta while awaiting the arrival of his successor in office. He had previously seen reason to regret bitterly that ever British troops had crossed the Indus: he knew that the E. I. Cy. had consistently opposed the Afghan war, and that the Peel cabinet, now in power, were of the same opinion; and he therefore refused to follow up the abortive attempts already made for the relief of the beleaguered garrisons by any efficient measures, lest his proceedings should controvert the views and embarrass the projects of his expected successor. The arrival of Lord Ellenborough, at the close of February, released Lord Auckland from his painful position, and he quitted India in the following month, leaving on record a finance minute which proved the war to have already inflicted a burden of eight million on the Indian treasury. The only remaining circumstances which occurred under his sway, were the annexation of the little principality of Kurnoul† and of Cherong, a fortified place in Bundelcund.

ELLENBOROUGH ADMINISTRATION: 1842 TO 1844.—The opinions held by the new governor-general were well known. His lordship had been for years president of the Board of Control: he was a conservative, and agreed with his party and the majority

* A few straggling sepoys and camp followers afterwards found their way to Jellalabad.

† The Nawab (or nabob) of Kurnoul was suspected of entertaining hostile intentions against the English; the chief, though not very satisfactory evidence of which rests on his having accumulated a large quantity of warlike stores. He was likewise said to be a very oppressive ruler. At the close of the year 1848, the capital was seized by a British force without opposition, and the nabob, who had abandoned the place, was pursued, taken prisoner, and became a dependent on the British government. He retired to Trichinopoly, and became a frequent attendant on the mission church. On the last occasion he was mortally stabbed by one of his Mohammedan followers. His eldest son, Uluf Khan, received a pension of £1,000 a-year until his death in 1848. The English enjoy the entire revenues of Kurnoul, estimated, in 1843, at £90,000 per annum, and control over a territory between 2,000 and 3,000 square miles in extent, with a population stated in a Parl. return for 1851, at 273,190.—(Thornton's *Gazetteer*.)

of unbiassed men, in considering the Afghan invasion "a blunder and a crime;" but he had likewise declared, that "India was won by the sword, and must be kept by the sword." These opinions, coupled with his adoption of an axiom of unquestionable truth, that "in war reputation is strength," served to convince the Indian public that his policy would probably aim at the complete and speedy evacuation of Afghanistan, performed in such a manner as to prove beyond question that England voluntarily resigned a position which an erroneous view of the feelings of the Afghans had induced her to assume; and this object, despite some glaring errors and inconsistencies, was, in the main, carried through by Lord Ellenborough. The first event in his administration was the surrender of Ghuznee, by Colonel Palmer, to Shums-oo-deen Khan, nephew to Dost Mohammed, on the 6th of March; the fear of a failure of water and provisions being the reasons alleged for the relinquishment of this strong fortress and the surrender of the officers,* who were treated with faithless cruelty by the conqueror. Nott and Sale still held their ground at Candahar and Jellalabad, against bitter cold, scarcity of fuel and provisions, and repeated though unskilful assaults, as did also the little garrison of Kelat-i-Khilji, under Captain Craigie. At Jellalabad, repeated minor shocks of earthquake were succeeded on the 10th February by a terrible convulsion, which levelled with the ground the defences which had been erected and rendered efficient at the cost of three months' intense labour of mind and body. Akber Khan, with the flower of the Barukzye horse, was at hand, ready, it was expected, to enforce the fulfilment of Elphinstone's order of surrender. But "the illustrious garrison," as Lord Ellenborough justly styled the brave band, did not abate one jot of hope or courage. The spade and pickaxe were again taken in hand, and the work of restoration went forward so rapidly that Akber, deceived as to the extent of the damage sustained, declared that English witchcraft had preserved Jellalabad from the effects of the mighty shock. The Afghans, having little inclination for a hand-to-hand encounter with Sale's brigade, contented themselves with striving to maintain a rigid blockade; but the garrison sallied forth under Dennie, and swept away sheep and goats in the very front of the foe. The political agent, Capt. Macgregor, an able and energetic man, contrived to establish a system of intelligence far superior to that generally maintained by the English. Tidings arrived on the 5th of April, that General Pollock, with 12,000 men and supplies of all kinds, was fighting his way to their rescue through the Khyber Pass, opposed by Akber Khan. The garrison gallantly resolved to assist their countrymen by issuing forth to attack the Afghan camp. This unlooked-for enterprise was attended with complete success. The blockading troops were completely routed, and fled in the direction of Lughman. The victors lost only thirteen men; but that number included the gallant Colonel Dennie, who fell at the head of the centre column. On the 11th April, the army under General Pollock reached Jellalabad, and the garrison, whose five months' beleaguerment had been already so brilliantly terminated, sent the band of the 13th light infantry to meet the troops, and marched them in to the fort to the tune of an old Jacobite song of welcome, of which the refrain runs, "Oh! but ye've been lang o' coming." General England was not successful in his early attempts to succour Nott and his "noble sepoys"† at Candahar. Having been repulsed in an attack on the Kojuck Pass, he fell back upon Quetta, and commenced fortifying that town; but General Nott imperatively demanded his renewed advance, and sent the best part of his force to aid England through the pass, who thus assisted, marched to Candahar, which place he reached with little loss; for the Afghans, though strongly posted at Hykulzie (the scene of his former discomfiture), were rapidly dispersed by a vigorous attack, and did not muster in any force to oppose his further progress.

No impediment now remained to the junction of the forces under Nott and England with those of Pollock and Sale. The only consideration was, what to do with them. Lord Ellenborough had wisely re-

* Kaye says—"If there had been any one in Ghuznee acquainted with the use and practice of artillery, the garrison might have held out till April." He adds, "That among the officers of Nott's army [by whom the place was reoccupied in September], the loss of Ghuznee was considered even less creditable than the loss of Cabool."—(ii., 428–'9.)

† "My sepoys," Nott writes to Pollock in April, "have behaved nobly, and have licked the Afghans in every affair, even when five times their number." In the same letter he states that they had had no pay since the previous December. The fidelity and privations of the native troops throughout the Afghan war well deserve a special narration.

solved on the evacuation of Afghanistan; but he left to the military authorities the choice of "retiring" by the line of Quetta and Sukkur, or by that of Ghuznee, Cabool, and Jellalabad. Nott chose the latter alternative; and in communicating his resolve, repeated with quiet sarcasm his lordship's phrase of "retiring" from Candahar to India by way of Ghuznee, Cabool, and Jellalabad; the said retirement, says Kaye, being like a man retiring from Reigate to London *viâ* Dover and Canterbury. Pollock entirely sympathised with General Nott. The former marched to Cabool, which he reached on the 5th Sept., after having encountered and put to flight the Afghans under Akber,* in the valley of Tezeen and the adjacent passes of Koord Cabool, where the English had been slaughtered in the previous January. General Nott proceeded to Ghuznee, which was evacuated on his approach; and after destroying the town as well as citadel by fire, he proceeded to the tomb of Mahmood, in obedience to the special instructions of the governor-general, to bear away the famous idol-destroying mace of the conqueror, suspended above the tomb, and a pair of sandal-wood gates, embossed with brass, which were said to have been carried away by him from the temple of Somnauth, in Guzerat, A.D. 1024. Burdened with these trophies, the general proceeded to Cabool, which city Pollock had entered unopposed on the 15th Sept., and planted the union-jack on the Balla Hissar.†

In the interval between the evacuation and reoccupation of the capital of Afghanistan by the English, another melancholy tragedy had been enacted. Shah Soojah, abandoned by his allies, for some months contrived to maintain himself in the Balla Hissar; but his position becoming at length insupportable, he resolved to attempt to join Sale at Jellalabad. Early on the morning of the 5th of April, the Shah left the citadel, escorted by a small party of Hindoostanees, intending to review the troops and quit Cabool; but his passage was opposed by a body of Afghans, who opened a volley upon the royal *cortége*, which struck down the bearers of the state chair, and killed the king himself. Throughout his whole career, Shah Soojah had been a pompous man, speaking and thinking ever of "our blessed self." Now his lifeless body was stripped of its costly array, of its sparkling head-dress, rich girdle, and jewelled dagger, and flung into a ditch. His eldest son, Prince Timur, then about twenty-three years of age, was with the British at Candahar. The next in succession, Futteh Jung, was courted by the Barukzye chiefs, who hoped to find in him a shield from the vengeance of the advancing foe. The prince listened with undisguised distrust to the protestations made to him by the Seyed deputies; and in reply to offers of allegiance, to be sworn on the Koran, caused several exemplars of the sacred volume to be placed before them, bearing the seals of the Barukzye, Dourani, Kuzzilbash, and Kohistanee chiefs, with oaths of allegiance to his murdered father inscribed on the margin. "If there be any other Koran sent from heaven," he said bitterly, "let the Barukzyes swear upon it: this has been tried too often, and found wanting." The ambassadors were dismissed; but Futteh Jung, unable to maintain his ground, soon fell into the hands of the chiefs he so avowedly mistrusted, and after being robbed of the treasure which his father had contrived to accumulate, made his escape, and joined General Pollock at Gundamuck on the 1st of September, with only two or three followers.

The next feature in the campaign was a joyful one—the recovery of the captives. The ladies and children were alive and well, but General Elphinstone had expired in the month of April, worn out by incessant bodily and mental pain. On learning the approach of Pollock, Akber‡ confided his unwilling guests to the care of one

* The Goorkalese infantry fought most manfully, clambering undauntedly the steepest ascents, beneath the iron rain poured on them from Afghan jezails. —(Kaye, ii., 579.) It must have been a strange sight to see these daring, sturdy, but diminutive men, driving before them their stalwart foes; but stranger still the thought, how recently these valuable auxiliaries had done battle on their native hills, against the people for whom they were now shedding their life-blood, and ably wielding the British bayonet.

† *Balla Hissar*, the Persian for High Fort.

‡ The trials of the captives began when Akber became again a fugitive, and could no longer retain them under his immediate protection. About this time an accident occurred which placed them in jeopardy. A servant in attendance on the chief, wounded him in the arm by the accidental discharge of a musket. No difference took place in the conduct of Akber himself; and even when weak and wounded, he gave up his litter for the accommodation of the ladies on their removal from Budeeabad. His countrymen, more suspicious, attributed the disaster to English treachery; and had the young Barukzye died, the lives of all the male captives and hostages would probably have been sacrificed as an act of retribution. Ameen-oollah Khan, especially,

Saleh Mohammed, who was directed to deliver them to the charge of a neighbouring Usbeck chief, styled the Wali of Kooloom, who had proved a stanch friend to Dost Mohammed. Saleh Mohammed had formerly been a subahdar in the service of the E. I. Cy., but being (by his own account) disgusted with the abusive language used towards natives by the European officers, he deserted with his company to the Dost. It was not a difficult matter to induce him to play the traitor over again, provided the risk were small and the temptation great. Tidings of the progress of the English army calmed his fears; and offers on behalf of government, backed by the written pledge of the captives to pay him 1,000 rupees a-month for life, and a present of 20,000 rupees, stimulated his hopes: from gaoler he turned confederate; and the soldiers (250 in number) were, by the promise of four months' pay as a gratuity, metamorphosed from guards to servants. Eldred Pottinger assumed the direction of affairs, levied contributions upon some merchants passing through Bamian, and hoisted an independent flag on the fort the party had entered as prisoners. To remain at Bamian was, however, deemed even more perilous than to attempt to join the army at Cabool; and on the 16th of September, the officers, ladies, and children set forth on their march. The next day Sir Richmond Shakespear, at the head of 600 Kuzzilbash horse, met the fugitives, who thus escorted, joyfully pursued their route, till, on the 20th, near Urghundeh, the column sent by Pollock to support Shakespear appeared in sight, and its veteran commander, Sir Robert Sale, came galloping on to embrace his wife and widowed daughter.*

The objects of the campaign were fully accomplished: the beleaguered garrisons had been relieved, the captives rescued; the last of them (Captain Bygrave) being voluntarily released by Akber; and the orders of the governor-general were stringent for the return of the entire English force to Hindoostan without incurring any unnecessary peril. The various Afghan chiefs, whose blood-feuds and factious dissension had prevented any combined action, now earnestly deprecated the vengeance of the Feringhees. The hostages left at Cabool were restored,

said that he knew a reward of a lac of rupees had been offered by Macnaghten for his life. Mohammed Shah Khan, and a "young whelp," his son, took advantage of the absence of Akber to pillage the captives, and is said to have obtained from Lady Macnaghten alone, shawls and jewels to the value of £20,000; but the jewels were soon voluntarily restored (Johnson and Eyre.) Considering that the daughter and sister of the plunderers (Akber's wife) had been carried into exile by the countrymen of Lady Macnaghten, there was nothing very extraordinary in their thus seeking means to carry on the war. Before the late crisis, the captives had enjoyed advantages very unusual for even state prisoners in Afghanistan. Five rooms in the fort of Budeeabad, furnished by Mohammed Shah Khan for his own use, were vacated for their accommodation. During the three months spent here four European infants were born. The elder children passed the time in blindman's-buff and other games befitting their age; their parents in writing long letters to India and England, carrying on a great deal of cypher correspondence with Sale's garrison, and playing backgammon and drafts on boards of their own construction, and cards, by means of two or three old packs preserved among their baggage. From "a Bible and Prayer-book picked up on the field at Boothauk," the services of the established church were read every Sunday, sometimes in the open air; and this observance was, we are told, not lost on their guards, who, wild and savage as they were, seemed to respect the Christian's day of rest, "by evincing more decorum and courtesy than on the working-days of the week."—(Kaye ii., 489.) Who that really desires the spread of vital Christianity, can read this account without regretting that the captives of Budeeabad had not been inspired with more of the devotional spirit which burned so strong and clear in the bosoms of two other English captives, then dying by inches in filth and misery at Bokhara, but evincing such unmistakable indications of true piety, that sorrow for the suffering is lost in veneration for the enduring faith of Colonel Stoddart and Arthur Conolly. The former I deeply respected on the ground of personal knowledge; the latter I know only by the touching records made public since his execution. The history of both is yet fresh in the minds of the existing generation. Colonel Stoddart had gone in an official position to Bokhara, and was detained by the Ameer, who had been angered by some real or apparent slight shown him by the British authorities; Conolly sought to procure the release of Stoddart, but was condemned to share his imprisonment. The touching letters written at this period, and forwarded to India through the intervention of a faithful servant, still remain to attest the patience in adversity of these illustrious sufferers. Stoddart, in a moment of weakness, after being lowered down into a deep dark well, tenanted by vermin, was forced into making a profession of belief in the false prophet; but Conolly never wavered. On the 17th of June, 1842, the two friends were brought forth to die, clothed in the miserable rags which five months' incessant wear had left to cover their emaciated and literally worm-eaten frames. The elder captive was first beheaded, and an offer of life was made to his companion as the price of apostasy, but without effect. "Stoddart," he said, "became a Mussulman, and you killed him: I am prepared to die." The knife of the executioner did its work, and another name was added to the glorious army of martyrs—the true soldiers of the Cross.—(Kaye, Wolfe, &c.)

* The widow of Lieutenant Sturt, of the engineers, a very active officer, who was mortally wounded by the Khiljies in the Koord Cabool Pass.

and bore testimony to the good treatment they had received from the nabob, Zemaun Shah. The "guests" of Akber Khan told the same tale; and Colonel Palmer and Mohun Lal* were almost the only complainants;—the one having fallen into the hands of the instigator of the murder of Shah Soojah, the unworthy son of Nawab Zemaun Khan; the other having provoked personal vengeance by repeated offers of blood-money for the heads of the leading Barukzyes. The principal Cabool leaders proposed that a younger son of the late king's, named Shahpoor (the son of a Populzye lady of high rank), should be placed on the throne; and to this the British authorities consented. The object of the proposers was not accomplished; they hoped to turn away the vengeance of the invaders, but in vain. The military leaders pronounced that the destruction of the fortresses of Ghuznee, Jellalabad, Candahar, Khelat-i-Khilji,† Ali-Musjid, and many others of inferior note,—the sacrifice of thousands of villagers armed and unarmed, the wanton destruction of the beautiful fruit-trees (which an Afghan loves as a Kaffir does cattle, or an Arab his steed), with other atrocities almost inseparable from the march of an "army of retribution," were all too trifling to convey a fitting impression of the wrath of the British nation at the defeat, disgrace, and ruin which had attended its abortive attempt at the military occupation of Afghanistan. It is idle to talk of the savage ferocity‡ of the Khiljies, as displayed in the horrible January massacre, since that very massacre had been wantonly provoked. The English originally entered those fatal passes as foes; they marched on, in the pride of conquerors, to rivet a rejected yoke on the neck of a free, though most turbulent nation: their discipline and union were at first irresistible; yet subsequently, strife and incapacity delivered them over into the hands of their self-made enemies. They had (to use an Orientalism) gone out to hunt deer, and roused tigers. What wonder that the incensed people, heated with recent wrongs, should crush with merciless grasp the foe in his hour of weakness, under whose iron heel they had been trampled on so recently. It was a base and cruel thing to slay the retreating legions; but have civilised nations—France and England, for instance—never done worse things in Africa or the Indies, and vindicated them on the plea of state necessity? The defeated invaders fell with weapons in their hands: they fought to the last—at a heavy disadvantage, it is true; but still they did fight; and the physical obstacles which facilitated their overthrow, surely could not make the difference between the combatants greater than that which has enabled nations acquainted with the use of cannon to reduce to slavery or deprive of their land less-informed people.

The English refused to surrender, and paid by death the penalty of defeat, which would, in all probability, have been inflicted by them in a similar case. The captives and hostages were, generally, remarkably well used; even the little children who fell into the power of the Khiljies were voluntarily restored to their parents.§

Yet now the military authorities, not content with the misery wrought and suffered in Afghanistan,‖ gravely deliberated on the most

* Moonshee Mohun Lal was educated at the Delhi college, where the experiment of imparting secular education, without any religious leaven, was being tried by the British government. The same system is now in force throughout India. Mohun Lal was one of its first-fruits, and his cleverly-written work on Cabool is well worthy of the attention of all interested in tracing the effects of purely secular instruction. Shahamet Ali (author of the *Sikhs and Afghans*), the fellow-student of Mohun Lal, was a different character, and not a Hindoo, but a Mohammedan. His new acquirements were not, therefore, likely to have the effect of producing the same flippancy and scepticism which was almost sure to be occasioned by proving to such men as Mohun Lal, that modern Brahminism was the offspring of superstition and ignorance, without inculcating a knowledge of those doctrines which Christians hold to be the unerring rule of life, the only wisdom.

† Kaye, ii., 599. Khelat-i-Khilji, or "the Khilji Fort," situated between Candahar and Ghuznee, must not be confounded with the famous Khelat-i-Nuseer near the Bolan Pass, taken by Major-general Willshire in November, 1839, and in the defence of which the Beloochee chief, Mehrab Khan, with hundreds of his vassals, perished. Several women were slain to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy: others fled on foot with their infants.

‡ The author of one of the numerous *Narratives* of the war, relates an anecdote of an Afghan boy of six years old, being found by an English soldier striving to decapitate the corpse of a colour-sergeant who had fallen some time before when Pollock fought his way through the Khyber Pass. The soldier came behind the child, "coolly took him up on his bayonet, and threw him over the cliff." Lieut. Greenwood narrates this incident in "the war of retribution" as evidence of *Afghan* ferocity.—(176.)

§ The daughter of Captain Anderson, and the son of Captain Boyd, fell into the hands of the Afghans in the Boothauk Pass.

‖ Lord Brougham sternly denounced the destruction of the "hundred gardens" of Cabool, by "our incendiary generals."

efficient mode of perpetuating in the minds of the Cabool chiefs the memory of deeds which all parties might have been glad to bury in oblivion. The peaceable inhabitants of the city had been induced to return and resume their occupations; and when they beheld the son of Shah Soojah on the throne, and the English in daily intercourse with the leading chiefs, and making avowed preparations for final departure, they might well think that the worst was over. But it was yet to come. General Pollock considered the death of the envoy still unavenged, and resolved on the total destruction of the Great Bazaar and the Mosque. These orders were executed, but with difficulty, owing to the massiveness of these magnificent buildings, which it was found impossible to destroy in any reasonable time without the use of gunpowder. As might have been expected, the victorious soldiery and licentious camp followers did not content themselves with fulfilling their destructive commission, but rushed into the streets of the city, applied the firebrand to the houses, and pillaged the shops; so that above four or five thousand people (including many Hindoos who had been enticed into the town by express promises of protection) were reduced to utter ruin. The excesses committed during the last three days of British supremacy in Cabool, were far more disgraceful to the character of England, as a Christian nation, than the expulsion and extermination of the ill-fated troops to her military reputation.

Popular feeling, both in India and in England, was strongly expressed against the needless injury done to the Afghans by the razing of the Great Bazaar, and especially against the extensive destruction of trees, by order of the commander-in-chief, by deeply ringing the bark, and leaving them to perish. Lord Ellenborough appears to have regretted these outrages; but this and all other drawbacks were for the time forgotten in the grand display with which he prepared to welcome the returning army. The homeward march commenced on the 12th of October, and proved singularly peaceful and uneventful. The old blind king, Zemaun Shah, with his nephew Futteh Jung, and the chief part of the family of the late Shah Soojah, accompanied the troops. The gates of Somnauth were not forgotten; and the governor-general gave vent to his delight at their attainment in a proclamation, in which he declared the insult of 800 years to be at length avenged, and desired his "brothers and friends," the princes and chiefs of Sirhind, Rajwarra, Malwa, and Guzerat, to convey the "glorious trophy of successful war" with all honour through their respective territories, to the restored idolatrous temple of Somnauth.

For this strange "song of triumph," as the Duke of Wellington styled the effusion, Lord Ellenborough may perhaps be excused, in remembrance of the honest and manly recantation of error which he published on behalf of the Indian government on the 1st of October, 1842, when directing the complete evacuation of Afghanistan,—this announcement being made from Simla precisely four years after the famous warlike manifesto of Lord Auckland. The whole of the Afghan captives were released. Dost Mohammed returned to Cabool to take possession of the throne vacated by the flight of Shahpoor immediately after the departure of the British force; Akber joyfully welcomed home his father and family; the Persians again besieged Herat; and all things returned to much the same position they occupied before thousands of lives (including that of the forsaken Shah) and about fifteen million of money had been wasted, in an abortive attempt at unauthorised interference. The only change effected was, that instead of respect and admiration, the Afghans (generally, though perhaps not justly, considered an unforgiving race) learned to entertain towards their powerful neighbours emotions of fear and aversion, excited by the galling memories inseparably connected with the march of a desolating army, whose traces were left everywhere, "from Candahar to Cabool, from Cabool to Peshawur."*

The annexation of Sinde—the next event in Anglo-Indian history—has been termed by its chief promoter "the tail of the Afghan storm." Such is the light in which Sir Charles Napier avowedly desires to place it; and his brother, General William Napier, in his account of the *Conquest of Sinde*, plainly declares the open encroachment on the in-

* Kaye, ii., 669. Among other authorities examined, in writing the above sketch of the Afghan war, may be named Eyre's *Cabool*, Havelock's *Narrative*, Dennie's *Campaigns*, Outram's *Rough Notes*, Hough's *British at Cabool*, Fane's *Five Years in India*, Osborne's *Court of Runjeet Sing*, Taylor's *Scenes*, Nash's *Afghanistan*, Barr's *Cabool*, Burnes' *Cabool*, Allen's *Diary*, Thornton's *India*.

dependence of the Ameers, made by order of Lord Auckland, to have been a measure of which "it is impossible to mistake or to deny the injustice." Major (now Col.) Outram, the political Resident at Hyderabad, to some extent defends the proceedings which, though occasionally under protest, he was instrumental in carrying through; and brings forward a considerable body of evidence to prove that Sir Charles Napier, when vested with complete military and diplomatic authority in Sinde, while denouncing the unauthorised aggression committed by Lord Auckland, used the despotic power vested in him by Lord Ellenborough to sap the resources of the Ameers, and then drive them to desperation; the results being their ruin, the annexation to British India of a fertile and valuable boundary province, and the gain to the invading army of prize-money to an enormous extent—the share of Sir C. Napier (an eighth) amounting, it is asserted, to £70,000. Taken together, the admissions and accusations respectively made and preferred by the two leading authorities, can scarcely fail to leave on the mind of the unprejudiced reader a conviction that the Ameers were very illused men, especially the eldest and most influential of them, the venerable Meer Roostum. They were usurpers; but their usurpation was of above sixty years' standing: and the declaration of Lord Ellenborough is not equally correct, that what they had won by the sword they had lost by the sword; inasmuch as their earliest and most important concessions were obtained amid "a sickening declamation about friendship, justice, and love of peace;" which declamation was continued up to the moment when Meer Roostum, bending under the weight of eighty-five years, and his aged wife (the mother of his eldest son) were driven forth into the desert, not by English bayonets, but by English diplomacy.

Such at least is the account given by Napier of the opening negotiations with Sinde, and by Outram of their abrupt termination. To enter into the various points of dispute would be manifestly incompatible with the brief sketch of the leading features attending our occupation of the country, alone consistent with the objects and limits of the present work: even that sketch, to economise space, must be given in small type.

In the beginning of the 18th century, the Kalloras, military fanatics from Persia, became dominant in Sinde, and though compelled to pay tribute to the Dourani conqueror of Afghanistan, retained their position as rulers until about 1771, when a conflict arose between them and the chiefs of the Beloochee tribe of Talpoors, who had come from the hills to settle in the fertile plains. After some years' fighting the Talpoors became undisputed masters of Sinde. Their head, Meer Futteh Ali, assigned portions of the conquered territory to two of his relations, and thus gave rise to the separate states of Khyrpoor and Meerpoor. The remaining part of Sinde, including the capital Hyderabad, he ruled until his death, in amicable conjunction with his three brothers. The Talpoors, like their predecessors the Kalloras, evidently dreaded the encroaching spirit of the powerful Feringhees, and quietly but firmly opposed their early attempts at commercial intercourse. At length, in 1832, the pertinacious resolve of the English to open up the navigation of the Indus, prevailed over their prudent reserve, and a new treaty was formed through the intervention of Colonel (now Sir Henry) Pottinger, by the fifth article of which the contracting parties solemnly pledged themselves "never to look with the eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other." The very words betrayed the apprehensions of the Ameers; and that these were shared by their subjects is proved by the exclamation recorded by Burnes, as uttered in the previous year by the witnesses of his approach—"Alas! Sinde is gone since the English have seen our river!"

The prediction was soon verified. In 1836, the ambitious designs of Runjeet Sing gave the Anglo-Indian government an opportunity of interference, which was availed of by the proffer of British mediation. At this time the original Talpoor rulers were all dead, and their sons reigned in their stead. Noor Mohammed wore the puggree or turban of superiority, and was the acknowledged rais or chief at Hyderabad; Sheer Mohammed at Meerpoor, and Meer Roostum at Khyrpoor, in Upper Sinde. Meer Roostum was eighty years of age, and was assisted in the government by his numerous brothers. He was, however, still possessed of much energy; and so far from fearing the hostility of Runjeet Sing, or desiring the dangerous aid of the English, he exclaimed confidently—"We have vanquished the Seik, and we will do so again." It was, however, quite another thing to compete with the united forces of Runjeet Sing and the English; and the intimate connexion so unnecessarily formed between these powers in 1838, proved pretty clearly that the choice lay between mediation or open hostility. The Ameers chose the former, and consented to the permanent residence at Hyderabad of a British political agent, with an armed escort. Two months after the conclusion of this arrangement, the Tripartite Treaty was signed at Lahore, and involved a new question as to the route to be taken for the invasion of Afghanistan. Runjeet Sing, stimulated by his distrustful durbar or court, would not suffer his sworn allies to march through the Punjab. Advantage was therefore taken of the weakness of the Ameers to compel them to sanction the passage of the British troops; and the island-fortress of Bukkur was obtained from Meer Roostum, to be held "during the continuance of the war." These concessions paved the way for fresh exactions, and the Ameers were next required to contribute towards the expenses of the expedition. The demand was first urged on the plea of arrears of tribute claimed by Shah Soojah as their suzerain, but this was refuted by

the production of a formal release made by the Shah of all claims upon Sinde or Shikarpoor. The next pretext for oppression was, that the Ameers had tendered professions of submission to Persia, the evidence being a document of doubtful authenticity, ostensibly addressed by Noor Mohammed to the Persian monarch, and which, when freed from Oriental hyperbole, contained little more than expressions of unbounded respect for the Shah of Persia as the head of the Sheiah sect of Mohammedans. It was so improbable that the Ameers would comply with the present demands, except under the sternest compulsion, that preparations were made to punish their refusal by the storming of Hyderabad, and the army of the Indus turned out of its way for the express purpose, and menaced Sinde at four different points. Sir John Keane designated the anticipated siege of the capital, "a pretty piece of practice for the army;" and the officers generally indulged in sanguine expectations of pillage and prize-money. The Ameers were divided in opinion; and one of them proposed that they should defend themselves to the last, and then slay their wives and children, and perish sword in hand—the terrible resolve carried out not many months later by Mehrab Khan, of Khelat-i-Nuseer. More temperate counsels prevailed. Meer Roostum confessed that in surrendering Bukkur he had given the heart of his country into the hands of the foe; and the Ameers, with utter ruin staring them in the face, consented to the hard terms imposed by the treaty signed in February, 1839, which bound them to receive a subsidiary force, and contribute three lacs (afterwards increased to three and a-half) for its support, to abolish all tolls on the Indus, and provide store-room at Kurrachee for military supplies. In return, the Anglo-Indian government promised not to meddle with the internal affairs of the Ameers, or *listen to the complaints of their subjects* (a very ominous proviso.) These concessions, together with a contribution of £200,000, half of which was paid immediately, did not satisfy Lord Auckland. Kurrachee had been taken possession of during the war; and he now insisted on its permanent retention, despite the promises made by his representatives.

The Ameers had no alternative but to submit: yet, says General Napier, "the grace with which they resigned themselves to their wrongs, did not save them from the cruel mockery of being asked by Colonel (Sir H.) Pottinger, 'if they had the slightest cause to question the British faith during the last six months?' and the further mortification of being told, 'that henceforth they must consider Sinde to be as it was in reality a portion of Hindoostan, in which the British were paramount, and entitled to act as they considered best and fittest for the general good of the whole empire.'"

Colonel Pottinger, created a baronet, continued Resident in Sinde until the beginning of 1840. He was succeeded by Major Outram, who, by the death of his coadjutor, Mr. Ross Bell, became political agent for the whole of Sinde and Beloochistan. Major Outram found the Ameers in precisely the state of feeling which might have been expected;—deeply irritated against the English, disposed to rejoice at any misfortune which might overtake them, and ready to rise up and assert their independence if the opportunity offered; but constantly let and hindered by the fear of consequences, and by the divided counsels arising from separate interests. With anxious care the Resident watched their feelings and opinions—warning one, counselling another, reasoning with a third; and in the perilous moment when General England fell back on Quetta, after a vain attempt to succour Nott at Candahar, Outram strained every nerve to prevent the rulers of Sinde from making common cause with their Beloochee countrymen against the invading army. "Even their negative hostility," he writes, "evinced by withholding supplies, would have placed us in a position which it is fearful even to contemplate." The recollection of past wrongs did not, however, prevent the majority of the Ameers from actively befriending the troops in their hour of need; but some of them were suspected of being concerned in hostile intrigues; and though Meer Roostum behaved with accustomed candour, his minister, Futteh Mohammed Ghoree became implicated in certain suspicious proceedings. Towards the conclusion of the Afghan war, Major Outram proposed to Lord Ellenborough (the successor of Lord Auckland) a revision of the existing treaties, which were very vaguely worded, urging that precautions should be taken against the possible machinations of such of the Ameers as had betrayed hostile intentions during the late crisis, and advised that Shikarpoor and its dependencies, with Sukkur and the adjacent fortress of Bukkur, should be demanded in complete cession, in return for the relinquishment of the yearly tribute of £350,000, and of arrears due of considerable amount.

Lord Ellenborough was not content with this arrangement: he desired to reward the good service done to the forces in the late war by a neighbouring prince, the Khan of Bhawalpoor,* by the restoration of certain territories captured from him some thirty years before by the Ameers, who were considered to have rendered themselves "most amenable to punishment." To this Major Outram assented; but when his lordship proceeded to write denunciatory letters to the Ameers, threatening them with punishment for past offences, should any such be clearly proved, the Resident withheld these communications, believing that their delivery would gravely imperil the safety of the troops still scattered in isolated positions in dreary Afghanistan. The governor-general admitted the discretion of this procedure; but he had taken up, with the energy of a strong though often prejudiced mind, the popular notion of the day against political agents; and the prudence displayed by Colonel Outram did not exempt him from the sweeping measures enacted for the supercession of political by purely military functionaries.

Sir Charles Napier had just arrived in India, and to him was entrusted the task of gaining the consent of the Ameers to concessions amounting to their virtual deposition.† The sudden recall of the Resident, and the arrival of a military leader, at the head of a powerful force, alarmed the Ameers, and they strove to deprecate the impending storm by every means in their power. The testimonies of many British officers and surgeons are brought forward by Major Outram, to confirm his own evidence with regard to the characters of the unfortunate chiefs of Sinde, whom he describes as decidedly favourable specimens of Mohammedan princes, ruling after a very patriarchal fashion,—merciful, accessible to complainants, singularly temperate, abstaining not only from drinking and smoking, but likewise rigidly eschewing the accursed drug, opium, even as a medicine.‡ The

* *Vide* Shahamet Ali's *History of Bahawalpoor.*
† Thornton's *India*, vi., 423.
‡ Outram's *Commentary*, 529. Dr. Burnes' *Sinde.*

mere fact of so many chiefs living and bearing sway in the domestic fashion described by Pottinger, Burnes, and Outram, was a strong argument in their favour; yet Sir Charles Napier unhappily lent a credulous ear to the mischievous rumours which a longer residence in India would have taught him to sift narrowly, or reject wholly: and his entire conduct was in accordance with his undisguised opinion, that the Ameers were "thorough ruffians" and "villains," drunken, debauched, capable of fratricide, "any one of them," and determined to assassinate him and "Cabool" the troops. Accustomed to the courtesy of British officials (one of whom had stood unshod in their presence, some ten years before, to crave permission to open the navigation of the Indus), they were now startled by the tone of contemptuous distrust with which they were treated by the dark-visaged little old man, who, despite his unquestioned courage in the field of battle, avowedly suffered personal fear of treachery to prevent his according a friendly hearing to the "benign and grey-headed monarch who had conferred the most substantial benefits on the English nation."

Major Outram states that Sir Charles Napier scrupled not to add exactions to the treaties not desired by Lord Ellenborough: and further, that he incited the most ambitious and able of the Khyrpoor brothers (Ali Morad), to intrigue against their venerated rais or chief, Meer Roostum, who, perceiving the offensive and threatening attitude assumed by the British forces, asked the advice of the general what to do to preserve peace, and offered to take up his residence in the camp. Sir Charles Napier advised, or rather commanded him to join his brother. The aged rais complied, and the result was his being first, as Sir Charles said, "bullied" into resigning the puggree to Ali Morad, and then induced, by artfully-implanted fears of English treachery, to seek refuge with his family in the wilderness. This step was treated as an act of hostility, and immediate preparations were made for what was vauntingly termed "the conquest," but which was expected to be little more than the occupation of Sinde. The customary form of a declaration of war was passed over; and it being suspected that the fugitives had taken refuge in Emaunghur, Sir Charles marched, with 400 men mounted on camels, against that fortress in January, 1843. Emaunghur belonged to a younger brother of Roostum—Mohammed of Khyrpoor, one of the reigning Ameers, who had never "been even accused of a single hostile or unfriendly act,"* but who had the unfortunate reputation of possessing treasure to the amount of from £200,000 to £360,000, stored up in Emaunghur.† No such prize awaited the general; he found the fort without a living inhabitant, but well supplied with grain, of which the troops took possession, razed the walls, and marched back again.

At this crisis, Major Outram returned to Sinde, at the especial request of both Lord Ellenborough and Sir Charles Napier, to aid as commissioner in settling the pending arrangements. Having vainly entreated the general not to persist in driving the whole of the Ameers of Upper Sinde to open war, by compelling them to take part with Meer Roostum and his fugitive adherents, Major Outram centred his last efforts for peace in striving to persuade the Ameers not yet compromised by any manifestation of distrust, to throw themselves at the feet of the English, by signing the required treaty. The task is best described in the words of the negotiator:—"I was called upon to obtain their assent to demands against which I had solemnly protested as a positive robbery: and I had to warn them against resistance to our requisitions, as a measure that would bring down upon them utter and merited destruction; while I firmly believed that every life lost, in consequence of our aggressions, would be chargeable on us as a murder."‡

The arguments of Major Outram succeeded in procuring the signature of the chiefs of Lower Sinde; but the prohibition he had received against any promise of protection for Meer Roostum, however clearly his innocence might be proved, excited uncontrollable indignation on the part of the Beloochee feudatory chiefs; and but for the efforts of the Ameers, the commissioner and his party would have been massacred on their return to the Residency. Major Outram was warned to quit Hyderabad. The vakeels or ambassadors dispatched to the British camp to offer entire submission, failed to procure even a hearing; and they sent word to their masters—"The general is bent on war—so get ready." In fact, Napier had been so long preparing to meet a conspiracy on the part of the Ameers, that he seems to have been determined either to make or find one, if only to illustrate his favourite denunciation of—"Woe attend those who conspire against the powerful arms of the company: behold the fate of Tippoo Sultan and the peishwa, and the Emperor of China!" Therefore he continued his march; and the terrified Ameers, on learning their last and deepest humiliations had been endured in vain, gave the rein to the long-restrained fury of their followers,—just fifty-three days after the commencement of hostilities by General Napier. On the 15th of February, a horde of armed Beloochees attacked the residence of the British commissioner. After a few hours' resistance, Major Outram and his escort evacuated the place, and retreated in marching order to meet the advancing army, which continued its progress to a village called Meanee (six miles from Hyderabad), which he reached on the 17th. Here the Ameers had taken up their position, with a force stated by Sir C. Napier at 25,862 Beloochees, hastily assembled and ill-disciplined; but than whom, he says, "braver barbarians never gave themselves to slaughter." And very terrible the slaughter was; for, if General W. Napier may be trusted, the Ameers "were broken like potsherds," and 6,000 men "went down before the bayonets of his (brother's) gallant soldiers, wallowing in blood." The English lost 254 killed and wounded.

Immediately after the battle, Meer Roostum and two others of the Khyrpoor family, with three of the Ameers of Hyderabad, influenced by the representations of Major Outram, abandoned all intention of defending Hyderabad, and delivered themselves up as prisoners; and on 20th of Feb., Napier entered the capital as a conqueror. Although there had been no declaration of war, and no sign of defence,—not a shot fired from the walls,—the prize-agents immediately set about the plunder of the city, in a manner happily unparalleled in the records of Anglo-Indian campaigns. The ladies of the imprisoned Ameers were exposed to the insulting search of one of the most abandoned of their own sex, the concubine of an officer on duty in Sinde. Everything belonging to them, even to the cots on which they slept, were seized and sold by public auction;§ and several of

* Outram's *Commentary*, 39. † First Sinde *B. B.*, 469.

‡ Outram deemed himself "bound to vindicate his (Napier's) conduct in my communications with his victims."—(*Commentary*, 325.) § *Idem*, 439.

these unfortunates, driven to desperation, fled from the city barefoot, overwhelmed with shame and terror.

On the 24th of March, the army marched from Hyderabad against Sheer Mohammed, Ameer of Meerpoor, with whom a pitched battle took place near that city, in which the British were victorious, but lost 267 men in killed and wounded. Meerpoor was occupied without resistance, and the desert fortress of Amercot (the birthplace of Akber, conquered by the Ameers from the Rajpoots) surrendered at the first summons. The brothers Shah Mohammed and Sheer Mohammed were defeated in the month of June, by detachments respectively commanded by captains Roberts and Jacob; and the success of these officers in preventing the junction of the brothers, and defeating them, materially conduced to the triumphant conclusion of the campaign; for had their forces been able to unite and retire to the desert, and there wait their opportunity, heat, pestilence, and inundation (in a land intersected by canals), would have been fearful auxiliaries to the warfare of predatory bands, against an army already reduced to 2,000 effective men, who could only move in the night, and were falling so fast beneath climatorial influences, that before the intelligence of Captain Jacob's victory, orders had been issued for the return of all the Europeans to head-quarters.

The Ameers were sent as prisoners to Hindoostan, and stipends were eventually granted for their support, amounting in the aggregate to £46,614. Ali Morad was rewarded for his share in sending his aged brother to die in exile, by an addition of territory, which was soon afterwards taken away from him, on a charge of forgery urged against him, and it was thought clearly proved, by a vengeful minister. The rest of the province was annexed to British India, and divided into three collectorates—Shikarpoor, Hyderabad and Kurrachee. There is some consolation in being able to close this painful episode, by stating that the latest accounts represent the country as improving in salubrity, the inhabitants (considerably above a million in number) as tranquil and industrious, canals as being reopened, waste land redeemed, new villages springing up, and even the very mild form of slavery which prevailed under the Ameers, as wholly abolished. This is well; for since we are incontestably usurpers in Sinde, it is the more needful we be not oppressors also.*

The sword had scarcely been sheathed in Sinde before it was again drawn in warfare against the Mahratta principality formed by Mahadajee Sindia. The successor of Dowlut Rao, and the adopted son of Baiza Bye, died childless in 1843. His nearest relative, a boy of eight years of age, was proclaimed Maharajah, with the sanction of the British government; and the regency was nominally entrusted to the widow of the late prince, a wayward and passionate, but clever and sensitive girl of twelve years of age. Great disorders arose in the state; and the turbulence of the mass of 40,000 soldiers, concentrated at Gwalior, rendered them an object of anxiety to the governor-general. The doctrine openly inculcated by Lord Wellesley—of the rights and obligations of the British government, as the paramount power in India—was urged by Lord Ellenborough as the basis of his proposed movements with regard to Gwalior. An army was assembled at the close of 1843; and while one division, comprising about eight or nine thousand men, marched from Bundelcund, and crossed the Sinde river at Chandpoor, the main body, about 14,000 strong, under the command of Sir Hugh Gough, accompanied by the governor-general, crossed the Chumbul near the town of Dholpoor, and on the 26th of December encamped at Hingona, twenty-three miles north-west of the fort of Gwalior. Marching thence on the 29th, the British force came in front of a Mahratta host, about 18,000 in number, encamped fifteen miles from Gwalior, near the villages of Maharajpoor and Chonda. The details of the ensuing engagement are unsatisfactorily recorded. That the British came unexpectedly on the enemy, is proved by the fact that Lord Ellenborough (not a military man, as he sorrowfully said) was on the field, and also the ladies of the family of the commander-in-chief. The conflict was desperate, and the English suffered severe loss from the numerous and well-served artillery of the foe; but they prevailed, as usual, by sheer hard fighting, marching up under a murderous fire to the mouths of the cannon, bayoneting the gunners, and driving all before them. Flinging away their matchlocks, the Mahrattas fell back on Maharajpoor, where they held their ground, sword in hand, until General Valiant, at the head of a cavalry brigade, charged the village in the rear, and dispersed the foe with much slaughter. The survivors retreated to Gwalior, leaving on the field fifty-six pieces of artillery, and all their ammunition waggons. The total loss of British troops was 106 killed and 684 wounded. On the same day, Major-general Grey encountered 12,000 Mahrattas at Puniar, twelve miles south-west of Gwalior, captured all their artillery, and slew a large number of them, his own loss being twenty-five killed and 189 wounded. The victorious forces met beneath the walls of the ancient stronghold, which, on the 4th of January, 1844, was taken possession of by the contingent force commanded by British officers. At the base of the temple stood the Lashkar, or stationary camp, where about 5,000 Mahrattas, being amply

* *Vide* Napier's *Sinde*; and Outram's *Commentary*.

supplied with artillery, held out until the offer of liquidation of arrears, and three months' additional pay, induced them to surrender their arms and ammunition, and disperse quietly.

The native durbar attempted no further opposition to the views of the governor-general, and a treaty was concluded on the 13th Jan., 1844, by which the Maharanee was handsomely pensioned, but excluded from the government; and the administration vested in a council of regency, under the control of the British Resident, during the minority of the Maharajah. The fortress of Gwalior was ceded in perpetuity, and the sum of twenty-six lacs, or an equivalent in land, was demanded by Lord Ellenborough, in payment of long-standing claims; the subsidiary force was increased, and the maximum of the native army fixed at 9,000 men, of whom not more than one-third were to be infantry. The good conduct of the young rajah led to his being permitted to assume the reins of power before the expiration of the stated interval, and at its close, in 1853, he was formally seated on the musnud, and confirmed in the authority he had previously exercised on sufferance.*

The hostilities carried on with China, however important in themselves, have no place in the already overcrowded history of India; but it would be unjust to Lord Ellenborough, to omit noticing his vigorous and successful exertions for the dispatch of troops and stores to the seat of war. The reasons for his recall by the E. I. Directory in July, 1844, were not made public; and it would be superfluous to speculate upon them in a work the object of which is to state facts, not opinions.

Hardinge Administration: 1844 to 1848.—Lord Ellenborough's successor, Sir Henry Hardinge, employed the brief interval of tranquillity enjoyed by the Anglo-Indian government in promoting public works, in improving the discipline of the army, ameliorating the condition of the native troops, and endeavouring to produce a more friendly spirit between the military and civil services.

The progress of much-needed reforms was soon arrested by the outbreak of war on the north-western frontier, which was met by the governor-general in a firm and decisive spirit. Upon the death of the old Lion of the Punjab—the mighty robber-chief who had raised himself from the leadership of a small Jat tribe to the rank of Maharajah of the Seiks,—the kingdom he had founded was shaken to its base by a series of durbar intrigues and midnight assassinations, exceeding in atrocity the worst crimes committed at the worst periods of Hindoo or Mohammedan history. Kurruck Sing, the successor, and, it was generally believed, the only son of the deceased ruler, was deprived, first of reason and then of life, by the hateful machinations of the minister Rajah Dehra Sing and his profligate and abandoned son Heera (the pampered minion of Runjeet), the leading members of a powerful family, generally known as the Lords of Jummoo, a principality conquered from the Rajpoots.† The incremation of Kurruck Sing was scarcely ended, when some loose bricks fell on the head of his son No Nehal Sing, who was placed in a litter and carried off by the arch plotter Dehra, before the extent of the injury could be ascertained by the bystanders, and kept from the presence of his family until the crime had been completed, and the young rajah was a corpse. Murder followed murder: men and women, the guilty and the innocent, the vizier in the council-chamber, the general at the head of the army, the lady at her toilette, the babe in its cradle, were by turns the victims of unscrupulous ambition, covetousness of wealth, lust, cowardice, or vengeance. Dehra and

* Churut Sing founded the fortunes of his family by establishing a sirdaree or governorship, which his son, Maha Sing, consolidated by the capture of the fort and town of Ramnuggur, from a strong Mohammedan tribe called Chettas. Maha Sing died in 1780, leaving one son, a child then four years old, the afterwards famous Runjeet Sing. The mother and mother-in-law of the young chief ruled in his name until the year 1793, when Runjeet became impatient of control, and sanctioned, or (according to Major Smyth) himself committed the murder of his mother, on the plea of her shameless immorality—a procedure in which he closely imitated the conduct of his father, likewise a matricide. The conquest of Lahore, in 1798, from some Seik chiefs by whom it was conjointly governed, was the first step of the ladder by which Runjeet mounted to power. Moultan and Peshawur were captured in 1818; Cashmere in the following year; and Runjeet's career of plunder and subjugation ceased not until a wall of impenetrable mountains closed its extension northward, in a manner scarcely less decisive than the check to his progress southward and eastward, previously given by the English, when their prudent interference compelled him to find in the Sutlej a barrier as impassable as the Himalayas themselves.—(Prinsep's *Seiks;* Smyth's *Reigning Family of Lahore;* Shahamet Ali's *Seiks and Afghans;* Hügel's *Travels in Cashmere and the Punjab.*)

† The almost independent power which Runjeet Sing suffered the Lords of Jummoo and other favourite chiefs to assume, was one of the causes of the fierce civil war for which his death gave the signal.

Heera Sing fell, each at a different crisis, while holding the office of vizier. Sheer Sing, the son of one of Runjeet's wives, obtained for a time the throne; but was murdered in 1843, after which a state of wide-spread anarchy prevailed throughout the Punjab, the chief remaining semblance of authority being vested in the person of Ranee Chunda, a concubine of the late Runjeet Sing, and the mother of a boy named Duleep Sing, who, though notoriously not the son of the Maharajah, had been in some sort treated by him as such. Dehra Sing, wanting a puppet, had drawn this child from obscurity; and his mother, under the title of regent, became the head of a faction, the opposers of which took their stand by declaiming truly against the spurious origin of Duleep Sing, and the shameless immorality of Ranee Chunda; and untruly, with regard to her alleged efforts to intrigue with the English against the independence of the Seik nation. Now, in fact, the only point upon which the various Seik parties had ever shown any degree of unanimity, was that of enmity to the British; and much evidence has gradually been brought to light of the actual treachery, as well as passive breach of treaty committed by them during the Afghan war. The intemperate language of Sir Charles Napier in Sinde, and his undisguised anticipation of war in the Punjab, had been published, doubtless with exaggeration, throughout that kingdom; and the general feeling of the Seiks was anxiety to assume an offensive position, and meet, if not anticipate, the expected invasion. The French officers in the Seik service (Ventura and M. Court), appear to have borne little part in the past commotions; but their exertions, together with those of Allard and the Neapolitan Avitabile, on whom Runjeet conferred the government of Peshawur, had been sedulously and successfully employed in casting cannon, organising artillery, and disciplining troops after the European fashion.

The preparations made at Lahore for the passage of the Sutlej by a Seik army, could not long be concealed from the governor-general, who, with all practicable expedition and secrecy, concentrated 32,000 men and sixty-eight guns in and about Ferozepoor, Loodiana, and Umballa. Towards the middle of December, the Seiks crossed their boundary, bringing with them large quantities of heavy artillery; and one body of 25,000 regulars and eighty-eight guns, took up a position near the village of Ferozshah; whilst another force of 23,000 men and sixty-seven guns, encamped opposite Ferozepoor. Both divisions commenced throwing up earthworks around their camps, and preparing for a vigorous contest.

The governor-general had hastened to the frontier to superintend the necessary preparations at the various cantonments. On learning the passage of the Sutlej by the Seiks, in direct contravention of existing treaties, he issued a declaration of war, and, in conjunction with the commander-in-chief, Sir Hugh Gough, advanced with the main column from Bussean (the military depôt) towards Ferozepoor. On reaching the village of Moodkee (18th December, 1845), tidings were received of a hostile encampment some three miles off, comprising a large body of troops, chiefly cavalry, supported by twenty-two guns. It was mid-day, and the English were weary with marching; nevertheless they started forward, after a brief interval for refreshment. The Seik artillery being advantageously posted behind some low jungle, fired briskly upon the advancing columns, but could not hinder the approach of the British horse artillery and light field batteries, which opened on them with steady precision, and caused a degree of confusion in their ranks, soon utterly broken by a sweeping charge of cavalry, closely followed by a continuous discharge from the muskets of the infantry. The Seiks were driven off by the bayonet whenever they attempted to make a stand, and fled leaving seventeen guns and large numbers of their dead comrades on the field. The slaughter would have been greater but for the weariness of the victors and the gathering darkness. The British returned to their camp at midnight, with the loss of 216 killed and 648 wounded, out of a force of 1,200 rank and file. Among the slain was Sir Robert Sale, who fell with his left thigh shattered by grapeshot. The victory was followed up by an attack on the intrenched camp of the enemy at Ferozshah. The Seiks were estimated at 35,000 rank and file, and eighty-eight guns; while the British numbered less than 18,000 men, and sixty-five guns. The disparity was sensibly felt, for the Seiks had proved themselves far more formidable opponents than had been expected; and their artillery (thanks to the labours of Ventura, Allard, Avitabile, and Court, and to the policy of encouraging foreign adventurers to enter

the service of native princes, and prohibiting Englishmen from a similar proceeding) excelled ours in calibre as much as in number, was in admirable order, and thoroughly well served. The British advanced from Moodkee, and reached the hostile encampment about eleven o'clock on the 21st of December. The engagement commenced with an attack by the artillery on the Seik lines, which extended nearly a mile in length and half a mile in breadth. An order was given to the infantry to seize the enemy's guns; and the terrible task was effected with so much success, that the battle seemed almost gained, when the sudden fall of night obliged the combatants to cease fighting, because they could no longer distinguish friend from foe. The main body of the British forces was withdrawn a few hundred yards, and while resting under arms, some of the Seik guns which had not been taken possession of, were brought to bear on the recumbent troops. The governor-general mounted his horse and led the gallant 80th, with a portion of the 1st Bengal Europeans, against the hostile guns, carried them at a charge, caused them to be spiked, and returned to his previous station. The remainder of the night was one of extreme anxiety to the British commanders: their loss had been most severe; and the reserve force, under Sir Harry Smith, had been compelled to retire; while reinforcements were believed to be on their way to join the Seiks. The "mettle" of the troops and of their dauntless leaders was never more conspicuous: at daybreak they renewed the attack with entire success, secured the whole of the seventy-six guns opposed to them, and cleared the entire length of the hostile works; the enemy falling back on the reserve, which arrived just in time to prevent their total destruction. Thus strengthened, the vanquished Seiks were enabled to recross the Sutlej without molestation. The English found full and melancholy occupation in burying their dead and nursing the wounded. Nearly 700 perished on the field; and of above 1,700 placed in hospital at Ferozepoor, 600 died or were disabled from further service.

The great loss thus sustained, and the want of a battering train, prevented the conquerors from marching on Lahore, and bringing the war to a summary conclusion. Many weeks elapsed before the arrival of reinforcements enabled Sir Hugh Gough again to take the field; and in the interval, the Seiks threw a bridge of boats across the Sutlej, and encamped at Sobraon, on the left bank of the river, where, under the direction of two European engineers, they constructed an almost impregnable *tête-du-pont*. Another body crossed the river and took post at the village of Aliwal, near Loodiana. Sir Harry Smith was dispatched from Ferozepoor to relieve Loodiana, which having effected, he marched against Aliwal with a force of about 10,000 men, and advanced to the attack on the 28th Jan., 1846, with his entire line. A brief cannonade and a cavalry charge was followed by the onset of the infantry: the village was carried by the bayonet, the opposing guns captured, and the foe driven with great slaughter across the river. Smith returned to Ferozepoor on the 8th of February, and on the following day the long-expected heavy guns reached the British camp. Before daybreak on the 10th the troops marched forth to attack the formidable intrenchments of an enemy estimated at 54,000 men, and supported by seventy pieces of artillery. The British numbered 16,000 rank and file, with ninety-nine guns. They advanced under a murderous fire from cannon, muskets, and camel guns, and in more than one place were repeatedly forced back, but the charge was invariably renewed. Line after line was carried, in the accustomed manner, by the bayonet, and the victory was completed by the fierce onslaught of a body of cavalry, under General Thackwell. The Seik guns, camel swivels, and standards were abandoned, and the retreating mass driven over their bridge of boats across the river, hundreds perishing by the fire of the horse artillery, and many more being drowned in the confusion. The English lost 320 killed (including the veteran Sir Thomas Dick, with other officers of note), and the wounded amounted to 2,063. The victorious army marched to Lahore; and there, beneath the city walls, dictated the terms of peace. The governor-general was disposed to recognise the claims of the boy Duleep Sing as Maharajah, and 10,000 men were left at Lahore (under the command of Sir John Littler) for his support and the preservation of peace. The Seik government, or durbar, consented to defray the expenses of the war, amounting to a million and a-half sterling, and agreed to the disbandment of their turbulent soldiery, of whom the majority had been already temporarily dispersed. Sir Henry Hardinge returned to England, and was rewarded for zealous and successful service by eleva-

tion to the peerage; a similar mark of royal favour was conferred on Sir Hugh Gough.

DALHOUSIE ADMINISTRATION: 1848 TO 1855.—The recent Seik treaty was not carried out, and appears to have been merely signed as a means of gaining time. A new series of crimes and intrigues commenced; and, as before, hatred of the English was the only common feeling of the various leaders of factions. The first signs of open hostility appeared in the ancient city of Mooltan, the capital of a petty state between the Indus and the Sutlej, conquered by Runjeet Sing in 1818. The British assistant Resident (Mr. Vans Agnew) and Lieutenant Anderson of the Bombay army, were assassinated in the fortress by Moolraj the governor, against whom hostile operations were immediately commenced; the earlier of which were characterised by a remarkable display of energy and judgment on the part of Major Herbert Edwardes, then a subaltern, "who had seen but one campaign."* The strong fortress of Mooltan was besieged in August, and would probably have been captured in the following month, but for the treacherous defection of a large body of Seik auxiliaries, which, with other unmistakable indications of hostility, left (in the words of Lord Dalhousie) "no other course open to us than to prosecute a general Punjab war with vigour, and ultimately to occupy the country with our troops."

In November, 1849, a British army, under Lord Gough, again took the field, and marched from Ferozepoor to Ramnuggur, near the Chenab, where a Seik force lay encamped. The attack of the British proved successful, but their loss was heavy, and included the gallant General Cureton, Colonel Havelock, and Captain Fitzgerald. The Seiks retreated in order towards the Jhelum, while Lord Gough prepared to follow up his victory by an attack on Lahore. The siege of Mooltan, conducted by General Whish, was brought to a successful issue on the 2nd of January, 1849. The fortress was most vigorously defended, until its massive fortifications were completely undermined, and several practicable breaches effected. Orders had been given to storm the citadel at daybreak, and the troops were actually forming, when Moolraj presented himself at the chief gate, and proceeding straight to the tent of the English general, surrendered the keys and his own sword.

* *Year on the Punjab Frontier*, pp. 381–'2.

A garrison was left in Mooltan, and the remainder of the army marched off to join the commander-in-chief, but arrived too late to share the peril and the glory of the much-criticised battle of Chillianwallah. Events so recent are hardly fit subjects of history. It is seldom until the chief actors have passed away from the stage that the evidence brought forward is sufficiently clear and full to enable the most diligent investigator to form a correct judgment on their merits and demerits.

Early in January, Lord Gough proceeded towards the Chenab, and found, as he expected, the Seiks strongly posted near Chillianwallah, with their artillery planted in a commanding and safe position, under cover of some low but dense jungle. The British marched to the attack, as they had often done before, amid a storm of grape and shell, and after a long and sanguinary engagement, which lasted till after nightfall, carried the murderous guns with the bayonet, and purchased victory with the loss of 757 killed and above 2,000 wounded. The carnage among the Seiks must have been yet more terrible; nevertheless, being joined by a body of Afghan horse, they prepared to renew the contest. The final struggle took place on the 21st of February, a few miles from the town of Gujerat. The battle was opened by Lord Gough with a fierce cannonade, which was maintained without intermission for nearly three hours. At the expiration of that time the Seiks made a retrograde movement, upon which the whole British force rushed forth on the foe, and with bayonet, lance, and sword completed the overthrow commenced by the heavy guns. Chutter Sing, Sheer Sing, and other leaders, surrendered to the victors; the Afghans fled across the Indus; the Seik forces were disbanded; and there being in truth no legitimate heir to the usurpations of Runjeet Sing, the Punjab was unavoidably annexed to British India. Its present satisfactory and improving condition will be found described in an ensuing section.

Second Burmese War.—Nearly two years were passed by the governor-general in active usefulness, without any interruption of the general tranquillity; the only occasion for military interference being to suppress the inroads of the Afredees and other predatory tribes in the vicinity of Peshawur. The sole quarter from which hostility was anticipated was Burmah, the very one from which it was most earnestly to be depre-

cated by all inclined to take warning by past experience.

The Earl of Dalhousie was deeply impressed with this conviction, and scrupled not, with characteristic frankness, to declare his opinion, that "conquest in Burmah would be a calamity second only to the calamity of war."* The deeply disordered finances of India had been rapidly improving under his peaceful and able administration, and he looked forward with sincere repugnance to a contingency which would assuredly produce "exhausted cash balances and reopened loans."† Nevertheless, a series of unfortunate events produced the renewal of war. The treaty of Yandaboo had been preserved inviolate by the sovereign with whom it was made; but his deposition, in 1837, gave a new turn to affairs. His usurping brother, known to the English as a military leader by the name of Prince Therawaddi, manifested great annoyance at the presence of a political agent at Ava, and the residency was in consequence removed to Rangoon, and subsequently altogether withdrawn from Burmah. The British continued to trade with Rangoon for the following twelve years; and during that time many complaints of oppression and breach of treaty were brought against the Burmese government, but none of these were deemed of sufficient extent or significancy to call for the interference of the Calcutta authorities, until the close of 1851, when the commanders of two British vessels laid before Lord Dalhousie a formal statement of oppressive judgments delivered against them by the governor of Rangoon in his judicial capacity. Commodore Lambert was dispatched from Calcutta with full and very clear instructions regarding the course to be pursued—namely, first to satisfy himself regarding the justice of these allegations, and then to demand about £900 as compensation.

On reaching Rangoon, numbers of resident traders (styled by Lord Ellenborough the Don Pacificoes of Rangoon) pushed off in their boats with a strange assortment of complaints against the governor; whereupon Commodore Lambert, without waiting to consult Lord Dalhousie on the subject, broke off all intercourse with the local functionary, and commanded him, in very peremptory language, to forward a letter to the King of Ava, stating the object of the British mission, and demanding the disgrace of the offending intermediary. The letter was dispatched, and an answer returned, that the obnoxious individual had received his dismissal, and that the required compensation would be granted. A new governor arrived at Rangoon, whose conduct induced the commodore to doubt the sincerity of the professions made by the Burmese authorities; and so far he was probably correct. But, unfortunately, his peculiar position as a Queen's officer,‡ is alleged to have given him a sort of independence, which induced the violation of Lord Dalhousie's express injunction, that no act of hostility should be committed by the British mission, however unfavourable its reception, until definite instructions had been obtained from Calcutta. The refusal of the governor to receive a deputation sent by the commodore at mid-day on the 6th Jan., 1852,—offered by the Burmese attendants on the plea that their master was asleep, according to custom, at that hour (and afterwards excused on the plea that the deputies were intoxicated, which has been wholly denied), —was immediately resented by a notice from the commodore for all British subjects to repair to the squadron—an order which was obeyed by several hundred men, women, and children. No opposition was made to their embarkation, but those who remained behind were thrown into prison. The next and wholly unauthorised measure was to take possession of a painted war-hulk, styled the "yellow ship," belonging to the King of Ava, which lay at anchor a little above the British vessels. This procedure, which has been almost universally censured, produced a declaration from the governor of Rangoon, that any attempt to carry away the property of the king, would be forcibly resisted. The British persisted in towing the vessel out of the river; and on passing the great stockade, or battery, a fire was opened on them, but soon silenced by a broadside from the squadron, which "must have done great execution."§ Commodore Lambert declared the coast of Burmah in a state of blockade, and left in a steamer for Calcutta, to seek other instructions than those he had violated in ill-judged retaliation.

The notoriously hostile spirit of the Burmese government, probably induced Lord Dalhousie to confirm the general proceedings of Lambert, despite his undisguised disapproval of the seizure of the "yellow ship."

* Further (Parl.) Papers on Burmese war, p. 44.
† *Idem*, p. 87.
‡ Cobden's *Origin of Burmese War*, 7.
§ Lambert's Despatch. Further Papers, 41.

The previous demand for compensation was reiterated and received with a degree of evasion which was deemed equivalent to rejection; and both parties made ready for an appeal to arms. The British commander-in-chief, Lord Gough, was absent at Simla; but though a brave soldier, he was a man of advanced age; and the ability of Lord Dalhousie and his council abundantly sufficed to overcome all deficiencies, including those encountered in the raising of the Madras contingent, through the insubordination of the governor, Sir Henry Pottinger, who tacitly opposed Lord Dalhousie at every point,—not through any conscientious feeling regarding the war, but simply from personal irritation, caused by some petty jealousy of office.* The Bombay authorities, aided by the head of the Indian navy (Commodore Lushington) and his able subordinates, captains Lynch and Hewett, bestirred themselves actively in the preparation of the steam fleet, and on the 2nd of April the Bengal division arrived at the mouth of the Rangoon river; the previous day having been fixed by the governor-general as that on which the King of Ava was to decide whether he would avoid war by the payment of £100,000 in consideration of the expenses incurred by the British, and sanction the residence of an accredited agent at Rangoon, in compliance with the treaty of Yandaboo. The steamer dispatched to Rangoon to receive the reply of the Burmese government, was compelled to retreat under a shower of shot from the stockades lining the river; and the campaign commenced. Martaban was stormed with little loss, and occupied by a strong garrison. The Madras division arrived soon after; and the united forces amounted to about 8,000 men, commanded by General Godwin, an active and fearless veteran, who had served under Campbell in the previous war, but whose projects were sadly fettered by an exaggerated respect for the proceedings of his predecessor. Rangoon was blockaded on the 10th of April, 1852, and the following day (Easter Sunday) witnessed a desperate and prolonged struggle. The intense heat, under which many officers dropped down dead, impeded operations; and it was not until the 14th that the fall of the Golden Pagoda completed the capture of Rangoon, which was obtained with the loss to the victors of about 150 killed and wounded. Bassein (once the head-quarters of the Portuguese in Eastern India) was carried with ease in June, and strongly garrisoned; but the dilapidated city of Pegu, which next fell into the hands of a British detachment, though evacuated on their approach, was abandoned by them, owing to insufficiency of troops. General Godwin sent to Calcutta for reinforcements, and especially for light cavalry, horse artillery, and a field battery. These were assembled and dispatched with all possible celerity; and the governor-general, probably dissatisfied with the progress of hostilities, himself visited the seat of war. Prome was taken possession of in July, but abandoned, like Pegu, for want of men, upon which the enemy returned, and made preparations for its defence. The reinforcements which reached the British cantonments in September, raised the army under General Godwin to nearly 20,000 efficient troops, and might, it was considered, have amply sufficed for more extensive enterprises than were attempted. Prome was recaptured, with little difficulty, in October, and Pegu in November; and both places were permanently occupied. An effort was made for the recovery of Pegu by the Burmese, which proved ineffectual; and an engagement with a body of the enemy, near Pegu, was chiefly remarkable for the gallantry displayed by the irregular Seik horse, who proved valuable auxiliaries to their late conquerors.

In December, 1852, the governor-general declared the province of Pegu annexed to the British empire, and intimated that no further hostilities would be pursued by the Anglo-Indian government, if the Burmese were content to submit quietly to the loss of territory which, it must be remembered, they had themselves acquired by usurpation. A new revolution at Ava, caused by the deposition of the king, Therawaddi, by one of his brothers (a procedure similar to that by which he raised himself to the throne), occasioned a cessation of foreign hostilities,† and it would appear that the Burman court and people are really solicitous for the

* *See* an able article entitled "Annals of the Bengal Presidency for 1852," *Calcutta Review*, Mar., 1853.

† The assassination of Captain Latter, the deputy commissioner at Prome, in December, 1853, has been variously attributed to the treachery of the Burmese government, and to the vengeance of a petty chief, in whose subjugation to British authority he was personally instrumental. The murder was committed in the dead of night, and nothing but life was taken. The assertion that a woman's garment was found on the body, though often repeated, has been authoritatively denied; and of the whole mysterious affair nothing is certain but the death of a brave, scientific, and energetic officer.

continuance of peace. Some disappointment was occasioned by the embassy voluntarily dispatched by the King of Ava to the governor-general, and the mission sent in friendly reciprocity to Ava, resulting in no treaty of alliance or commerce. The governor-general, however, had from the first "deprecated the reconstruction of any treaty relations with the court of Ava at all;" and at the close of his administration, he declared, that he still considered "peace with Ava as even more likely to be maintained in the absence of all commercial or friendly treaties, than if those conventions had been renewed as before."*

Sattara.—On the death of the rajah, on the 5th of April, 1848, the principality was annexed to the British territories by right of lapse, the rajah leaving no male heir.

Jhansie, a small Mahratta state in Bundelcund, lapsed in a similar manner to the British government on the death of its last chief, in November, 1853.

Hyderabad.—On the 21st of May, 1853, the Nizam signed a treaty, which provided for the liquidation of his heavy and long-standing debt to the company, and for the maintenance of the stipulated military contingent, by the cession of the districts of Berar Payeen Ghaut, the border districts from thence down to Shorapoor, and the territory of the Dooab between the Kistna and the Toombuddra.†

Nagpoor, or Berar.—This kingdom, which had been made over to Rajah Ragojee by the British government after it had been forfeited by the treachery of Appa Sahib, was left without an hereditary heir on the death of the rajah in December, 1853. There remained no male of the line, descended from the stock, and bearing the name of Bhonslah. The dominions of Berar, or Nagpoor, were therefore considered to have lapsed, and were incorporated in the Anglo-Indian empire. There were other annexations of less importance, such as the raj of *Ungool* (in the Jungle Mahals), and a portion of the land of the rajah of *Sikkim* (a hill chieftain, on the borders of Nepaul.)

In *Sinde*, Ali Morad, of Khyrpoor, was accused of having forged a clause in a treaty, whereby he had wrongfully obtained possession of land which of right belonged to the British government; and his guilt being held to be proved, his lands were confiscated.

Oude.—The closing act of Lord Dalhousie's administration was the annexation of Oude, the government of which country was assumed by his lordship, February 7th, 1856. The reasons for this measure, and the mode of its accomplishment, have been so much discussed in connexion with the military mutiny of the Bengal army, which broke out in the following year, that it may perhaps best suit the convenience of the reader, to postpone the relation of the annexation until a subsequent section. The chapters immediately succeeding the present one will, it is hoped, afford an insight into the physical and topographical character of the country—a view of the numbers and distribution of the vast and varied population of India—the mode of government—extent of army—amount of commerce and revenue—the field of missionary and educational operations, &c.; which will make the narrative of the mutiny, and its attendant circumstances, more easily understood than it could be without such previous information.

In reviewing his eight years' administration, Lord Dalhousie adverted to the rapid progress of civilisation in India; to the establishment of railways at the three presidencies and in Sinde; of telegraphic communications between the chief cities; of cheap and uniform postage; the improved means of conveyance by land and water; encouragement to agriculture and irrigation; the reduction of impost dues; the creation of a loan for public works; and the open discussion of governmental projects and acts. Before his departure, the insurrection of the Sonthals (an aboriginal race, located near the Rajmahal hills in Bahar), in 1855, was repressed, and precautions taken to prevent a recurrence. Finally, Lord Dalhousie took his leave, declaring, that he "left the Indian empire in peace without and within;" and "that there seemed to be no quarter from which formidable war could reasonably be apprehended at present."‡

* Minute by the Marquis of Dalhousie, dated 28th February, 1856, reviewing his administration in India from January, 1848, to March, 1856.—(Parl. Papers, 16th June, 1856.)

† Parl. Papers—Commons, 26th July, 1854; pp. 34; 144.

‡ Minute of 2nd of February, 1855.

Date.	Usual Name of Battle or Place.	Under whose Administration.	Enemy against whom Fought.	Strength of British Army.						
				Europeans.				Native.		
				Artillery.		Cavalry.	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Total.
				Guns.	Men.					
14th Nov., 1751	Siege of Arcot—*see* p. 264.	Mr. Sanderson, Govr. of Madras.	Reza Sahib, son of Chunda Sahib, the Nabob of Arcot.	5	—	—	200	—	300	500
23d June, 1757	Plassy; in Nuddea dist.—*see* p. 278.	Clive.[e] . . .	Surajah Dowlah, Nabob of Bengal.	10 eight 6-pds. and 2 howts.	150	—	850	—	2,300	3,300
15th Jan., 1761	Battle of Patna[g]—*see* p. 293.	Mr Vansittart.	Shah Alum, Emperor of Delhi.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2nd Aug., 1763	Geriah; near Sootee, Moorshedabad—p. 297.	Ditto . . .	Meer Cossim, ex-Nabob of Bengal.	—	—	—	750	750	1,500	3,000
5th Sept., 1763	Oodwanulla Fort; Bhaugulpoor dis.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	3,0	00	—	—	3,000
6th Nov., 1763	Patna taken by storm—p. 298.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
23rd Oct, 1764	Buxar—p. 299 . .	Ditto . . .	Vizier of Oude .	20	—	—	857	918	5,297	7,072
6th Mar., 1799	Sedaseer; near Periapatam—p. 379.	Marquis Wellesley.	Tippoo Sultan . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	6,420
27th Mar., 1799	Malavelly; in Mysoor—p. 379.	Ditto . . .	Tippoo	—	756	912	4,608	1,766 2,726 20,000	11,061 Gun L Nizam	41,649 ascars. 's Con.
4th May, 1799	Seringapatam, Storm of, p. 381.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	20000[m]
4th Sept., 1803	Allyghur Fort, Storm of, p. 396.	Ditto . . .	Mahrattas, commanded by French officers	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,000
11th Sept., 1803	Delhi—p. 396 . . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,500
23rd Sept., 1803	Assaye; in Hyderabad ter.—p. 395.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,500
1st Nov., 1803	Laswarree—p. 397.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,500
28th Nov., 1803	Argaum—p. 398 .	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	[r]
14th Dec., 1803	Gawilghur Fort—p. 398.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
13th Nov., 1804	Deeg; nr Bhurtpoor—p. 402.	Ditto . . .	Mahrattas (Holcar)	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,648[s]
24th Dec., 1804	Deeg Fort—p. 401	Ditto . . .	Rajah of Bhurtpoor .	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,000[v]
9th Jan., 1805	Unsuccessful storm of Bhurtpoor.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,382[x]
21st Jan., 1805	Second do. } pp. 401-'2.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	[y]
20th Feb., 1805	Third do.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
21st Feb., 1805	Fourth do.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
31st Oct., 1814	Unsuccessful attack of Kalunga Fort—p. 411.	Marquis Hastings.	Goorkhas.	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,737
27th Nov., 1814	Do. assault, p. 412.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,477
27th Feb., 1816	Muckwanpoor—p. 413.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	10,000[a]
5th Nov., 1817	Kirkee, nr. Poona—p. 417.	Ditto . .	Mahrattas	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,800

[a] In the fifty days during which the siege was protracted, the British loss in defeating the attempt to storm was only four Europeans killed and two sepoys wounded.

[b] This number includes the sick; the number that actually repulsed the storm on the 14th November amounting to 80 Europeans and 120 sepoys.

[c] On the 14th November; there are no means of ascertaining previous casualties.

[d] Of these 150 were French.

[e] The powers of the governor and council of Calcutta, in civil and commercial affairs, were preserved to them, but in all military matters Clive was invested with independent authority.

[f] Some say 35,000 infantry, 15,000 cavalry; also forty Frenchmen with four light pieces of artillery.

[g] One of the remarkable events of this battle was the capture of Monsieur Law, who, with a few French troops, had hitherto been the chief support of the native armies against the English.

[h] Worked by 170 Europeans.

[i] Exclusive of large bodies of irregular cavalry.

[j] Of these 2,000 were drowned in the Caramnassa.

[k] This includes sixteen missing.

[l] The number is stated between 40,000 and 50,000.

[m] This was the whole force employed in the siege; the two divisions which carried the place did not number more than 4,000 men.

[n] These numbers include the casualties during the whole period of the siege, from 4th April to 4th May.

[o] The number estimated to have fallen in the assault.

[p] Exclusive of the Rajah of Berar's infantry and Sindia's irregular corps.

Guns.	Enemy. Cavalry.	Enemy. Infantry.	Enemy. Total	British Army Killed: Europeans Officers.	Killed: Europeans Men.	Killed: Natives.	Killed: Total.	Wounded: Europeans Officers.	Wounded: Europeans Men.	Wounded: Natives.	Wounded: Total.	Enemy Killed.	Enemy Wounded.	Artillery captured.	Name of British Commander.
9	3,000	7,150[d]	10,150	1	45	30	76[a]	2	225		227[b]	400[c]		8	Captain (afterwards Lord) Clive,
54 24 & 32-pds	18,000	50,000	58,000[f]	—	6	16	22	2	10	36	48	600		50	Clive.
—	10,000	10,000	20,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Major Carnac.
—	20,000	8,000	28,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17[h]	Major Adams.
—	60,000		60,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	100	Ditto.
—	—	10,000[i]	10,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Major Carnac
—	40,000		40,000	—	—	—	—	—	kill. & wond. 847		—	4,000[j]		133	Major Munro.
—	40,000		40,000	—	—	—	45[k]	—	—	—	98	2,000		—	General Stuart.
—	45,000[l]		45,000	—	—	—	—	—	kill. & wond. 66		—	2,000		—	General Harris.
—	—	—	48,000	22	181	119	322[n]	45	622	420	1,087[n]	8,000[o]		—	Lord Harris.
—	—	—	—	6	49		55	11	194		205	2,000		281	General (afterwards Lord) Lake.
—	—	—	19,000	5	102		107	11	335		346	3,000		68	General Lake.
—	35,000	10,500	45,500[p]	23	Missing 8 403		426	30	1,106		1,136	1,200[q]	—	98	Gl. Wellesley (Duke of Wellington.)
72	4,500	9,000	13,500	11	Missing 18 161		172	25	626		651	7,000	—	71	General Lake.
—	—	—	—	—	46		—	9	291		300	—	—	38	General Wellesley,
—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	kill. & wond. 123		125	—	—	52	Colonel Stevenson.
—	—	—	15,000[s]	5	—	—	—	17	kill. & wond. 621		638	2,000[u]	—	87	Major-general Fraser.
—	—	—	[w]	2	41	—	43	13	171	—	184	—	—	100	Lord Lake.
—	—	—	—	5	38	42	85	23	183	165	371	—	—	—	Lord Lake.
—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	15	kill. & wond. 573		588	—	—	—	Ditto.
—	—	—	—	1	48	113	162	27	456	556	732	—	—	—	Ditto.
—	—	—	—	6	63	56	125	27	452	452	862	—	—	—	Ditto.
—	—	—	400	5	4	23	32	15	50	163	228	—	—	—	Major-general Gillespie.
—	—	—	550	4	15	18	37	7	215	221	443	480		—	Colonel Mawbey.
—	—	—	12,000	1	11	34	46	1	19	156	176	800		—	Major-general Ochterlony.
—	—	—	25,000	—	17	2	19	1	55	11	67	500		—	Lieutenant-colonel C. B. Burr.

[q] A large number of the wounded were scattered over the country.

[r] The amount of the British force is not stated; it must, however, have been considerable, as a junction had been effected between the forces of General Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson. The force placed at the disposal of the former, at the commencement of the campaign, amounted to 9,000; that of the latter to 8,000 men

[s] Major-general Fraser's force consisted of H.M's. 76th regiment, the Company's European regiment, and four battalions of sepoys, exclusive of two battalions left for the protection of the baggage. The strength of the four battalions and the two European regiments engaged in the attack, may be estimated at the amount stated in the Table.

[t] Thorn says twenty-four battalions of infantry, besides a considerable body of horse. Captain Thornton states that the cavalry, swelled by numerous adventurers, amounted to 60,000, to which were added 15,000 well-disciplined infantry. The numbers specified in the Table are those of the infantry alone.

[u] Besides a large number drowned in a morass.

[v] This number has reference only to the strength of the storming party. Lord Lake appears to have been present with his whole army, which consisted of upwards of 10,000 men.

[w] The enemy's extensive intrenchments were occupied by a large force, but the numbers are not stated. The troops are represented to have consisted of several of the Rajah of Bhurtpoor's battalions, and the remaining infantry of Holcar.

[x] This number comprises only the storming party. *See* Note to Deeg.

[y] The Bombay division, consisting of four battalions of sepoys, H.M's. 86th regiment, eight companies of the 65th, with a troop of Bombay cavalry, and 500 irregular horse, had now joined Lord Lake's force before Bhurtpoor.

[z] Sir David Ochterlony had a force of near 20,000 men, including three European regiments. He divided this force into four brigades, with two of which he marched to Muckwanpoor.

Date.	Usual Name of Battle or Place.	Under whose Administration.	Enemy against whom Fought.	Strength of British Army.						
				Europeans.				Native.		Total.
				Artillery.		Cavalry.	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Infantry.	
				Guns.	Men.					
26th and 27th Nov., 1817.	Seetabuldee; near Nagpoor—p. 418.	Marquis Hastings.	Mahrattas	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,400
21st Dec., 1817	Mahidpoor, p. 420	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	11,305
1st Jan., 1818	Corygaum, Defence of—p. 418.	Ditto . . .	Arabs in pay of Peishwa.	2	—	—	—	—	—	750
20th Feb., 1818	Ashtee Combat—p. 419.	Ditto . . .	Peishwa	—	—	—	—	—	—	419
27th Feb., 1818	Talneir, Storm of	Ditto . . .	Arabs	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
17th April, 1818	Soonee Battle . .	Ditto . . .	Mahrattas	—	—	—	—	—	—	513[b]
20th May, 1818	Chanda Assault .	Ditto . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	6,500[c]
18th to 29th May, 1818.	Malligaum taken by Storm.	Ditto . . .	Arabs in Native employ.	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,630
8th to 10th June, 1818.	Satunwarree Fort; unsuccessful attack.	Ditto . . .	Mahrattas . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	550[d]
31st Jan., 1819	Nowah; Hyderabad.	Ditto . . .	Arab Garrison . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9th April, 1819	Asseerghur taken by Storm—p. 420.	Ditto . . .	Sindia's Commandant, Jeswunt Rao Laar.	—	—	—	—	—	—	20,000[f]
10th June, 1824	Kemendine, p. 424	Lord Amherst	Burmese	100	—	—	—	—	—	—
30th Oct., 1824	Martaban—p. 425	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	219[g]
18th Jan., 1826	Bhurtpoor Storming—p. 427.	Ditto . . .	Rajah of Bhurtpoor	—	—	—	—	—	—	25,000
19th Jan., 1826	Melloone Storming—p. 427.	Ditto . . .	Burmese	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
23rd July, 1839	Ghuznee Capture—p. 436.	Lord Auckland.	Afghans	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,863
13th Nov., 1839	Kelat; in Beloochistan.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,261
7th April, 1842	Jellalabad Defence	Lord Ellenborough.	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,360
13th Sep., 1842	Tezeen Battle . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
17th Feb., 1843	Meanee; Sinde—p. 451.	Ditto . . .	Beloochees . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,600
24th Mar., 1843	Hyderabad; Sinde—p. 452.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
29th Dec, 1843	Puniar; Gwalior—p. 452.	Ditto . . .	Mahrattas (Sindia)	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,000
29th Dec., 1843	Maharajpoor—p. 452.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	40	—	—	—	—	—	14,000
18th Dec., 1845	Moodkee; left bank of Sutlej—p. 454.	Lord Hardinge.	Seiks, under Rajah Lall Sing.	—	3,	850	—	8,5	00	12,350
21st and 22nd Dec., 1845.	Ferozshah; on the Sutlej—p. 454.	Ditto . . .	Seiks	65	5,	674	—	12,0	53	17,727
28th Jan., 1846	Aliwal; on the Sutlej.	Ditto . . .	Seiks, under Runjoor Sing.	24	—	—	—	—	—	10,000
10th Feb., 1846	Sobraon; on the Sutlej.	Ditto . . .	Seiks	90	—	—	—	—	—	16,224
2nd Jan., 1849	Mooltan, Siege of.	Lord Dalhousie.	Seiks, under Moolraj.	150	—	15,	000	17,0	00	32,000
13th Jan., 1849	Chillianwalla; in the Punjab.	Ditto . .	Seiks	125	—	—	—	—	—	22,000
21st Feb., 1849	Gujerat; in the Punjab.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	96	—	—	—	—	—	25,000
14th Apr., 1852	Rangoon	Ditto . . .	Burmese.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sept., 1852 . .	Prome	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dec., 1852 . .	Pegu	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

[a] In Col. Blacker's *Memoir*, p. 18, Holcar's force is estimated at 20,000 horse and 8,000 foot.

[b] The numbers here given have reference to the strength of the cavalry. In addition to this, there appears to have been a detachment of horse artillery.

[c] The force consisted of 1,000 native cavalry, a troop of horse artillery, a company of European foot artillery, 3,000 native infantry, 2,000 irregular horse, with three 18-pounders, four brass 12's, six howitzers, and twelve 6-pounders.

[d] Native garrison.

Guns.	Enemy.			British Army Killed and Wounded								Enemy.		Artillery captured.	Name of British Commander.
	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Total.	Killed.				Wounded.				Killed.	Wounded.		
				Europeans.		Natives.	Total.	Europeans.		Natives.	Total.				
				Officers.	Men.			Officers	Men.						
—	12,000	8,000	20,000	4	12	0	124	11	23	0	241	30	0	—	Lieutenant-colonel H. Scot.
70	—	—	*	3	17	1	174	35	56	6	601	3,0	00	63	L.-gen. Sir T. Hislop.
—	—	—	—	2	6	2	64	3	11	3	116	—	—	—	Captain Staunton
—	9,000	—	9,000	—	—	—	19	1	—	—	—	20	0	—	Sir Lionel Smith
—	—	—	300	2	5	—	7	5	1	3	18	25	0	—	L.-gen. Sir T. Hislop.
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1,0	00	5	Colonel Adams.
—	—	—	2,000	1	1	2	13	4	5	1	55	20	0	—	Ditto.
—	—	—	350[d]	5	2	9	34	7	16	8	175	—	—	—	Lieutenant-colonel MacDowell.
—	—	—	250	1	1	0	11	1	7	4	75	—	—	—	Major Lamb.
—	—	—	500	—	—	—	22	6	17	4	180	40	0	—	Major Pitman.
—	—	—	1,350	1	4	6	47	9	25	7	266	43	95	119	Brigadier-general Doveton.
—	—	—	3,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15	0	—	Sir A. Campbell.
—	—	—	3,500	—	—	—	7	1	1	3	14	—	—	—	Colonel Godwin.
—	—	—	—	—	61	42	103	—	283	183	466	4,0	00	—	Lord Combermere
—	—	—	10,000	—	—	—	5	3	1	7	20	—	—	—	Sir Archibald Campbell.
—	—	—	3,000	—	—	—	17	—	—	—	170	514	—	—	Sir John Keane.
—	—	—	2,000	1	3	1	32	8	9	9	107	400	—	—	Major-general Willshire.
—	—	—	6,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Sir Robert Sale.
—	—	—	16,000	—	—	—	32	3	12	7	130	—	—	—	General Pollock.
15	—	—	35,000	6	6	0	66	13	20	1	214	5,0	00	—	Sir Charles Napier
									kill. &	wond.					
—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	10	25	5	—	—	—	—	Ditto.
—	—	—	12,000	—	—	—	35	—	—	—	182	—	—	24	Major-general Grey
100	—	—	18,000	—	—	—	113	—	—	—	684	3,5	00	56	Lord Gough.
22	—	—	12,000	16	20	0	216	48	60	9	657	—	—	—	Ditto
—	—	—	35,000	48	8	206	694	1,1	03	618	1,721	—	—	88	Ditto.
—	—	—	19,000	—	—	—	176	—	—	—	413	—	—	68	Sir H. Smith.
—	—	—	34,000	—	—	—	320	—	—	—	2,063	—	—	—	Lord Gough.
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	General Whish.
—	—	—	60,000	26	73	1	757	66	1,4	46	1,512	4,0	00	12	Lord Gough.
59	—	—	60,000	5	8	7	92	24	65	8	682	—	—	57	Ditto.
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	General Godwin.
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

* This was the number of men of which the storming party was composed.

[f] The British force present at the conclusion of the siege, consisted of—horse artillery, one troop and a-half; native cavalry, eight squadrons; foot artillery, five companies; European infantry, two battalions and a-half; native infantry, eleven and a-half battalions; irregular horse, 5,000; sappers and miners, thirteen companies: and probably exceeded, in the aggregate, the amount stated in the Table.

[g] The strength of the storming party.

[The above Table was prepared by order of the Court of Directors, at the request of the Author. The particulars which should appear in the columns left blank, cannot be furnished with perfect accuracy.]

CHAPTER II.

TOPOGRAPHY—MOUNTAINS AND PASSES—RIVERS—PLATEAUX—PROVINCES AND CHIEF TOWNS—CLIMATE AND DISEASES—GEOLOGY—SOIL—MINERALOGY.

Asia, — the largest and most diversified quarter of the globe, has for its central southern extremity a region of unsurpassed grandeur, comprising lofty mountains, large rivers, extensive plateaux, and wide-spread valleys, such as are not to be found within a like area in any other section of the earth. This magnificent territory, known under the general designation of India,* is in the form of an irregular pentagon, with an extreme extent, from north to south and from east to west, of 1,800 miles; a superficial area of 1,500,000 square miles; and a well-defined boundary of 9,000 English miles.†

The geographical position of India possesses several advantages. On the north, it is separated from China, Tibet, and Independent Tartary, for a distance of 1,800 miles, by the Himalayan chain and prolongations termed the Hindoo-Koosh, whose altitude varies from 16,000 to 27,000 feet (three to five miles), through which there is only one pass accessible to wheeled carriages (Bamian.) This gigantic wall has at its base an equally extended buttress, the sub-Himalaya and Sewalik hills, with, in one part, an intervening irregular plateau (Tibet) of 90 to 150 miles wide: on the *West*, the Hindoo-Koosh is connected by the low Khyber ranges with the lofty Sufied-Koh, and its conjoint the Suliman mountains, which rise 10,000 feet, like a mural front, above the Indus valley, and have a southerly course of 400 miles; the Suliman are connected by a transverse chain with the Bolan mountains, which proceed nearly due south for 250 miles, and become blended with the Keertar, Jutteel, and Lukkee hills; the latter terminating in the promontory of Cape Monze, a few miles to the north-west of the Indus mouth. This *western* boundary of 900 miles, supports the table-lands which constitute a large part of Afghanistan and Beloochistan: to these there are four principal ascents—the Khyber, Gomul, Bolan, and Gundava passes, readily defensible against the strategetic movements of any formidable enemy. On the *East*, an irregular series of mountains, hills, and highlands, extend from the source of the Brahmapootra, along the wild and unexplored regions of Naga, Munneepoor, and Tipperah, through Chittagong and Arracan to Cape Negrais (the extremity of the Youmadoung range), at the mouth of the Irawaddy river; to the southward and eastward of Pegu and Martaban, the Tenasserim ridge commences about one hundred miles distant from the coast, and prolongs the boundary to the Straits of Malacca, along the narrow strip of British territory which fronts the Bay of Bengal. The length of this *eastern* frontier is 1,500 miles, and it forms an effectual barrier against aggression from the Burmese, Siamese, or Malays, with whose states it is conterminous. On the *South*, the shores of the above-described territory are washed by the Bay of Bengal, the Straits of Malacca, the Indian Ocean, and the Arabian Sea, for 4,500 miles. The natural frontiers of this extensive region may be thus summarily noted:—north, along the Himalaya, 1,800; west, along Afghanistan, &c., 900; east, along Burmah, Siam, &c., 1,800: total by land, 4,500; by sea, 4,500 = 9,000 English miles.

No pen-and-ink description can convey an adequate idea of India as a whole; the mind may comprehend separate features, but must fail to realise at one view a complete portraiture, especially if devoid of unity of configuration: in several countries a mountain ridge and a main conduit form an outline, around which the chief topographical peculiarities may be grouped; but the region before us contains several lines of great length and elevation, with diverse axis of perturbation, and declinations to three of the cardinal points, causing numerous rivers, flowing S.W. (Indus); S.E. (Ganges); S. (Brahmapootra and Irawaddy); W. (Nerbudda, Taptee, and Loonee); E. (Godavery, Kistnah, Cauvery, and Mahanuddy); and in

* *See* p. 13 for origin of word: old geographers designate the country as India *within* (S.W. of), and *beyond* (S.E. of) the Ganges.

† The reader is requested to bear in mind throughout this work, that round numbers are used to convey a general idea, easy to be remembered; they must be viewed as approximative, and not arithmetically precise. Indian statistics are still very imperfect.

other directions according to the course of the mountain-ranges and the dip of the land towards the ocean, by which the river system is created and defined.

Irrespective of the circumscribing barriers, and of the bones and arteries (hills and streams) which constitute the skeleton of Hindoostan, three features, distinctively delineated, deserve brief notice. The snowy ranges on the north give origin to two noble rivers, which, as they issue from the lesser Himalaya, are separated by a slightly elevated water-shed, and roll through widely diverging plains—the one in a south-easterly direction to the Bay of Bengal, the other south-westerly to the Arabian sea; each swollen by numerous confluents which, altogether, drain or irrigate an area equal to about half the superficies of India Proper. The Gangetic plain is 1,000, that of the Indus (including the Punjab), 800 miles in length; the average breadth of either, 300 miles; the greater part of both not 500 feet above the sea; the height nowhere exceeding 1,000 feet. Intermediate, and bifurcating the valleys of the main arteries, there is an irregular plateau, extending from north to south for 1,000, with a breadth varying from 300 to 500 miles, and a height ranging from 1,500 to 3,000 feet above the sea-level. Midway between Cape Comorin and Cashmere, this table-land is bisected from west to east, for 600 miles, by the narrow Nerbudda valley: the *northern* section, of an oblong shape, comprising Malwa, East Rajpootana, and Bundelcund, has for its south-eastern and north-western buttresses the Vindhya and Arravulli ranges, and a declination towards the Jumna and Dooab on the north-east, and to the Guzerat plain on the south-west: the *southern* section, constituting what is erroneously* termed the Peninsula, contains the Deccan, Mysoor, Berar, and adjoining districts; forms a right-angled triangle,† supported on the north by the Sautpoora mountains, and on either side by the Western and Eastern Ghauts and their prolongations; the declination is from the westward to the eastward, as shown by the courses of the Godavery and Kistnah.

These prominent physical characteristics may be thus recapitulated. 1st. The extensive mountain circumvallation, east to west, from the Irawaddy to the Indus. 2nd. The two great and nearly level plains of the Ganges and Indus. 3rd. The immense undulating plateau, of 1,000 miles long, in a straight line from the Jumna to the Cauvery. To these may be added a low coast-line of 4,500 miles, skirted on either side of the Bay of Bengal, and on the Malabar shore of the Indian Ocean, by receding *Ghauts* and other lofty ranges, backed by inland ridges of hills, and mountains traversing the land in diverse directions, such as the Vindhya, Sautpoora, and Arravulli. These salient features comprise many varieties of scenery; but for the most part wide-spread landscapes extend on the east,—teeming with animal and vegetable life; sandy wastes on the west, where the wild ass obtains scanty provender; on the north, an arctic region, whose snowy solitudes are relieved from perpetual stillness by volcanic fires bursting from ice-capt peaks; on the south, luxuriant valleys, verdant with perpetual summer; a rocky coast at Kattywar, swampy sunderbunds at Bengal, jungly ravines in Berar, and fertile plains in Tanjore;—*here* Nature in sternest aspect,—*there* in loveliest form,—*everywhere* some distinctive beauty or peculiar grandeur: while throughout the whole are scattered numerous cities and fortresses on river-bank or ocean-shore, adorned with Hindoo and Moslem architecture, cave temples of wondrous workmanship, idolatrous shrines, and Mohammedan mausoleums, wrought with untiring industry and singular artistic skill; cyclopean walls, tanks, and ruins of extraordinary extent, and of unknown origin and date; but whose rare beauty even the ruthless destroyer, Time, has not wholly obliterated. These and many other peculiarities contribute to render India a land of romantic interest, which it is quite beyond the assigned limits of this work to depict: all within its scope‡ being a brief exposition of the various mountain-ranges and passes, the plateaux, the river system, coast-line, islands, &c., with an enumeration of the principal cities and towns, which are more numerous and populous than those of continental Europe.§

* There is no partial insulation—no isthmus.

† The northern and western sides are about 900 miles in length; the eastern 1,100.

‡ A full description of the geography of India would require a volume to itself; but the tabular views here given, and now for the first time prepared, will, with the aid of the maps, enable the reader to trace out the topography of the country.

§ Autumnal tourists, in search of health, pleasure, or excitement, and weary of the beaten paths of the Seine and Rhine, might readily perform, in six months (September to March), the overland route to and from India,—examine the leading features of this ancient and far-famed land, judge for themselves of its gorgeous beauty, and form some idea of the manners and customs of its vast and varied population.

Mountain Chains of India, their Extent, Position, Elevation, &c.

Name.	Extent and Position of Extremities.	Elevation above the Sea.	Remarks.
HIMALAYA, *or "abode of Snow."*	This stupendous mass extends in an irregular curve over 22° of lon., from the defile above Cashmere, where the Indus penetrates into the plains of the Punjab, lon. 73° 23', to the S. bend of the Sanpoo, lon. 95° 23'. It is 1,500 m. long, with an avg. breadth of 150 m.	1. Dairmal, 19,000 ft.; 2. Bal Tal, 19,650; 3. Ser and Mer, 20,000; 4. Hanle, 20,000; 5. Gya, 24,764; 6. Porgyal, 22,600; 7. Raldang, 20,103; 8. St. Patrick, 22,798; 9. St. George, 22,654; 10. The Pyramid, 21,579; 11. Gangoutri, 22,906; 12. Jumnoutri, 21,155; 13. Kedarnath, 23,062; 14. Badrinath, 22,954; 15. Kamet, 25,550; 16. Nanda Devi, 25,749; 17. Gurla, 23,900; 18. Dhawalagiri, 27,600; 19. Gonsainthan, 24,740; 20. Junnoo, 25,311; 21. Kinchinjunga, 28,176; 22. Chomiomo, 19,000; 23. Kanchan Jhow, 22,000; 24. Chumalari, 23,929; 25. Three peaks on lower bank of Deemree, 21,000; 26. Kailas, 22,000. Average elevation, 18,000 to 20,000 ft.	Limit of perpetual snow, or congelation, on S. slope, 15,000 to 18,000 ft. Deep narrow valleys, separated by ranges running either parallel or at right angles with the main ridge, contain the numerous sources of the rivers flowing into the Ganges, the Indus, and the Brahmapootra.* The steep face is towards the plain, and to the N. the chain supports the lofty table-land of Tibet. The greater part of the giant peaks, which rise to an elevation of 25,000 or 28,000 ft., are situate not on the central axis, but to the south of it. Viewed from Patna, at a distance of about 150 miles, these mountains present a long line of snow-white pinnacles, which, on a nearer approach, are seen towering above the dark line of lower but still lofty mountains.† With the exception of a strip of land at the foot of the mountains, the whole of Bootan presents a succession of the most lofty and rugged mountains on the surface of the globe. It is a series of ridges, separated only by the narrow beds of roaring torrents.
HINDOO-KOOSH,‡ *Kouenlun, or Mooz Taugh.*	About 850 m. long. From Kara-korum, lat. 35°, lon. 77°; to Bamian,‖ lat. 34° 50', lon. 67° 48'.¶	1. Hindoo-Koosh, 35° 40', 68° 50', 21,000 ft.; §2. Summit N. of Jelalabad, 20,248; 3. Koushan Pass, 15,200; 4. Khawak Pass, 13,200; 5. Akrobat, 10,200 feet. Laram Mountains, 35° 20', 62° 54': about 60 m. from N.E. to S.W., dividing the valley of Suwat from that of Panjkora; and Laspissor Mountains, S. of, and subordinate to, Hindoo-Koosh, about 50 m. from E. to W., 36°, 70°—little known.	Limit of perpetual snow on S. slope (lat. 37°), 17,000 ft. The most remarkable feature of Hindoo-Koosh is, that to the S. it supports the plains of Kabool and Koh-Damaun, 6,000 to 7,000 ft.; while to the N. lies the low tract of Turkestan. Koondooz town, distant in a direct line 80 m. N. of Hindoo-Koosh, only 900 ft. above the sea. The Hindoo-Koosh is a distinct mountain system, its parallelism being from S.W. to N.E., while that of the Himalaya is from S.E. to N.W.**
KOH-I-BABA	About 60 m.,—along lat. 34° 30', between lon. 67° 30', and 68° 30'. At the S.W. extremity of Hindoo-Koosh, with which it is connected by the transverse ridges of Kalloo and Hajeguk.	Variously estimated. According to Burnes and Lady Sale, 18,000 ft.; Outram, 20,000 ft.; Humboldt, 2,800 toises, or 17,640 ft.; the most probable is 16,000 ft. Highest accessible point, 34° 40', 67° 30'; 13,200 ft. Hajeguk Pass, 11,700 ft.	It is a vast rounded mass, the culminating ridge ascending in lofty peaks, covered with perpetual snow, stretching as far as the eye can reach—further to the W. it sinks into the mazy mountains forming the Huzareh highlands. Supposed to be the Parapamissus of the Greeks.
SUFIED-KOH, *Snowy or White Mountains.*	Near Attock, lon. 72° 16' W. to lon. 69° 36', proceeding nearly along the parallel of lat. 33° 50'; then sinking into a maze of hills stretching to the Kohistan of Kabool.	There are three ranges, running nearly parallel to the S. of the Kabool River; they rise in height as they recede from the river, the highest between 69° 40', and 70° 30', attaining an altitude of 14,000 ft.	Covered with perpetual snow. Generally of primary formation, consisting of granite, quartz, gneiss, mica-slate, and primary limestone. The Soorkh Rood, the Kara Su, and many other shallow but impetuous streams rush down its northern face, and are discharged into the Kabool river, which conveys their water to the Indus. The two lowest ranges are covered with pine forests; the highest and most distant has a very irregular outline, is steep and rocky, yet furrowed by many beautiful vales.††
PUGHMAN, *or Pamghan Range.*	Subordinate to Hindoo-Koosh, running along its S. base, generally from N.E. to S.W.	Estimated at 13,000 ft. Oona Pass, 34° 23', 68° 15'; 11,320 ft. Erak Summit, 34° 40', 68° 48'; 12,480 ft.	Always covered with snow. Its south-eastern brow overhangs the delightful region of Koh-Damaun and Kabool; its northern face forms the southern boundary of the Ghorbund valley.

KURKUTCHA MOUNTAINS .	Separate valley of Kabool from plain of Jelalabad; and connect Hindoo-Koosh with Sufied-Koh.	From 1,000 to 2,000 ft. above Kabool, and the highest part, 34° 25′, 69° 30′; 8,000 ft. above the sea.	Four routes over this range; practicable only for a man and horse at Lattabund Pass, 4,000 British troops were destroyed in their retreat, in 1842. Cold intense in winter, the frost splitting the rocks into huge shattered fragments.
KHYBER MOUNTAINS . . .	Length, about 50 m.; breadth, about 20 m. Between 33° 30′ and 34° 20′. and 71° 10′ and 71° 30′. They connect Hindoo-Koosh with Sufied-Koh.	Tatara summit, highest point, 4,800 ft. Summit of Khyber Pass, 3,373 ft.	Appear at first irregularly grouped, but the distinct arrangement of a chain is afterwards observable. Four passes through this range. The hills generally consist of slate and primary limestone, with overlying sandstone.
GOOLKOO MOUNTAINS . . .	Lat. 33° 22′, lon. 67° 50′; 30 m. S.W. from Ghuznee.	Estimated at 13,000 ft.	
AMRAN MOUNTAINS . .	Lat. 30° 50′, lon. 66° 30′.	General elevation, about 8,000 ft. Highest part, 30° 50, 66° 30′; about 9,000 ft. Kojuck Pass, 7,457 ft.	Bounds the table-lands of Shawl and Pisheen on the W., as the Hala range does to the E.
TOBA MOUNTAINS	Length, 150 m. Between 30° 40′ & 32° 40′, and 66° 40′ and 68° 20′; extending N.E. from the N. side of Pisheen valley.	General elevation, 9,000; above Pisheen, 3,500 ft. Tukatoo Hill, 30° 20′, 66° 55; 11,500 ft.	Country, though generally rugged, fertile.
PUBB MOUNTAINS	Length, about 90 m. From C. Monze to lat. 26°.	Supposed to equal those of W. Scinde, viz., 2,000 ft. Highest part, about 25° 30′.	In 25° 3′, 66° 50′, they are crossed by the Guncloba Pass, described as stony, and of easy ascent and descent.
SCINDE RANGES, viz.— I. JUTTEEL.	60 to 70 m. S.W. from Sehwan to Dooba. Between 25° 32′, 26° 20′, and 67° 48′, 68° 8′.	Steep—in few places less than 2,000 ft.	The road from Sehwan to Kurrachee lies between them, and Keertar more to the W.
II. KEERTAR	Parallel with the Jutteel, more to the W., between 25° 50′, 26° 40′, and about 67° 40′.	Average height, probably below 2,000 ft.	Imperfectly explored.
III. LUKKEE	Length, about 50 m. From Jutteel, S.E. towards Hydrabad. Centre of range, 26°, 67° 50′.	Highest part, 1,500 to 2,000 ft. Between Lukkee and Sehwan, the mountains have a nearly perpendicular face, towards the Indus, above 600 ft. high.	They are of recent formation, containing a vast profusion of marine exuviæ. Huge fissures traverse this range, and hot springs and sulphureous exhalations are of frequent occurrence.
HALA, *Brahoock, or Bolan Range.*	Length, about 400 m. From Tukatoo to Arabian Gulf, forming the E. wall of Beloochistan table-land.	Average height, 5,000 to 6,000 ft. Kurklekee Mountains, that part which borders on the Bolan Pass, from 29° 20′ to 30° 10′, 67° to 67° 30′, where the crest of Bolan Pass intersects them, 5,793 ft.	The range is crossed by the Bolan Pass, through which the route lies from Shikarpoor to Kandahar and Ghuznee, which though very important in a military point of view, is inferior in commercial interest to the Goolairee, farther N.
SULIMAN RANGE	Length, about 350 m. From 33° 40′, they run nearly S. in the 70th merid. of lon., to the mountains about Hurrund and Kahun, in lat. 29°.	Highest elevation, Takht-i-Suliman, called also Khaissa-Ghar, lat. 31° 35′; 11,000 ft.	E. face dips rather steeply to the Indus, but the W. declivity much more gradual, to the table-land of Sewestan. Sides of mountains clothed nearly to the summits with dense forests; valleys overgrown with a variety of indigenous trees, shrubs, and flowers.
KALA, *or Salt Range* . . .	Stretch from the E. base of Suliman Mountains to Jhelum River, N.E to S.W., in lon. 32° 30′, to 33° 30′.	Highest elevation, 2,500 ft.	Vegetation scanty, and the bold and bare precipices present a forbidding aspect. About 32° 50′, 71° 40, the Indus makes its way down a narrow rocky channel, 350 yards broad; and the mountains have an abrupt descent to the river.
SEWALIK RANGE . . .	Length, 155 m., greatest breadth, 10 m. From Hurdwar to Roopur, S.E. to N.W.	From 3,000 to 3,500 ft.; highest part, 30° 17′, 77° 50′, between the Timli and Lal Derwaza Passes.	In many places each hill might be represented by a right-angled triangle, the base resting on the pass, perpendicular facing towards the plains; hypothenuse sloping towards the Dhoons, in the opposite direction.
NEPAUL MOUNTAINS, AND TABLE-LAND.	500 m., breadth from 90 to 150 m. From Kumaon to Sikhim.	Diversified by several inhabited valleys, from 3,000 to 6,000 ft. above the plains of Bengal. The hills rise towards the culminating ridge of the Himalayas. Katmandoo, 4,628 ft. above sea, in a valley surrounded by stupendous mountains.‡‡ Bynturee, 29° 35′, 79° 20′; 5,615 ft.	Hills consist of limestone, hornstone, and conglomerate. Notwithstanding its low latitude, Nepaul, from its elevation, enjoys a climate resembling that of S. Europe. Snow lies on the mountain-chain which surrounds the capital, in winter, and occasionally falls in the valley. The whole is well-watered.

Name.	Extent and Position of Extremities.	Elevation above the Sea.	Remarks.
ARRAVULLI RANGE	Length, 200 m.; average breadth, 10 to 15 m. Extend from 22° 40', to 26° 50', and from lon. 74° to 75°.	Average 3,000 ft. Highest elevation, Mt. Aboo, 5,000 ft. Crest of Koulmair Pass, 3,353 ft. Twelve m. from Beawr; country one mass of hills, intersected by small vales.	Forms the western buttress of the plateau of Central India. The mountains at Pokur are of a rose-coloured quartz, displaying bold pinnaces and abrupt rocky sides. The geological formation of Mt. Aboo is granitic.
KATTYWAR MOUNTAINS	The peninsula lies between 20° 42', 23° 10', 69° 5', 72° 14'; area 19,850 sq. m.	The Gir, a succession of ridges and hills, some 1,000 ft.; elevation diminishing towards N. Girnar, a granitic peak, 3,500 ft. Palithana Mt., 1,500 ft. Group near Poorbunder, 2,000 ft. Low ridge running from Choteyla to Gir, 400 ft. The centre of peninsula is the highest, and here all the rivers take their rise.	Caverns, deep ravines, and other fastnesses, very numerous in the Gir. The base of Girnar Mt. is clothed with jungle, diversified with black rocks, which appear through the vegetation. After this, the mount rises an immense bare and isolated granite rock, the face being quite black, with white streaks; and the N. and S. sides nearly perpendicular scarps.§§
VINDHYA CHAIN	From Guzerat on the W. to the basin of the Ganges on the E.; and comprised between the 22nd and 25th parallels of latitude.	Avg. height 1,500 to 2,000 ft. Chumpaneer, 22° 31', 73° 41'; 2,500 ft. Crest of Jam Ghaut, 2,300 ft.‖‖ Mountain in Bhopal, 2,500 ft. Mahadeo Mountains, between 21° 30' 22° 40', 78° 80': Doulagheree, said to be the highest; Ambarmarph, estimated at 2,500 ft. Chindwarra, 2,100 ft.; and Patchmaree, vaguely stated to be 5,000 ft.; but this is probably an exaggeration; Dokgur, stated to be 4,800 ft.; Putta Sunka, and Choura Doo, the highest, conjectured at 5,000 ft. Amarkantak, a jungly table-land, computed to be 3,463 ft. Leela, a summit in Lanjhee hills, 21° 55', 80° 25', 2,300 ft.; another of the same hills, in 21° 40', 80° 35', 2,400 ft.	The chain forms the southern buttress of the plateau of Malwa, Bhopal, &c. In the Sangor and Nerbudda territories, its crest is but the brow of this table-land; but in the western part, it rises a few hundred feet above the high land on its northern side. The passes that have been made over this range, are, for the most part, bad. The geological formations are the granitic and the sandstone, overlaid by trap rock.
BUNDELCUND RANGES, THREE, viz.— I. BINDYACHAL	Commence near Seundah, lat. 26° 14', lon. 78° 50'; proceeds S.W. to Narwar, 25° 39', 77° 52'; S.E. to 24° 12'; N.E. to Ajegarh, 24° 53', 80° 20'; and Kalleenjur, in the same vicinity, and E. to Barghar, 25° 10', 81° 36'.	None more than 2,000 ft. Average between the Tara and Kuttra passes, about 520 ft. The Tons falls over the brow by a cascade of 200 ft.; Bilohi, 398 ft.; and Bouti, 400 ft.	The lower parts are primary, overlaid by sandstone, in many places trap, or other formations of volcanic origin. The plateau, which surmounts the range, is from 10 to 12 m. wide.
II. PANNA	Rises S. of the Bindyachal plateau.	Average elevation between Kuttra Pass and Lohargaon, 1,050 ft. Elevation between Lohargaon and the foot of the hills near Patteriya, about 1,200 ft.	Summit an undulating platform, about ten miles wide. Where deep ravines allow examination, an enormously thick bed of sandstone is found with primary rock superincumbent, itself overlaid by volcanic rocks.
III. BANDAIR	Separated from the Panna range by the valley of Lohargaon, rising from a platform from 10 to 20 m. wide.	Average elevation, 1,700; on some of its undulations, amounting to 2,000 ft.	Generally of sandstone, intermixed with ferruginous gravel. The basin of Lohargaon is of lias limestone. The outer limit of this hilly tract is marked by abrupt isolated hills.
RAJMAHAL HILLS	Rise about 20 m. S. of the Ganges; stretch S. and S.W. to the Vindhya range and the highlands of the Deccan. They terminate at the pass of Sikrigali.	Of moderate elevation. Cluster on the W. of the Phalgu, one on the E. of that river, a third near Shukpoora; 700 ft. Hills towards the S. probably twice that elevation. Railway sweeps round the eastern extremity of the range.	In the E. the rock is of trap; in one place there is a conical hill, having at the top a cavity resembling the crater of an extinct volcano. A neighbouring hill sends forth smoke, luminous at night. In the W. and S.W. the rock is of quartz, or coarse jasper and flint, containing ore of iron and lead.
SIRGOOJAH MOUNTAINS	Length, 90 m.; breadth, 85 m. Lie between 22° 34', 23° 54', 82° 40', 84° 6'.	Rugged and mountainous, from 500 to 600 ft. above adjoining table-land of Chota Nagpore.	Drained by the rivers Kunher and Rhern, with its feeder the Mohan, flowing in a direction generally northerly. These rivers are mostly shallow, except during the rains, when they become rapid torrents.

PACHETE HILLS	Length, 105 m; breadth, 95 m. Lie between 22° 56′, 23° 54′, 85° 46′, 87° 10′.	Imperfectly known. N. part described as marked by hills from 400 to 600 ft. About 23° 35′, 85° 50′, a mountain conjectured at from 2,500 to 3,000 ft. Near the centre of dist. some hills about 900 ft.	Formation generally primitive, of either granite, gneiss, or sienite. Coal has been found near Jeria, 23° 44′, 86° 25′; and iron-ore exists at a short distance. The chain unites the N. extremities of the W. and E. Ghauts, and forms the base of the triangle on which rests the table-land of S. India. By the Moguls the country to the N. was called Hindoostan, and that to the S. the Deccan.
SATTPOORA MOUNTAINS . .	Divides the Nerbudda from the Taptee valleys, extending from 21° and 22°, and 73° 40′, to 78°, when it becomes confounded with the Vindhya.	Avg. elevation, supposed, 2,500 ft. Asseerghur hill-fort, 1,200 ft. They form the northern base of the Deccanie table-land.	S. declivity towards Taptee abrupt; N. towards Nerbudda, gentle. They rise into peaks, or swell into forms denoting a primitive origin. They are volcanic.
WESTERN GHAUTS, called by the natives *Syadree* in its N. part; and *Sukheit* in its S. part.—MALABAR COAST.	Length, about 800 m. From about 21° 15′, to 73° 45′, 74° 40′, where they terminate almost precipitously, forming the N. side of the Gap of Palgatcheri.	Avg. height, 4,000 ft. About 21°; 2,000 ft. Mahabulishwur, 18°, 73° 40′; 4,700 ft. Poorundher, 4,472 ft. Singhur, 4,162 ft. Hurreechundurghur, 3,894 ft. About 15°; 1,000 ft. Towards Coorg: Bonasson Hill, 7,000 ft. Tandianmole, 5,781 ft. Papagiri, 5,682 ft.	Seaward face though abrupt, not precipitous, but consists of a series of terraces or steps. Chasms or breaks in the range, give access to the highlands, and are denominated *ghauts* or passes, a name which has become generally applied to the range itself. The core is primary, inclosed by alternating strata of more recent origin. Scenery delightful and grand, displaying stupendous scarps, fearful chasms, numerous waterfalls, dense forests, and perennial verdure.
NEILGHERRY GROUP . . .	Length, about 50 m.; breadth, about 20 m.; area from 600 to 700 sq m Between 11° 10′ and 11° 35′, and 76° 30′ and 77° 10′.	Elevation from 5,000 to 8,000 ft. Dodabetta, 8,760 ft. Kudiakad, 8,502 ft Kundah, 8,353 ft. Duvursolabeta, 8,380 ft. Beroyabeta, 8,488 ft. Murkurti, 8,402 ft. Ootacamund, lat. 10° 50′; 7,361 ft. General surface, an undulating table-land.	The foundation rocks are primary. Principal mineral,—iron-ore. Neither calcareous nor stratified rocks, nor organic remains are found. So steep are the precipices, that in many parts, a stone dropped from the edge, will fall several thousand feet without striking anything. Neilgherries, from "neil," blue, and "gherries," hills; blue hills.
PALGHAT GHAUTS . . .	Length, about 200 m. From the Gap of Palgatcheri nearly to C. Comorin.	Elevation from 4,000 to 7,000 ft. A spacious table-land, 4,740 ft. A peaked summit, 6,000 ft. Another, 7,000 ft. Vurragherry ms., 5,000 to 6,000 ft. Near C. Comorin, in the extreme S., 2,000 ft. Several, not measured.	The W. brow is, with little exception, abrupt; on the E. side the declivity is gradual. Such a conformation would seem to indicate a volcanic disturbance along the W. precipitous face.
EASTERN GHAUTS, along COROMANDEL COAST	Length, about 1,000 m. From Balasore, S.W. to Ganjam; thence to Naggery, near Madras; where it joins the range which crosses the country in a north-easterly direction, from the W. Ghauts, N. of the Gap of Palgatcheri.	Average elevation, about 1,500 ft. Cauvery Chain, 4,000 ft. Condapilly, 1,700 ft. W. of Madras, estimated, 3,000 ft. Hills seen from the Moghalbundi, between Pt. Palmyras and Chilka Lake, appearing in irregular scattered groups, 300 to 1,200 ft.	Granite constitutes the basis of the range; and clay, hornblende, flinty and primitive slate, or crystalline limestone, forms the sides of the mountains; and the level country, as far N. as the Pennar, appears to consist of the debris, when the laterite formation covers a large surface. From the Kistnah, northward, the granite is often penetrated by trap and greenstone. To Vizagapatam and Ganjam sienite and gneiss predominate, occasionally covered by laterite.
ASSAM MOUNTAINS, VIZ.— I. NAGA HILLS	Length, about 250 m. On the S.E. border of Assam, stretches to the mountain-range forming the N.W. boundary of Burmah. Centre, about 26° 30′, lon. 95°.	In the Khaibund range, supposed 4,000 ft. Some peaks are almost inaccessible.	The country is a wild unexplored tract. The measures adopted by the British government to restrain the outrages committed by the Nagas within British territory, have led to their submission.
II. DUPHALA, AND ABOR HILLS.	Mountains N. of Assam, inhabited by Bhooteans, Duphala, and Abor tribes.	From 5,000 to 6,000 ft. above the surrounding level. . .	The face of Assam presents an immense plain, studded with clumps of hills, rising abruptly from the general level. The mountains on the N. are composed generally of primitive rocks. Those to the S., of tertiary and metamorphic.
III GARROW HILLS .	On the N.E. frontier of Bengal	A confused assemblage, from 1,000 to 6,000 ft. Estimated area, 4,347 sq. m.	
IV. COSSYAH HILLS . .	Estimated area, 7,290 sq m. Between 25° & 26°, and 91° & 92°.	Chirra Poonjee, 4,100 ft.	Character of country, wild. The rock formation is supposed to be chiefly of gneiss, or stratified granite.

Name.	Extent and Position of Extremities.	Elevation above the Sea.	Remarks.
V. JYNTEAH HILLS . .	80 m. in length from N. to S., and 40 in breadth. Extends from lat. 24° 55′, to 26° 7′, and from lon 91° 35′, to 92° 48′.	About 16 m. on the Silhet side, and about the same on that of Assam, consists of low land interspersed with small hills. In the interior, about 50 m. in extent, is an undulating hilly table-land, from 1,500 to 2,500 feet high.	Coal is said to abound in the hills of Jynteah.
YOUMADOUNG, or *Arracan Mountains.*	Length, about 600 m. From Munneepoor, lat. 22° 20′, to C. Negrais. lat. 16°.	Average height, 3,000 to 5,000 ft. Blue Mountain, 22° 37′, 93° 11′, 8,000 ft. Pyramid Hill, 3,000 ft. Crest of Aeng Pass, 4,517 ft. Pass from Podangmew to Ramree, 4,000 ft. From Blue Mountain there is a gradual slope to C. Negrais, where it is only about 300 ft.	It is a continuation of the great mountain chain commencing at the S. of Assam, in 26° 30′; and extends S., running parallel with the river Irawaddy, and forms a natural barrier between Arracan and Ava.
BURMAH MOUNTAINS . . .	Little known. . . .	From Prome to Ava, characterised by unevenness and general elevation. Northerly, it is decidedly mountainous. Mountains 4 m. N. of Ava, 4,000 ft. Zyngait Mts., forming a kind of elevated dooab between the Saluen and Sittang rivers.	Gold, silver, iron, tin, lead, antimony, and other metals, are met with. Quarries of marble are worked near Ummerapoora. Coal has been discovered on the Irawaddy.
TENASSERIM MOUNTAINS. .	Length, about 500 m., breadth nowhere exceeds 80 m. Area, 30,000 sq. m.	Siamese Mts., running N. to S. along Tenasserim provinces, 3,000 to 5,000 ft. Mountains in Ye province, three parallel ridges, from 3,000 to 4,500 ft., gradually diminishing towards the coast, about 500 ft. Buffalo Mts., about 70 m. from Moulmein, 1,543 ft.	Coal of excellent quality has been discovered. Iron, tin, and gold are frequently met with.

* The two sections of the Himalaya furnish points of resemblance, in presenting almost insurmountable obstacles to communication between the countries which they divide, thereby separating the Botis or people of Tibet from the Hindoo family of India. Major Cunningham considers the distinction of climate not less positively marked, both ranges forming the lines of demarcation between the cold and dry climate of Tibet, with its dearth of trees, and the warm and humid climate of India, with its luxuriance of vegetable productions. Some analogy, moreover, may be traced between the drainage systems of the two sections; the one separating the waters of the Sanpoo from those of the Ganges and its affluents; and the other intervening between the Indus, flowing at its northern base, and the subsequent tributaries of that river rising on its southern slope.

† Any view of the Himalaya, especially at a sufficient distance for the snowy peaks to be seen overtopping the outer ridges, is very rare, from the constant deposition of vapours over the forest-clad ranges during a greater part of the year, and the haziness of the dry atmosphere of the plains in the winter months. At the end of the rains, when the south-east monsoon has ceased to blow with constancy, views are obtained, sometimes from a distance of nearly 200 miles.

‡ It has often been observed, the Koh Kosh, or mountain of Kosh, offers a plausible etymology for the Caucasus of the classical writers. It is supposed by Ritter and Wilford to be that mentioned by Pliny, under the name of *Graucasas*, but slightly deviating from the Sanscrit *Gravakasus* (shining rock.)

§ Remarkable for its mass and elevation. Viewed from the Koushan Pass, distant ten miles south, its appearance is very sublime. The outline is serrated, it being crowned by a succession of lofty peaks, with sides often perpendicular, and it is wrapped in a perpetual covering of snow, in all parts not too steep to admit its lying.

‖ All the series appear to diverge from the apex of the plain, expanding "like the sticks of a fan."

¶ Humboldt regards it as the "most striking phenomenon amongst all the mountain-ranges of the old world." He considers that it may be traced from Taurus, in Asia Minor, across Persia, then, in the Huzareh mountains, to Hindoo-Koosh, and to the frontier of China; and that it is distinct from the Himalaya. The two ranges are physically discriminated by the depression down which the Indus flows, which, with its numerous irregularities, it is not easy to believe could have been hollowed out by the water's force even of that great river

** "The elevated expanse of Pameer," to the north of Hindoo-Koosh, observes Humboldt, "is not only a radiating point in the hydrographical system of Central Asia, but is the focus from which originate its principal mountain chains, being common to India, China, and Turkestan; and from it, as from a central point, their several streams diverge."

†† The country between Sufied-Koh and Hindoo-Koosh is hilly; breadth about twenty m. It is divided into a series of plains by cross ranges (Khyber, Kurkutcha, &c.), which pass between Sufied-Koh and the outer ranges of Hindoo-Koosh. These plains are generally barren and stony, and have a slope from E. to W. The Kabool, which flows through them, has to make its way by narrow passages.

‡‡ Valley of Catmandoo, nearly of oval shape: length, N. to S., 12 m.; E to W. about 10 m. Bounded on the N. and S. by stupendous mountains. To the E. and W. by others less lofty, the western end defined principally by a low steep ridge, called Naga-Arjoon, which passes close behind Sumbhoo-Nath, and is backed by a more considerable one named Dhoahouk. To the eastward, the most remarkable hills are those of Ranichouk and Mahabut, but they do not reach the elevation of Phalchouk (the highest on the south), or of Sheopoori, which is by far the highest mountain. The bottom of the valley is uneven, intersected by deep ravines, and dotted throughout with little hills.

§§ The number of peaks which crown this mountain is variously stated. According to Tod, there are six, the most elevated of which is that of Gorucknath, having on its summit an area of only ten feet in diameter, and surrounded by a shrine dedicated to Gorucknath; each of the other peaks has its shrine. On a small table-land on the mountain, about 600 feet below its summit is the ancient palace of Khengar, and numerous Jain temples.

‖‖ Ascent from Indore (1,998 feet), gradual; descent, to the Nerbudda, steep and abrupt

Mountain Passes on the Indian Frontiers, from the Indus to the Irawaddy—so far as known.

Name and Position.	Lat. and Lon. of Extremities; Length and Breadth.	Heights, in Feet.	Remarks.
MOOLA OR GUNDAVA—CUTCH GUNDAVA.	Lat. 28° 10', lon. 66° 12'; lat. 28° 24', lon. 67° 27'.—About 100 m. Open spaces, connected by defiles.	Bapow, 5,250 ft.; Peesee Bhent, 4,600; Nurd, 2,850; Bent-i-Jah, 1,850; Kullar, 750 ft.	Descent, 4,650 ft., average 46 ft. per m. Water abundant. Practicable for artillery.*
BOLAN—BELOOCHISTAN	Lat. 29° 30', lon. 67° 40'; lat. 29° 52', lon 67° 4'.—55 m.; ½ m. wide at entrance.	Entrance, 800 ft.; Ab-i-goom, 2,540; crest, 5,793 ft.	Average ascent, 90 ft. per m.† Ditto.
GOMUL OR GOOLAIREE—DERAJAT.	Lat. 32°, lon. 70° 30'.—About 100 m.	20 m. from entrance road N.W., then 80 m. S.W., then N.W. to Ghuznee.	Winding course.‡
KHYBER—PESHAWUR	Lat. 33° 58', lon. 71° 30'.—About 33 m.	Crest, 3,373 ft. Ali Musjid, 2,433 ft.	Rises gradually from the E., but has a steep declivity westward §
BAMIAN—AFGHANISTAN	Lat. 34° 50', lon. 67° 48'.—About 1 m. wide, bounded by nearly perpendicular steeps.	Bamian, 8,496 ft, over a succession of ridges from 8,000 to 15,000 ft.	Only known route over Hindoo-Koosh for artillery or wheeled carriages.‖
KOUSHAN—HINDOO-KOOSH	Lat. 35° 37', lon. 68° 55': over principal shoulder of Hindoo-Koosh peak.—About 40 m.; narrow.	Crest, 15,000 ft.	Road rocky and uneven; descent, 200 ft. per m. Three entrances.¶
KHAWAK—HINDOO-KOOSH	Lat. 35° 38', lon. 70°.—About 15 m.	Crest, 13,200 ft.	Ascent on N. side, an uniformly inclined plane.**
BUL TUL OR SHUR-JI-LA—CASHMERE.	Lat. 34° 10', lon. 75° 15'	Crest, 10,500 ft.	
BARAMULA—CASHMERE	Lat. 34° 10', lon 74° 30'		Only pass into Cashmere practicable for an army.
BARA LACHA—TIBET	Lat 32° 44', lon. 77° 31'.		
ROTANG—HIMALAYA	Lat. 32° 25', lon. 77° 12'.		
MANERUNG—HIMALAYA	Lat. 31° 56', lon. 78° 24'	Crest, 18,612; source of Darbung, 15,000 ft.	Very difficult.
CHARUNG—HIMALAYA	Lat. 31° 24', lon. 78° 35'	Crest, 17,348 ft.	Extremely difficult.
BURENDA—HIMALAYA	Lat. 31° 25', lon. 78° 12'.—Length of crest, 50 paces	Crest, 15,095 ft.	Most elevated part a narrow glen, very steep.††
BULCHA—KUMAON	Lat. 30° 28', lon. 80° 14'		Over a high ridge extending E. and W.
NITI—KUMAON	Lat. 30° 57', lon. 79° 51'	Crest, 16,814; village of Niti, 11,464 ft.	Open from the end of June to October.‡‡
KAMBACHEN—NEPAUL	Lat. 27° 38' lon 88°	Crest, 15,770 ft.	Broad shelf of snow, bet. rocky eminences.§§
CHOONJERMA—NEPAUL	Lat. 27° 33', lon. 88° 1'	Crest, 16,000 ft.	Temperature, 24° at 5 P. M.
WALLANCHOON—NEPAUL	Lat 27° 52', lon. 87° 14'	Crest, 16,755 ft.	Path leading up the pass for eight miles, a narrow, stony, and steep gorge. Top, a low saddle, between two ridges of rock.
TUNKRA—SIKHIM	Lat. 27° 38', lon. 88° 56'	Crest, 16,100 ft.	Ascent, on N.W. side, gradual, over a snow-bed and glacier; descent, on S.E., steep, but grassy.
DONKIA—SIKHIM	Lat. 27° 56', lon. 88° 48'	Crest, 18,600 ft.	View of Tibet from summit.
AENG—ARRACAN	Lat. 19° 49', lon. 94° 9.—34 miles	Crest, 4,517; Khen-Kyomig, 3,777; Aeng, 147 ft.	Avrg. rise, 250 ft., avrg. descent, 472 ft. per m.‖‖
MYHEE—ARRACAN	Lat. 19° 14', lon. 94° 30'		Myhee village, a police-station.

* In 1839, the Anglo-Indian detachment marched through it. It is preferable to the Bolan Pass in a military point of view.
† A continuous succession of ravines and gorges. The air in the lower part of the pass is in summer oppressively hot and unhealthy.
‡ Of great commercial importance. Every spring, large caravans traverse it from Hindoostan to Afghanistan.
§ Called the Key of Afghanistan. At Ali-Musjid, merely the bed of a rivulet, with precipices rising on each side at an angle of 70°. Near Lamdee Khana, a gallery 12 ft. wide; on one side a perpendicular wall, and on the other a deep precipice. It was twice forced by the British.
‖ The great commercial route from Kabool to Turkestan; the several passes to the eastward are less frequented on account of their difficulty and their elevation.
¶ Most frequented east of Bamian; impassable for wheeled carriages.
** Scarcely frequented, yet may be considered the most practicable. Tamerlane crossed it on his march into Hindoostan.
†† Passes over the Outer Himalaya range:—Sugla, 31° 13' lat., 78° 29' lon.—elevation, 16,000 ft.; Kimlia, 31° 15', 78° 25', 17,000; Siaga, 31° 16', 78° 20', 16,000; Marga, 31° 16', 78° 21', 16,000; Lumbia, 31° 16', 78° 20', 16,000; Barga, 31° 16', 78° 19', 15,000; Nulgun, 31° 19', 78° 13', 14,891; Rupin, 31° 2', 78° 10', 15,480; Ghusul, 31° 21', 78° 8', 15,851; Nibrung, 31° 22', 78° 10', 16,035; Gunas, 31° 21', 78° 8', 16,026; Yusu, 31° 24', 78° 4', 15,877; Sundru, 31° 24', 78° 2', 16,000; Shatul, 31° 25' lat., 77° 58' lon., 15,555 ft. In Koonawur there are fifteen passes, at elevations varying from 15,000 to 17,000 ft.
‡‡ Considered the best pass between Kumaon and Tibet, and is one of the principal channels of trade between Chinese Tartary and Hindoostan.
§§ Ascended by Dr. Hooker, December, 1848. The distance to which the voice was carried was very remarkable: he could hear distinctly every word spoken at from 300 to 400 yards off.
‖‖ Considerable trade carried on over this pass between Ava and Arracan.

Rivers of British India—their Source, Course, Discharge, and Length; Tributaries or Confluents; and estimated area, in sq. m., drained; Forty-nine Main Streams, having their outlet in the Sea; and large Tributaries, having their outlet in other Rivers.

Name.	Source, Course, Discharge, and Length.	Tributaries, and their Length in British Miles; and Area drained	Remarks.
1 GANGES.—BHAGEERUTTEE at its source, and PODDA near the sea.	Gangoutri, Himalaya, 1,400 ft. above the level of the sea. N.W. to Johnioi; W. and S.W., 13 m.; S.W., 36 m.; S., 15 m.; S.E., 39 m.; S., 8 m.; W., 24 m.; S.W., 15 m.; S., 130 m.; S.E. to Allahabad, E., 270 m.; E. to Sikrigalee; S E. remainder of course into Bay of Bengal, by numerous mouths. The Ganges gives off some of its waters to form the Hooghly, and also anastomoses with the Megna.—Length, 1,514 m.	Jumna, 860; Ghogra, 606; Gunduck, 450; Goomtee, 482; Sone, 465; Coosy, 325; Ramgunga, 373; Mahananda, 240; Karumnassa, 140; Koniae or Jamuna, 130; Aluknunda, 80; Bhillung, 50 m.—398,000 sq. m. drained, exclusive of Hooghly.	Navigable for river craft as far as Hurdwar, 1,100 m.; steamers ply as far as Gurmukteesur, 393 miles above Allahabad, distant from Calcutta *via* Delhi, 930 miles; at Cawnpoor, 140 m. above Allahabad, the navigation is plied with great activity. The breadth of the Ganges at Benares varies from 1,500 to 3,000 ft. Mean discharge of water there, throughout the year, 250,000 cub ft. per second.
2. HOOGHLY . . .	Formed by junction of Bhageeruttee and Tellinghee, two branches of Ganges. S to Calcutta; S.W. to Diamond Harbour; E. and S.W. into the sea at Saugor roadstead, by an estuary 15 m. wide.—Length, 160 m., by winding of stream.	Dammoodah, 350; Dalkissore, 170; Coossy, 240; Mor, 130.—About 49,000 sq. m. drained.	Formerly navigable for a line-of-battle ship to Chandernagore; now, vessels drawing more than 17 ft., not safe in passing from Calcutta to the sea, by reason of shoals.
3. INDUS, or NILAB ("*blue-river*.")	Tibet, behind Kailas range, to the N. of Kailas peak, 22,000 ft. above the sea N.W. to Dras R.; more northerly to Shy-yok; W.N.W., 115 m to Makpon-i-Shagaron; S.S.W. and S. to Attock; a little W. of S. to confluence with Punjnud; S.W. to Khyrpoor; S. to Sehwan; S.E. to Hydrabad; W. of S. to Arabian Sea, Indian Ocean.—Length, 1,800 m.	Eekung-Choo, 110; Hanle, 70; Zanskar, 150; Dras, 75; Shy-yok, 300; Shy-ghur, 70; Ghilgit; Cabool, 320; Sutlej, 850; Chenab, 765; Jhelum, 490; Ravee, 450; Punjnud, 60 m.—About 390,000 sq. m. drained.	Navigable to Attock, 942 m. from sea, there from 500 to 800 ft. wide; depth. 60 ft. Breadth and depth varies much after junction with Punjnud; breadth, 1 to 30 m.; depth, 12 to 186 ft.
4. BRAHMAPOOTRA—MEGNA, near the sea.	N.E extremity of Himalaya range; lat. 28° 30', lon. 97° 20'. S.W., 63 m.; W.—S.W.—S E.—S W., and E. to Bay of Bengal, through three mouths, Hattia, Ganges, and Shebazpoor.—Length, 933 m.	Sanpoo, 1,000; Dibong, 140; Noh-Dihong, 100; Boree Dehing, 150; Soobu-Sheeree, 180; Monas, 189; Bagnee, 150; Guddala, 160; Durlah, 148; Teesta, 313; Barak, 200; Goomtee, 140 m. In lat. 25° 10', lon. 89° 43', it gives off the Koniae. — 305,000 sq. m. drained.	The branches of the Brahmapootra, together with those of the Ganges, intersect the territory of Bengal in such a variety of directions, as to form a complete system of inland navigation.
5. IRAWADDY	E. extremity of Himalaya, lat. 28° 5', lon. 97° 58'. Nearly N. to S. through Burmah, and the recently acquired British territory of Pegu; into the Bay of Bengal, by numerous mouths.—Length, 1,060 m.	Khyendwen, 470; Shwely, 180; Moo, 125 m.—164,000 sq. m. drained.	The Bassein branch affords a passage for the largest ships for 60 miles from its mouth. No river of similar magnitude, it is stated, presents so few obstructions.
6. GODAVERY	E. declivity of W. Ghauts, near Nassik, 3,000 ft. above the sea. S.E., 200 m.; E., 100 m.; S.E., 85 m.; E., 170 m.; S.E., 200 m.; into Bay of Bengal, by three mouths.—Length, 898 m.	Wein-Gunga, 439; Manjera, 330; Poorna, 160; Paira, 105; Inderaotee, 140 m.—130,000 sq. m. drained.	In 1846, the sanction of the Court of Directors of E. I. C. was given to the construction, at an expense of £47,500, of a dam of sufficient height to command the delta, and to supply the rich alluvial soil of which that tract is composed, with the means of constant irrigation. The experiment of navigating the Godavery by steam, has been entertained by the Madras government, and means for carrying it into effect are under consideration.

N.B.—Where no tributaries or area drained are mentioned, it is because, as regards the former, there are none of note; and the other is small, and imperfectly defined.

River	Source, course, and length	Tributaries and area drained	Remarks
7. KISTNAH, OR KRISHNA	Mahabulishwar table-land, Deccan, lat 18° 1', lon 73° 41'; 4,500 ft. above the sea. S.E., 145 m.; N E, 60 m.; S.E., 105 m.; N.E., 180 m.; S.E. to Chentapilly; S E. 70 m. further; then, parting into two arms, one flowing S.E. 30 m., the other S. 25 m., into Bay of Bengal. —Length, 800 m.	Beemah, 510; Toongabudra, 325; Gutpurba, 160; Mulpurba, 160; Warna, 80; Dindee, 110; Peedda Wag, 70 m.—110,000 sq. m. drained.	The Kistnah, in consequence of the rapid declivity of its waterway and rockiness of its channel, cannot be navigated by small craft, even for short distances An extensive system of irrigation, in connection with this river, is now in progress, and has been estimated to cost £150,000.
Western side of India.			
8. NERBUDDA	Amarkantak, a jungly table-land, lat. 22° 39', lon. 81° 49'; from 3,500 to 5,000 ft. above the sea. Nearly due W., with occasional windings, to Gulf of Cambay, by a wide estuary.—Length, 801 m.	Herrun; Samarsee, 60; Suktha, 70 m.—About 60,000 sq. m. drained.	The river, notwithstanding the great width of its bed in some parts of its upper course, appears to be scarcely anywhere continuously navigable for any considerable distance, in consequence of the innumerable basaltic rocks scattered over its channel.
9. LOONEE	Arravulli Mts., near Pokur, lat. 26° 37', lon. 74° 46'. S.W., nearly parallel with Arravulli range, into Runn of Cutch, by two mouths, principal in lat. 24° 42', lon. 71° 11'.—Length, 320 m.	Rairee, 88; Sokree, 130 m.—About 19,000 sq. m. drained.	Bed full of micaceous quartoze rock; banks low, and little above the surrounding level.
10 BUNNAS	In a cluster of summits in the Arravulli range, lat. 24° 47', lon. 73° 28'. S.W, into Runn of Cutch, by several small channels —Length, 180 m.	About 17,000 sq. m drained.	
11. BHADER	Kattywar, lat. 22° 10', lon. 71° 18'. S.W, into Indian Ocean, near Poorbunder, lat. 21° 38', lon. 69° 46'.—Length, 135 m.	Area of peninsula, 18,950 m. (11–16)	The surface of Kattywar peninsula is generally undulating, with low ridges of hills, running in irregular directions The land in the middle most part is the highest, and here all the rivers take their rise, disembouging themselves respectively into the Runn and Gulf of Cutch, and Gulf of Cambay. (11–16)
12. OOJAL	Kattywar, lat. 21° 31', lon. 70° 50'. Circuitous, but generally W., into backwater, behind Poorbunder.—Length, 75 m		
13. AJEE	Kattywar, lat 22° 10', lon. 76° 31'. N.W., into Gulf of Cutch.—Length, 60 m.		
14. SETROONJEE	Kattywar, lat. 21° 15', lon. 70° 25'. E., into Gulf of Cambay.—Length, 60 m.		
15. GEYLA	Kattywar, lat. 22°, lon. 71° 20'. E., into Gulf of Cambay.—Length, 60 m.		
16. GOOMA	Kattywar, lat. 22° 18', lon. 71° 30'. E., into Gulf of Cambay.—Length, 88 m.		
17. TAPTEE	Sautpoora Mts., near Mooltae, lat. 21° 46', lon. 78° 21'. Generally W., to Gulf of Cambay.—Length, 441 m.	Poorna, 160; Girna, 160; Boree, 90; Panjar, 92 m.—About 25,000 sq. m. drained.	It can scarcely be deemed a navigable stream, as at Surat, 17 m from its mouth, it is fordable when the tide is out. It is said to be navigable in the dry season for boats of light draught, through Candeish. The mouth is obstructed by numerous sands and a bar.
18 MYHE, or MAHE	Vindhya Mts., lat. 22° 32', lon. 75° 5'; 1,850 ft. above the sea. N.W., 145 m.; W. 25 m.; S.W., 180 m., into Gulf of Cambay.—Length, 350 m.	Amass, 90; Manchrn, 55 m.	Navigable for 15 m. from its mouth. At 50 m. up, 100 yds. wide; bed, 400 yds.; depth, 1 ft.
19. WASHISHTEE	W. Ghauts, lat. 17° 50', lon. 73° 36'. S.—W.—S.E.—W., into Indian Ocean.—Length 55 m.	No tributaries of note; area drained small, and imperfectly defined. (19–24)	Though rugged, the Concans have many fertile valleys, each of which, for the most part, affords a passage for a small river or torrent, holding a westerly course from the Ghauts to Indian Ocean. The most fertile spots are on the banks of streams. The rivers abound with fish, but are also frequented by alligators. The Savitree is navigable as far as Mhar, 30 m. from its mouth. (19–24)
20. SAVITREE	W. Ghauts, lat. 18° 17', lon. 73° 27'. S.E.—W., into Indian Ocean.—Length, 70 m.		
21. TAUNSA	W. Ghauts, lat. 19° 41', lon. 73° 29'. S.W.—W.—W.S.W.—W., into Indian Ocean.—Length, 58 m.		
22. SOORLA	W. Ghauts, lat. 19° 54', lon. 73° 24'. W.—S., into Indian Ocean.—Length, 68 m.		
23. DAMGUNGA	W. Ghauts, lat. 20° 11', lon 73° 42'. W.—N.—W.N.W., into Indian Ocean.—Length, 58 m.		
24. PAR	W. Ghauts, lat 20° 30', lon. 73° 45'. W., into Indian Ocean.—Length, 50 m.		

Name.		Source, Course, Discharge, and Length.	Tributaries, and their Length in British Miles; and Area drained.	Remarks.
25. Eeb	Western India.	W. Ghauts, lat 20° 50′, lon. 73° 42′. W., into Indian Ocean.—Length, 70 m.	No tributaries of any extent; and area drained imperfectly.	Nothing worthy note.
26. Poorna	Western India.	W. Ghauts, lat. 20° 59′, lon. 73° 44′. W., into the Indian Ocean —Length, 60 m.		
27. Gungavully	Western India.	Plain of Dharwar, lat. 15° 45′, lon. 75° 10′. S.—S.W., into Indian Ocean.—Length, 100 m.		
28. Cauly Nuddee	Western India.	Plain of Dharwar, lat. 15° 33′, lon. 74° 47′. S., 61 m.; W., 30 m., into Indian Ocean.—Length, 91 m.	. . . .	Navigated by the largest patimars for 20 m. From Mullapoor to Shedashegur, rendered easy by uniformity of channel.
29. Ponany	Western India.	Coimbatoor, lat. 10° 19′, lon. 77° 6′. N.W.—W., into Indian Ocean.—Length, 128 m.	.	Navigable for canoes as far as Palghat, 63 m. from the sea.
30. Vygah	Eastern side of India.	Madura, lat. 10° 17′, lon. 77° 37′. S.E., into Bay of Bengal.—Length, 130 m.	.	The large anicuts upon it are Conoor, diverting a stream of same name, Parea Anai, &Chittanaik.
31. Vellaur	Eastern side of India.	Base of E. Ghauts, lat. 10° 28′, lon. 78° 21′. E., into Gulf of Manaar.—Length, 80 m.		
32. Goondah	Eastern side of India.	Vellanuddhee hills, Madura. S.E., into Gulf of Manaar.—Length, 95 m.		
33. Cauvery	Eastern side of India.	Coorg, lat 12° 25′, lon. 75° 34′. E., 33 m.; N.E., 28 m; S.E., 95 m.; N.E.—E.—S.E., 47 m.; S., 47 m.; S.E.—E —N.E., into Bay of Bengal. Length, 472 m.	Magunmurchy, 40; Bhovani, 120; Noyel, 95 m.; Hennavutty; Leechman-Teert; Cubbany; Shimska; Arkavati; Ambrawutty.—About 36,000 sq. m. drained.	Navigable for craft through the low country during the inundation. Gungan Zooka fall, 370 ft. Burr Zooka, 460 ft.
34. Vellaur	Eastern side of India.	Base of E. Ghauts. E., into Bay of Bengal, near Porto Novo.		The river is small at its mouth, and admits only coasting craft.
35. Palar	Eastern side of India.	Mysoor table-land, lat. 13° 20′, lon. 78° 2′. S.E., 55 m.; E., 87 m.; S.E., 48 m., into Bay of Bengal.—Length, about 220 m.	Pony, 40; Sheyaroo, 90 m.	The entrance of the Palar, near Sadras, is contracted by a bar or narrow ridge of sand, inside of which the river becomes of considerable width.
36. Soornamooky	Eastern side of India.	Mysoor table-land, lat. 13° 26′, lon. 79° 11′. N.E., to Bay of Bengal.—Length, 99 m.		
37. Pennar.—(N.)	Eastern side of India.	Nundidroog table-land, lat. 13° 23′, lon. 77° 43′. N.W., 30 m.; N., 95 m.; E., 230 m., into Bay of Bengal.—Length, 355 m.	Chittravutti, 107; Paupugnee, 130; Chittair, 75 m.	
38. Pennar.—(S.)	Eastern side of India.	N. of Nundidroog table-land, lat. 13° 32′, lon. 77° 45′. S. to Mootanhalli, 55 m; S.E., 190 m., into Bay of Bengal, a mile N. of Ft. St. David.—Length, 245 m.	.	Gold is found in its sands, in its passage through the Carnatic.
39. Gundlacama	Eastern side of India.	Lat. 15° 40′, lon. 78° 49′. Very circuitous; E —N.E.—S.S.E.—S.E., into Bay of Nizampatnam.—Length, 155 m.		
40. Bondsdora	Eastern side of India.	Table-land of Orissa, lat. 19° 39′, lon. 83° 27′. S., into Bay of Bengal.—Length, 130 m.		
41. Lalglah	Eastern side of India.	Table-land of Orissa, near source of Bondsdora. S., into Bay of Bengal.—Length, 133 m		
42. Mahanuddy	Eastern side of India.	Native state of Nowagudda, lat. 20° 20′, lon. 82°. W., 30 m.; N.E., 110 m.; S.E., 300 m., to Bay of Bengal by numerous mouths.—Length, 520 m.	Hutsoo, 130; Aurag, 117; Tell, 130; Bang Nuddee, 60 m.—About 46,000 sq. m. drained.	From July to February, navigable for boats for 460 m.
43. Brahminy	Eastern side of India.	Palamow table-land, lat. 23° 25′, lon. 84° 13′. S.—E.—S.E., into Bay of Bengal, near Pt. Palmyras.—Length, 410 m.		
44. Byturnee	Eastern side of India.	Near Lohardugga, lat. 23° 29′, lon. 84° 55′. N.—E—S.—S.W.—S.E.—E., into Bay of Bengal, by Dhumrah river.—Length, 345 m.	Sunk, 95 m.—About 26,000 sq. m. are drained by Brahminy and Byturnee.	Sacred in the Hindoo mythology, more especially at its source.

River	Source, Course, Length	Tributaries, Drainage	Navigation
45. SOOBUNREEKA (En. India)	Chota Nagpoor table-land. N.E.—E.—S.E.—S.—S.E.—E.—S.E.—S., into Bay of Bengal.—Length, 280 m.	Karow, 80 m.—About 12,000 sq. m. drained.	
46. ARRACAN, or COLADYNE. (East side Bengal Bay.)	Near Blue Mountain, Youmadoung range, lat. 22° 27′, lon. 92° 51′. S., into Combermere Bay.—Length, 160 m	Myoo; Lemyo.	Navigable within a few miles of Arracan town, for ships of 250 tons burden. 90 m. above Akyab, the stream is narrow, and navigable only for canoes. 10 m. broad at its mouth.
47. SITTANG . . . . . (East side Bengal Bay.)	Burmah, lat. 21° 40′, lon. 96° 50′. S., into Gulf of Martaban.—Length, 420 m.	Yennan, 115; Saar, 120 m.	It is a navigable river. For about 190 m. forms the boundary between the Tenasserim provinces and Pegu.
48. SALUEN, or SALWEEN (East side Bengal Bay.)	N. of Yunnan province, China; about lat. 27° 10′, lon. 98° 57′. S., into Gulf of Martaban, by two mouths, formed by Pelewgewen Island.—Length, 430 m.	Attaran or Weingo, 110; Thoung-yin Myit, 225; Meloun, 90 m.	It enters the British dominions about lat. 18° 40′.
49. TENASSERIM . . . (East side Bengal Bay.)	Supposed to lie in the mountains to the N.E. of Tavoy, between the 14th and 15th parallel of latitude. S to Metamio, lat. 14° 13′; S.E. and S. to Tenasserim town; N.W. into Bay of Bengal, by two mouths.—Length, 270 m.	Baing-Khiaung; Little Tenasserim; Kamaun Khiaung.	Upper part of course through a wild and uncultivated tract, sometimes between high and perpendicular banks. It afterwards opens on extensive plains. On many parts of its banks exist forests of fine teak, and the valuable sappan wood.
JUMNA, tributary to GANGES	Jumnoutri, Himalaya, lat. 31°, lon. 78° 32′; 10,849 ft. above the sea. S.W.—S.E., to Ganges, at Allahabad.—Length, 860 m.	Tonse or Supin, about 100; Hindan, about 160; Hansoutee, 99; Banganga, 220; Chumbul, 570; Sinde, 260; Betwa, 360; Cane, 230; Baghin Nuddee, 90; Seyngur, 210; Urrund Nuddee, 245 m.—About 105,000 sq. m. drained	In consequence of its bed being obstructed by shoals and rocks, navigation is not practicable for craft above Delhi, except by means of the canal. Its banks are lofty and precipitous, and ridges of rock in many places advance into the stream, combining with its general shallowness and strong current to render navigation extremely difficult and dangerous.
GHOGRA, tributary to GANGES	N. of Kumaon, lat. 30° 28′, lon. 80° 40′, probably between 17,000 and 18,000 ft. S.E., 33 m.; S.W., 70 m.; S.E., 12 m.; S., 30 m.; S., 23 m. further; S.E., to Ganges, near Chupra.—Length, 606 m.	Raptee, 134; Kurnalli, 225; Bhyrvee, 70; Dhauli, 45; Goringunga, 60 m.—About 49,000 sq. m. drained.	Butter describes it as navigable for the largest class of boats in all seasons.
GOOMTEE, tributary to GANGES	In a small lake or morass, 19 m. E. of the town of Pilebheet. Lat. 28° 35′, lon. 80° 10′; 520 ft. above the sea. S.—S.E., into Ganges, 30 m. below Benares.—Length, 482 m.	. . .	In the rainy season, boats of 1,000 or 1,200 maunds (40 tons) burthen, are sometimes seen proceeding to Lucknow.
SONE, tributary to GANGES .	Amarkantak table-land, lat. 22° 41′, lon. 82° 7′; from 3,500 to 5,000 ft. above the sea. N., 30 m.; N.W., 80 m.; N., 40 m.; N.E., 125 m.; E., 47 m.; N.E., into the Ganges, 10 m. above Dinapoor.—Length, 465 m.	Koel, 140; Kunher, 130; Johila, 100 m.—Including the Phalgu and other rivers falling into the Ganges above Rajmahal, about 42,000 sq. m. drained.	The navigation of the river is not considered available for purposes of important utility higher than Daudnagur, 60 m. from the confluence with the Ganges.
GUNDUCK, tributary to GANGES	Near Dhawalagiri peak, Himalaya. S.—S.E.—S.W.—S.E., into Ganges, near Patna.—Length, 407 m.	Trisula-gunga, 100; Marachangdi, 100; Naling, 110 m.—About 40,000 sq. m. drained.	Though navigable continuously through its whole course downwards from Bhelaunji, there are in the part of its channel nearer that place many rapids and passes, where, the course being obstructed by rocks, navigation becomes difficult and dangerous.
CHUMBUL, tributary to JUMNA	Malwa, lat. 22° 26′, lon. 75° 45′, 8 or 9 m. S.W. from Mhow, which is 2,019 ft. above the sea. It rises in the cluster called Janapava. N., 105 m.; N.W., 6 m.; S.E., 10 m.; N.E., 23 m.; N.W., 25 m.; N. to junction with Kalee Sind; N.E., 145 m.; S.E., 78 m., to Jumna.—Length, 570 m., described in a form nearly semicircular, the diameter being only 330 m.	Chumbela, 70; Seepra, 120; Parbutty, 220; Kallee Sind, 225; Banas, 320; Chota Kallee Sind, 104 m.—About 56,000 sq. m. drained.	It does not appear to be used for navigation, which is probably incompatible with the average declivity of its bed (2 ft. 5 in. per m.), and still more so with the general rugged and rocky character of its channel. Its average volume of water is so considerable, that on its junction it has been known to raise the united stream 7 or 8 ft. in 12 hours.

Name.	Source, Course, Discharge, and Length	Tributaries, and their Length in British Miles; and Area drained.	Remarks.
RAMGUNGA, tributary to GANGES.	Kumaon, lat. 30° 6′, lon. 79° 20′; about 7,144 ft. above the sea. S.E., 20 m.; S.W., 70 m; S. to Moradabad—S.E.—S., into Ganges.—Length, 373 m.	Kosee, 150; Gurra, 240 m.	Fordable at Moradabad, at 15 m. below confluence with Kosee; but not usually fordable below Jellalabad.
COOSY, tributary to GANGES.	Himalaya Mountains, lat. 28° 25′, lon 86° 11′. S.W.—S.E.—S.—E.—S.E.—S., into Ganges.—Length, 325 m.	Arun, 310; Tambur, 95; Gogaree, 235; Dud Coosy, 50; Tiljuga, 40 m.—46,000 sq. m. dr.	Where narrowest, and when lowest, stream 1,200 ft. wide and 15 ft. deep. It is larger than the Jumna or the Ghogra.
MAHANANDA, tributary to GANGES.	Near Darjeeling, in the Sikhim hills, lat. 26° 57′, lon. 88° 20′. S., 40 m.; S.W., 60 m; S.E., 50 m.; S., 20 m.; S.E., 40 m.; S., 30 m.—Length, 240 m.	. . . . .	Navigable during the dry season for craft of 8 tons as far as Kishengunge; for those of much larger burthen during the rains.
KARUMNASSA, tributary to GANGES.	In the Kymore range, lat. 24° 38′, lon. 83° 11′. N.—N.W., into the Ganges, near Ghazeepoor.—Length, 140 m.		
TONS, tributary to GANGES.	Lat. 24°, lon. 80° 30′. N.W.—E.N.E.—N., into the Ganges, a few miles below Allahabad.—Length, 165 m.	Satni, Beher, Mahana, Belun, and Seoti.—Including small streams, 13,000 sq. m. drained.	
ALUKNUNDA, tributary to GANGES.	Lat. 30° 33′, lon. 79° 38′. N.W.—S.W.—W.—S.W., into the Bhageerutte, at Deorayag.—Length, 80 m.	Doulee, 35; Vishnuganga, 25; Mundakni, 32; Pindur, 60 m.	At confluence with Bhageeruttee, 142 ft. broad; rises 46 ft. during the melting of the snow.
BHILLUNG, tributary to GANGES.	Lat. 30° 46′, lon. 78° 55′. S.W., into the Bhageeruttee.—Length, 50 m.		Between 60 and 70 ft. wide in the beginning of May, 5 m. from its mouth.
DAMMOODAH, tributary to HOOGHLY.	Ramghur district, lat. 23° 55′, lon. 84° 53′. E. and S.E., to Burdwan; S., to Diamond Harbour.—Length, 350 m.	Barrachur, 155 m.	Crossed by a ferry, 50 m. above its mouth. At Raneegunj, 135 m. from mouth, 500 yds. wide, fordable, with a rapid current about 1 ft. deep in December.
COOSSY, tributary to HOOGHLY	Ramghur district, lat. 23° 35′, lon. 85° 58′. Circuitous, but generally S.E., into Hooghly.—Length, 240 m.	Comaree.	It is crossed at Ameenugur, 80 m. from source, & at Koilaghat, 40 m. from mouth, by fords during the dry season, and ferries during the rains.
DALKISSORE, tributary to HOOGHLY.	Pachete district, lat. 23° 30′, lon. 86° 34′. S.E.—S.—S.E., into Hooghly at Diamond Harbour.—Length, 170 m.		Crossed at Bancoora, 50 m. from source, and at Jahanabad, by means of fords.
SHY-YOK, tributary to INDUS	Near Kara-korum Pass. S.E.—N.W., into Indus, near Iskardo.—Length, 300 m.	Chang-Chenmo, 58; Nubra, 66 m.	
CABOOL, tributary to INDUS.	Lat. 34° 15′, lon. 68° 10′, near Sir-i-Chusma, in Afghanistan; elevation, 8,400 ft. Generally E., through the valley of Cabool, and plains of Jellalabad and Peshawur, into the Indus.—Length, about 320 m.	Punchshir, 120; Tagao, 80; Alishang, 120, Soorkh-Rood, 70; Kooner, 230; Suwat, 150 m.—About 42,000 sq. m. drained.	Not navigable along the N. base of Khyber Mts. except on rafts and hides. Navigable for boats of 40 or 50 tons to Dobundee.
ZANSKAR, tributary to INDUS	N. declivity of Bara-Lacha Pass, lat. 32° 47′, lon. 77° 33′. N.W.—W.—N.W.—N.E.—N.W.—N.E., into the Indus, a few miles below Le.—Length, 150 m.	Trarap, 42; Zingchan-Tokpo, 22 m.	
SUTLEJ, tributary to INDUS.	Remote sources, Lakes Manasarowar and Rahwan Hrad, lat. 30° 8′, lon. 81° 53′; 15,200 ft. above the sea. N.W., 180 m.; S.W., through Bussahir; W. to junction with Beas; S.W. to Punjnud.—Length, 550 m., to junction with Beas; 300 m. farther to Punjnud: total, 850 m.	Spiti, 120; Buspa, 52; Beas, 290 m.—About 29,000 sq. m., or, including Ghara and Beas, about 65,000 sq. m. drained.	At Roopur, 30 ft. deep, and more than 500 yds. wide. Navigable as far as Filoor in all seasons, for vessels of 10 or 12 tons burthen.
BEAS, tributary to SUTLEJ.	On S. verge of Rotang Pass, lat. 32° 24′, lon. 77° 11′; 13,200 ft. above the sea. S., 80 m.; W., 50 m.; then a wide sweep to N.W. for 80 m.; S., 80 m., to Sutlej, at Endreesa.—Length, 290 m.	Parbati; Sainj, 38; Gomati, 55 m.; Ul; Gaj.—About 10,000 sq. m. drained.	
CHENAB, tributary to INDUS	Near Bara-Lacha Pass, lat. 32° 48′, lon. 77° 27′. N.W. to Murumurdwun; S.W. to confluence with Jhelum, thence S.W. to Ghara, or continuation of Sutlej.—Length, 605 m. to Jhelum, 765 m. to Ghara	Suruj-Bhagur, 44; Murumurdwun, 86; Dharh, 56 m.—About 21,000; including Jhelum, 50,000; and with Ravee, 72,000 sq. m. drained.	Becomes navigable for timber-rafts at Aknur. Descends at the average rate of 40 ft. per m. for the first 200 m. Estimated elevation at Kishtewar, 5,000 ft.

Jhelum, tributary to **Chenab**.	The Lidur, in N.E. mountains of Cashmere, near Shesha Nag Through valley of Cashmere, and into Punjab by Baramula gorge; S. to Chenab confluence, in lat. 30° 10′, lon. 79° 9′.—Length, 409 m.	Lidur, 50; Vishnau, 44; Sindh, 72; Lolab, 44; Kishengunga, 140; Kunihar, 100; Pirpanjal, 115 m.—About 280,000 sq. m. drained.	Navigable for 70 m. through Cashmere. Navigable from the Indus to the town of Ohind.
Ravee, tributary to **Chenaub**	Lat. 32° 26′, lon. 77°, in the Pirpanjal or Mid-Himalaya range, to the W. of Rotang Pass. S W, about 40 m.; W. to Lahore; S.W. to junction with Chenab.—Length, 450 m.	Nye, 20; Sana, 36; Chakki, 50 m.—About 22,000 sq. m. drained.	Tortuous course: fordable in most places for eight months of the year.
Sanpoo, tributary to **Brahmapootra**.	N. face of Himalayas, lat. 30° 25′, lon. 82° 5′. E., winding its way through Tibet, and washing the borders of the territory of Lassa. It then turns suddenly S., and falls into the Brahmapootra, under the name of Dihong.—Length, about 1,000 m.	Sanki-Sanpoo, Niamtsion, Zzangtsiou, Lalee Nuddee.	
Teesta, tributary to **Brahmapootra**.	About lat. 27° 59′, lon 88° 50′. S.—S.E., into Brahmapootra.—Length, 333 m.	Lachoong, 23; Rungbo, 22; Rungeet, 23 m.	Navigable for craft of 6 or 7 tons as far up as Puharpoor, 15 m. beyond the divergence of the Attree.
Barak, tributary to **Brahmapootra**.	It is an offset from the Jeree, which leaves in lat. 24° 43′, lon. 93° 13′. W. through Cachar and Silhet; S.W., into Megna.—Length, 200 m.		Banks low and marshy along the valley of Cachar.
Monas, tributary to **Brahmapootra**.	Himalaya range, lat. 28° 20′, lon. 91° 18′. S., 40 m.; S.W., 110 m.; S.W., into Brahmapootra.—Length, 189 m.	Deemree, of greater length than itself.	
Khyendwen, tributary to **Irawaddy**.	Burmah, lat. 26° 28′, lon. 96° 54′. Generally S., into Irawaddy, near the town of Amyenmyo.—Length, 470 m.	Myitia Khyoung, 170 m.	
Wein-Gunga, or **Prenheta**, tributary to **Godavery**.	Mahadeo Mountains, lat 22° 25′, lon. 79° 8′. E., 80 m.; S, 34 m.; S., 25 m.; S.W., 80 m; S., 100 m.; into Godavery.—Length, 439 m.	Pench Nuddee, 150; Kanhan Nuddee, 130 m. —About 21,000 sq. m. drained, exclusive of Payne-Gunga and Wurda.	Elevation at Bundara, lat. 21° 12′; 872 ft. above the sea.
Wurda, tributary to **Wein-Gunga**.	Sautpoora Mountains, lat. 21° 44′, lon. 78° 25′. Generally N.W. to S.E.—Length, about 250 m.	Payne-Gunga, 320 m.—About 8,000 sq. m. drained.	Fordable, except at the height of the rains; then navigable for 100 m. above its mouth.
Payne-Gunga, tributary to **Wein-Gunga**.	Lat 20° 32′, lon 76° 4′, in Candeish. Very circuitous, but generally E., into Wurda.—Length, 320 m.	Araun, 105; Koony, 65 m.—About 8,000 sq. m. drained.	
Manjera, tributary to **Godavery**	Lat. 18° 44′, lon. 75° 30′. S.E.—S.W, into Godavery. —Length, 330 m.	Thairnya, 95; Narinja, 75; Munnada, 100 m. —About 11,000 sq. m. drained.	
Beemah, tributary to **Kistnah**.	Lat. 19° 5′, lon 73° 33′, in the table-land of the district of Poona; 3,090 ft. above the sea. S.E., into Kistnah. —Length, 510 m.	Goor, 100; Neera, 120; Seena, 170; Tandoor, 85 m.—About 29,000 sq. m. drained.	
Toongabudra, tributary to **Kistnah**	Lat. 14°, lon. 75° 43′, junction of Toonga and Budra rivers. N.—N.E., into Kistnah.—Length, 325 m.	Chinna Hugry; Hundry, 225 m.; Wurda. —About 28,000 sq. m. drained	Rocky obstacles to navigation in upper part of course. Fine teak forests on banks.
Poornah, tributary to **Taptee**.	Lat. 21° 35′, lon. 77° 41′. S., 65 m.; W., 95 m.; into the Taptee —Length, 160 m.		
Girna, tributary to **Taptee**	E. slope of W. Ghauts, lat. 20° 37′. lon. 73° 25′. E., 120 m.; N., 50 m.; into the Taptee.—Length, 160 m.		
Bhovani, tributary to **Cauvery**.	Among the Kundah group, lat. 11° 15′, lon. 76° 4′. E., into Cauvery.—Length, 120 m		
Noyel, tributary to **Cauvery**	E. slope of W. Ghauts, lat 10° 59′, lon. 76° 44′. E., into Cauvery.—Length, 95 m.		
Hutsoo, tributary to **Mahanuddy**.	Lat. 23° 18′, lon. 82° 32′. S., into Mahanuddy.—Length, 130 m.		
Tell, tributary to **Mahanuddy**.	Lat. 19° 54′, lon. 82° 41′. N.W., into Mahanuddy.—Length, 130 m.		

NOTE—*Of the above-named rivers, forty-nine main streams flow to the sea: the chief tributaries to these number* 210, *of which thirty flow for* 200 *m. and upwards; sixty-three have a course of* 100 *to* 200 *m.; and the remainder under* 100 *m*

Rivers in Afghanistan, and in the Countries adjacent to India on the North-west—so far as known.

Name and Length.	Source, Course, and Discharge.	Tributaries or Confluents; and their Length in English Miles	Remarks.
HELMUND.—650 miles . . .	Pughman range, lat. 34° 40′, lon. 68° 2′; at an elevation of 10,076 ft. above the sea. Westerly; south-westerly to Pullaluk; north-westerly; in the Hamoon marshy lake, and that of Duk-i-Teer, by numerous channels.	At 25 m. below Girishk receives the Urgundab, 250 m.; Turnak.	At Girishk, 350 m. from source; banks, about 1,000 yards apart; in spring, spreads beyond these limits,—depth, 10 or 12 ft.,—with a rapid current. At Pullaluk it was crossed by Christie, who found it, at the end of March, 400 yards wide, and very deep.
LORAH.—About 80 miles . .	Shawl table-land, lat. 39° 49′, lon. 67° 20′. South-westerly, until lost in the sands of the desert of Khorasan.	. . .	In April the water (which is briny) is 7 or 8 yards wide, and 2 ft. deep. It is crossed on the route from Shawl to Kandahar.
KOONDOOZ.—About 300 miles	Valley of Bamian, about lat. 34° 52′, lon. 67° 40′. Easterly; northerly; north-easterly; northerly; and north-westerly; into the Amoo or Jinoon River.	Inderaub, 65; and Khanah-i-bad, 90 m.	
HERI ROOD, or HURY.—About 600 miles.	Huzareh Mountains, lat. 34° 50′, lon. 66° 20′; 9,500 ft. above the sea. Generally westerly to Herat, where it turns north-westerly, forming a junction with the Moorghaub; the united stream is ultimately lost in the desert of Khorasan.	Sir-i-Jungle, 90 m.	At Herat, it was formerly crossed by a brick bridge, but three out of thirty-three arches being swept away, communication is intercepted in time of inundation. It is remarkable for the purity of its water.
POORALLEE.—100 miles . .	Jhalawan province, about lat. 27° 23′, lon. 66° 21′. Southerly, through Lus province into the Indian Ocean, in lat. 25° 23′, lon. 66° 20′; near Sonmeanee.		From the bund N. of Lyaree, the river has no bed; as it fills, during the rains, the bund is swept away, and the water inundates the plain, which is here about 5 m. broad.
GHUZNEE.—About 60 miles .	Huzareh Mountains, about lat. 33° 50′, lon. 68° 20′. Generally southerly, as far as lat. 33°; afterwards south-westerly; into Lake Abistada, in lat. 32° 42′, lon. 68° 3′.	N.B.—*The tributaries of these rivers, in the countries adjacent to India, are as yet very imperfectly known,—as indeed are also the origin and courses of the rivers themselves, or the countries through which they flow.*	
BOLAN.—About 70 miles . .	Sir-i-Bolan, Bolan Pass, lat. 29° 51′, lon. 67° 8′; 4,494 ft. above sea. Remarkably sinuous, but generally south-easterly; forms a junction with the Nari River.		Liable to inundations; and as its bed, in some parts, occupies the whole breadth of the ravine, travellers are frequently overtaken by the torrent. Falls 3,751 ft. in 50 m., from source to Dadur.
MOOLA.—About 150 miles .	A few miles S. of Kelat, in Beloochistan. South-easterly, about 80 miles; north-easterly; and easterly; ultimately absorbed in the desert of Shikarpoor.		The Moola or Gundava Pass winds along its course.
URGUNDAB.—250 miles . .	Huzareh Mountains, about lat. 33°, lon. 67°. South-westerly to 25 m. past Kandahar; westerly remainder of course,—falls into the Helmund River.	Turnak	Where crossed 12 m. from Kandahar, it is, ordinarily, about 40 yards wide, from 2 to 3 ft. deep, and fordable; but in inundations, becomes much increased. Greater part of its water drawn off to fertilise the country.
GOMUL.—About 160 miles .	Afghanistan, about lat. 33°, lon. 69° 6′, at the foot of an offshoot from Sufied-Koh. S.; W.; and a little E. of S. to Goolkuts; thence E., N.E., and S.E., until absorbed by the sands of the Daman.	Zhobe, about 170 m.	Its bed for a great distance forms the Goolairee Pass, or great middle route from Hindoostan to Khorasan, by Dera Ismael Khan and Ghuznee: crosses the Suliman range lat. 32°.

Table-lands of British India—their Extent, Height, &c.

Name.	Locality.	Elevation, in Feet.	Remarks.
CENTRAL INDIA, including OODEYPOOR, MALWA, BHOPAL, BUNDELCUND, and SHAHABAD.	Extends by the Arravulli, Dongurpoor, Vindhya, Bindyachal, Panna, and Bandair ranges,—73° to 84°; about 700 m. long; breadth, very various,—greatest from Amjherra to Ajmeer, 250 m.; from Mhow to Mokundurra, 150 m.; at Saugor and Dumoh, 75 m.; afterwards very narrow.	Highest towards S. and W.; average of Oodeypoor, 2,000 ft. Malwa, 1,500 to 2,000. Bhopal, 2,000. Bundelcund, about 1,000 Shahabad, 700. Plain of Ajmere, 2,000 Oodeypoor town, 24° 37′, 73° 49′; 2,064 ft.—slope to N E., Banas River flowing in that direction; gradual fall also to valley of Chumbul River, where it rises to Malwa; Mhow, 2,019. Dectaun, 1,881. Dhar, 1,908. Indore, 1,998. Crest of Jaum Ghaut, 2,328. Oojein, 1,698. Adjygurh, 1,340. Amjherra, 1,890. Saugor, 1,940. Rhotasgurh, 700. Sonar River, source, 1,900 ft. From the Vindhya range the surface has a generally gradual, but in some places abrupt, descent; as at Mokundurra, and the Bindyachal hills, where rivers occasionally fall over the brow in cascades. Shahabad district very rocky and uneven.	Tin and copper are found in Oodeypoor. In Bhopal the prevailing geological formation appears to be trap overlying sandstone. Minerals are few and unimportant. Water is very plentiful. The mineral resources of Bundelcund appear to be considerable.
SOUTHERN INDIA, including DECCAN, MYSOOR, &c.	Supported as it were by a triangle formed by the Sautpoora or sub-Vindhya on the N., W. Ghauts on the W., and E. Ghauts on the E.; the Sautpoora range constituting the base. Length, from Sautpoora River to Salem, about 700 m.; breadth from Mahabulishwar to Sirgoojah, about 700 m. If Chota-Nagpoor be considered as part of this great table-land, it may be said to extend nearly 250 m. farther in a north-easterly direction.	Highest parts, those nearest W. Ghauts, and in centre of Mysoor. Mahabulishwar 18°, 73° 45′; 4,700 ft. Source of Kistnah, 4,500. Source of Godavery, 3,000 Poona, 2,823. Source of Manjera, 3,019 ft. Rivers rising in ravines between spurs of W. Ghauts, wind their way through E. Ghauts across the Deccan, the slope being in that direction. Plains of Nagpoor, 1,000 ft.—slope to S E; drained by Wein-Gunga, which falls into Godavery. Hydrabad, 1,800 ft. Secunderabad, 17° 26′, 78° 33′; 1,837 ft. Beder, 17° 53′, 77° 36′; 2,359 ft From the Wein-Gunga the surface rises towards N.E., where Rypoor, 21° 12′, 81° 40′, is 1,747 ft. Source of Mahanuddy, 2,111; and Konkeir, 20° 16′, 81° 33′, 1,953 ft. Nundy-droog, highest in Mysoor, 4,856 ft.; slope from hence on all sides:—S to Bangalore, 3,000; E. to plains of Carnatic—Chittoor, 1,100; N. to plains of Gooty, 1,182; and those of Bellary, 1,600 ft. Colar, 13° 8′, 78° 10′; 2,800 ft. Mysoor town, 12° 18′, 76° 42′; 2,450 ft. Seringapatam, 12° 25′, 76° 45′, 2,412;—from hence, there is a gradual rise to Coorg, where Verajenderpetta is 3,399, and Merkara, 4,506 ft. From Bangalore, descent to S. by rather abrupt steppes to plains of Salem, 1,400, and Coimbatoor, 1,483 ft. From Belgaum, 15° 50′, 74° 36′, 2,500 ft., there is a gradual fall to the E. Bellary plains, 1,600 ft. Gooty plains, 1,182; Cuddapah town, 507; and E part of Cuddapah dist, 450 ft.	Hypogene schists, penetrated and broken up by prodigious outbursts of plutonic and trappean rocks, occupy by far the greater portion of the superficies of Southern India. The central part of the Deccan is composed of waving downs, which, at one time, present for miles a sheet of green harvests, but in the hot season, bear the appearance of a desert, without a tree or shrub to relieve its gloomy sameness The seaward face of the table-land towards the W., though abrupt, is not precipitous, but consists of a succession of terraces or steps. On the Coromandel side the slope to the sea is gentle, exhibiting the alluvial deposits borne down from the higher portions of the table-land.
SOUTH-WEST FRONTIER OF BENGAL, including CHOTA-NAGPOOR, SIRGOOJAH, PALAMOW, RAMGURH, HAZAREEBAGH, MYNPAT and AMARKANTAK.	Between 22° 30′ and 24° 30′; and easterly, from about 85° to 82°.	Chota-Nagpoor, 3,000 ft.; hills running E. and W., but of little elevation; Sirgoojah, mountainous, rising 600 to 700 ft. above level of Chota-Nagpoor. Mynpat table-land, about 30 m. S.E from Sirgoojah town; area not ascertained—about 3,000 or 3,500 ft. Palamow dist., very mountainous—little known Hazareebagh town, 24°, 85° 24′; 1,750 ft. Slope of country to S., towards Sumbulpoor—N. and E. parts of dist. very mountainous, but level, and even depressed towards Mahanuddy. Sumbulpoor town, only 400 ft. Orissa table-land then rises on the other side of Mahanuddy, in some places to 1,700 ft, backed by the chain of E. Ghauts. Amarkantak, jungly table-land, 22° 40′, 81° 50′; 3,500 ft.	The soil in the plains is generally fertile, producing abundant crops of wheat, barley, rice, pulse, excellent vegetables, cotton and sugar-cane. The uncultivated parts are overrun with a coarse grass. A great part of the region is quite unknown to us.
NEPAUL	At the foot of the Himalaya range, between Himalaya and the Tarai; 500 m. long; E. to W., 160 m. broad; area, 54,500 sq. m.	The surface generally consists of valleys varying from 4,000 to 6,000 ft. above Bengal plains. Khatmandoo (in an oval-shaped valley 12 m. long), 27° 42′, 85° 18′; 4,628. Bhynturee, 29° 34′, 80° 30′; 5,615 ft. Slope to S. drained by Ghogra, Gunduck, and Coosy.	The geological formation of the hilly tract—limestone, hornstone, and conglomerate. Vegetable productions of most remarkable stateliness, beauty, and variety. Climate resembles that of southern Europe.

Table-lands of Afghanistan and the Countries adjacent to India, on the North-west.

Name.	Locality.	Elevation, in Feet.	Remarks.
WESTERN AFGHANISTAN.	From about Ghuznee or Sufied-Koh, to Amran Mountains, N. to S.; and from near Kandahar to the Suliman range.	Crest of highland of Ghuznee, lat 30° 43′, lon. 68° 20′; 9,000 ft. Ghuznee, 33° 34′, 68° 18′; 7,726. Yerghuttoo, 33° 20′, 68° 10′; 7,502. Mookur, principal source of Turnak River, 32° 50′, 67° 37′; 7,091. Abistada Lake, 32° 35′, 68°; 7,000. Punguk, 32° 36′, 67° 21′; 6,810 Shuftul, 32° 28′, 67° 12′; 6,514. Sir-i-Asp, 32° 15′, 66° 54′; 5,973. Kelat-i-Giljie, 32° 8′, 66° 45′; 5,773. Julduk, 32°, 66° 28′; 5,396. Hydurzie, 30° 23′, 66° 51′; 5,259. Hykulzie, 30° 32′, 66° 50′; 5,063. Teer-Andaz, 31° 55′, 66° 17′; 4,829. Kandahar, 32° 37′, 65° 28′; 3,484 ft.	Afghanistan, for four-fifths of its extent, is a region of rocks and mountains, interspersed with valleys of great fertility, and in many places containing table-lands, cold, bleak, and barren. It has a surface as rugged as that of Switzerland, with summits of much greater height. General slope of country, from N.E. to S.W.
NORTHERN AFGHANISTAN.	Between Hindoo-Koosh on the N., and Sufied-Koh on the S.; and Huzareh country on the W., and Khyber hills on the E.	Kurzar, near source of Helmund, 34° 30′, 67° 54′; 10,939 ft. Kalloo, 34° 30′, 67° 56′; 10,883. Youart or Oord, 34° 22′, 68° 11′; 10,618. Gooljatooe, 34° 31′, 68° 5′; 10,500 Shibbertoo, 34° 50′, 67° 20′; 10,500. Siah Sung, 34° 34′, 68° 8′; 10,488. Gurdan Dewar, 34° 25′, 68° 8′; 10,076. Soktah, 34° 40′, 67° 50′; 9,839. Khawak Fort, 35° 38′, 70° 5′; 9,300. Topchee, 34° 45′, 67° 44′; 9,085. Chasgo, 33° 43′, 68° 22′; 8,697. Bamian, 34° 50′, 67° 45′; 8,496. Huftasaya, 33° 49′, 68° 15′; 8,420. Sir-i-Chusma, 34° 21′, 68° 20′; 8,400. Zohak's Fort, 34° 50′, 67° 55′; 8,186 Killa Sher Mahomed, 34° 16′, 68° 45′; 8,051. Kot-i-Asruf, 34° 28′, 68° 35′; 7,749. Maidan, 34° 22′, 68° 43′; 7,747. Urghundee, 34° 30′, 68° 50′; 7,628. Khoord Kabool, 34° 21′, 69° 18′; 7,466. Kabool, 34° 28′, 69°; 6,396. Boothauk, 34° 30′, 69° 15′; 6,247. Jugdulluk, 34° 25′, 69° 46′; 5,375. Gundamuk, 34° 17′, 70° 5′; 4,616. Crest of Khyber Pass, 34° 8′, 71° 15′; 3,373. Ali-Musjid, 34° 3′, 71° 22′; 2,433. Jellalabad, 34° 25′, 70° 28′; 1,964 ft.	Slope from W. to E.; Kabool River flowing in that direction: lofty mountains enclosing valley of Jellalabad on N. and S. sides. Course of river obstructed, and bed contracted by ridges of rock connecting them. City of Kabool surrounded by hills on three sides. Jellalabad, on a small plain.
SHAWL AND PISHEEN	Between Hala and Amran ranges, on the N. frontier of Beloochistan.	Khojuck Pass, Amran Mts., 30° 45′, 66° 30′; 7,449 ft. Pisheen, from 5,000 to 6,000. Shawl exceeds 5,000. Town of Shawl, 5,563. Dasht-i-Bedowlat, 30° 57′; about 5,000. Siriab, 30° 3′, 66° 53′; 5,793 ft.	Wildest parts of enclosing mountains,—haunts of wild sheep and goats: more accessible tracts yield pasture to herds and flocks. Orchards numerous. Dasht-i-Bedowlat (*wretched plain*), destitute of water.
BELOOCHISTAN . .	S. of Afghanistan	Kelat, 28° 53′, 66° 27′; 6,000 ft. Sohrab, 28° 22′, 66° 9′; 5,800. Munzilgah, 29° 53′, 67°; 5,793. Angeera, 28° 10′, 66° 12′; 5,250. Bapow, 28° 16′, 66° 20′; 5,000. Peesee-Bhent, 28° 10′, 66° 35′; 4,600. Sir-i-Bolan, 29° 50′, 67° 14′; 4,494. Putkee, 28° 5′, 66° 40′; 4,250. Paeesht-Khana, 27° 59′, 66° 47′; 3,500. Nurd, 27° 52′, 66° 54′; 2,850. Ab-i-goom, 29° 46′, 67° 23′; 2,540. Jungikoosht, 27° 55′, 67° 2′; 2,150. Bent-i-Jah, 28° 4′, 67° 10′; 1,850. Beebee Nanee, 29° 39′, 67° 28′; 1,695. Kohow, 28° 20′, 67° 12′; 1,250 Gurmab, 29° 36′, 67° 32′; 1,081. Kullar, 28° 18′, 67° 15′; 750 ft.	Coast craggy, but not elevated; in some places a sandy shore; inland surface becomes higher. Most remarkable features of Beloochistan, rugged and elevated surface, barrenness, and deficiency of water. It may be described as a maze of mountains, except on the N.W., in which direction the surface descends to the Great Desert on the S., where a low tract stretches along the sea-shore.
CASHMERE and BULTISTAN, or LITTLE TIBET.	Western Himalaya	Average of Cashmere valley, between 5,000 and 6,000 ft. Huramuk Mt. 13,000. Pir-panjal, 15,000. Small elevations in valley, 250 to 500 ft. Average of valley of Indus (N. of Cashmere vale), 6,000 to 7,000 ft. Slope from S.E. to N.W. Mountains on each side rising from 6,000 to 8,000 ft. higher.	Mountains enclosing Cashmere vale, basaltic. Ranges on each side of Bultistan valley rugged, bare, and nearly inaccessible; formation generally of gneiss; that of the valley, shingle and sand.

PRINCIPAL CITIES.*—A description of the cities and towns in India would occupy several volumes: all that can here be given is a brief note on some of the best known.†

Calcutta,—on the left bank of the Hooghly, about 100 m. from the sea; present seat of supreme government; a village when acquired by the English in 1700. Length, about 4½ m.; breadth, 1½ m.; area, nearly 8 sq. m. Beyond the Mahratta Ditch (an intrenchment intended as a defence against the incursions of the Mahrattas), are the suburbs of Chitpoor, Nundenbagh, Bahar-Simlah, Sealdah, Eutally, Ballygunge, Bhowaneepoor, Allipoor, and Kidderpoor. On the opposite side of the river lie the villages of Seebpoor, Howrah, and Sulkea. The city is defended by Fort William, a large and strong fortress, built on a plain, of an octagonal form, somewhat resembling that of Antwerp: it mounts 619 guns.

In May, 1850, the population of Calcutta, exclusive of suburbs, was 413,182; number of residences, 62,565; of huts, 49,415. Among the public buildings are the Government-house, a magnificent structure; the Town-hall, a handsome edifice; the Supreme Court of Judicature, the Madrissa and Hindoo colleges, Metcalfe Hall, and the Ochterlony monument. About three miles below the city, on the Howrah side, there are extensive botanical gardens, laid out with good taste and effect.

The most elevated part of Calcutta (Clive-street) is only thirty feet above the sea-level at low-water. It appears to me very probable that the whole city will some day be submerged by the shifting beds of the Hooghly or Ganges.

Madras,—on the Coromandel coast, consists of three broad streets, running north and south, dividing the town into four nearly equal parts; they are well built, and contain the principal European shops. On the beach is a line of public offices, including the Supreme Court, the Custom-house, the Marine Board Office, and the offices and storehouses of the principal European merchants. The other buildings are, the Mint, the Roman Catholic Cathedral, the Church Mission Chapel, Armenian Church, Trinity Chapel, the General Hospital, and Medical School. Fort St. George is in form an irregular polygon, somewhat of a semicircle, of which the sea-face, which is well armed with heavy guns, is nearly a diameter.

No part is probably more than twenty feet above the sea-level. Population, 720,000, including the Black Town and suburbs.

Bombay.—The old town, built on the island, is about 2 m. in circuit, and strongly fortified; the recent increase of the calibre of the guns has completed the means of defence. Few remarkable buildings. There is a Government-house, an excellent dockyard and foundry for steam-vessels, a church within the fort, and one on the island of Colaba, where there are considerable cantonments: several banks, insurance companies, the Steam Navigation Company, Bombay branch of Asiatic Society, Bombay Geographical Society, &c.; and the leading merchants have their offices within the fort. Population, 566,119, including the widely-scattered suburbs.

Agra,—formerly a large city; the old walls remain, and mark out a space extending along the Jumna, about 4 m. in length, with a breadth of 3 m.; the area is about 11 sq. m; but not one-half is at present occupied. There is one wide street running from the fort in a north-westerly direction. The houses are built chiefly of red sandstone. Within the fort is the palace of Shah Jehan, and his hall of audience; the Motee Masjid or Pearl Mosque, and other structures. The celebrated Tajmahal, or mausoleum of Shah Jehan, is outside the city, and about a mile east of the fort. Adjacent to the city, on the west, is the Government-house, the official residence of the lieutenant-governor of the North Western Provinces. Population, 66,000.

Ahmedabad,—on the left bank of the Saburmuttee, 5¾ m. in circumference, surrounded by a high wall, with irregular towers every fifty yards. The noblest architectural relic is the Jumma Masjit or Great Mosque, built by Ahmed Shah of Guzerat, the founder of the city. Near the city wall is a tank a mile in circumference. Population said to amount to 30,000.

Ajmere,—a city of great antiquity and celebrity—situate in a picturesque valley, surrounded by hills, on the base and slope of one of which the town is built. A wall of stone, with five strong gateways (all on the north and west sides), surround it. The town contains several large mosques and temples. Some of the streets are wide and handsome. The houses of the wealthy are spacious, and generally well built: the habitations of the poorer classes are more commodious than ordinary. The strong fort of Taraghur, with a walled circumference of 2 m., surmounts the hill rising above the city: it contains two tanks, and commands another outside.

Allahabad,—at the confluence of the Ganges (here 1½ m. wide) and Jumna, (¾ of a m. in width.) The fort on the east and south rises directly from the water, and is in form a bastioned quinquangle, 2,500 yards in circuit, and of great strength. The town extends along the Jumna, to the west of the fort. Notwithstanding the advantageous position, it is an ill-built and poverty-stricken place. The Jumma Masjit is a stately building, but without much ornament. Population, 70,000. [This ought to be the seat of Supreme Government for India.]

Almora.—Principal place of the British district of Kumaon, situate on the crest of a ridge running from east to west, consists principally of one street, ¾ of a m. long, secured by a gate at each end, and forming two bazaars, divided from each other by Fort Almora, and by the site of the ancient palace of the rajahs of Kumaon, now occupied by a gaol. Detached houses, chiefly inhabited by Europeans and Brahmins, are scattered along each face of the mountain below the town. Fort Moira is at the western extremity, and adjoins the military lines.

Amritsir.—A walled city, about half-way between the Beas and Ravee rivers. It owes its importance to a *Tulao* or reservoir, which Ram Das caused to be made here in 1581, and named it Amrita Saras, or "fount of immortality." It is a square, of 150 paces, containing a great body of water, pure as crystal, though multitudes bathe in it: it is supplied, apparently, from natural springs. On a small island in the middle is a temple, to which are attached 500 or 600 priests. On this island Ram Das (the founder) is said to have spent his life in a sitting posture. City very populous and extensive; streets narrow; houses lofty. Manufactures—cloths, silks, and shawls. There is besides a very extensive transit trade, and considerable monetary transactions. Most striking ob-

* The several positions of these places, and their elevation, will be given in a Topographical Index.

† Full details will be found in Thornton's excellent *Gazetteer*.

ject, the fortress Govinghur; its great height and heavy batteries, rising one above the other, giving it a very imposing appearance. Population, 80,000 or 90,000.

Bangalore.—Town tolerably well built, has a good bazaar, and is inclosed by a wall, a ditch, and a broad fence of thorns and bamboos. Fort oval, constructed of strong masonry: within it is the palace of Tippoo Sultan, a large building of mud. Manufactures—cotton and silk; but the present importance of the place results from its being the great British military establishment for the territory of Mysoor. The cantonment is nearly 2¼ m. in length, and 1 m. in breadth. Population, 60,000.

Bareilly,—situate in a pleasant and well-wooded country in the N.W. provinces. It is a considerable town, the principal street or bazaar being nearly 2 m. long, has a brisk and lucrative commerce, and some manufactures, of which the principal is that of house furniture, cotton-weaving, muslins, silks, jewellery, gold, silver, and metal working, besides numerous others. Population, 92,208. Cantonment at south side of town, near the new fort, which is quadrangular, and surrounded by a ditch: it is the head-quarters for the Rohilcund division.

Baroda,—situate near the river Biswamintri, which is here crossed by a stone bridge. The town is surrounded by numerous groves containing many mosques, mausolea, and tombs of Mussulmen, which give an impressive solemnity to the scene. The fortifications, of no great strength, consist of slight walls, with towers, and several double gateways. Town intersected and divided into four equal quarters, by two spacious streets, meeting in the centre, at a market-place. Houses, in general, very high, and built of wood. Population, 140,000.

Beejapoor.—The walls, which are of hewn stone and very lofty, are entire, but inside all is desolation. The deep moat, the double rampart, and the ruins of the palaces in the citadel, attest its former magnificence. The Great Mosque is a grand edifice, and the tomb of Ibrahim Adil Shah, remarkable for elegant and graceful architecture. The chief feature of the scene is the mausoleum of Mohammed Adil Shah, the dome of which fills the eye from every point of view. The fort has a rampart flanked by 109 towers. The works surrounding it, and the citadel in the interior, are very strongly built; the parapets are 9 ft. high, and 3 ft. thick. The ditch is from 40 to 50 ft. in breadth, and about 18 deep: the curtains, which appear to rise from the bottom of it, vary from 30 to 40 ft. high, and 24 ft. thick. A revetted counterscarp is discernible, the circuit of which is 6½ m., and its ground-plan deviates little from a circle. To the westward of the fort there is a vast mass of ruins, from the numerous edifices of every description scattered around. Beejapoor was evidently one of the greatest cities in India. It was formerly divided into several quarters, one of which is 6 m. in circumference. Among the various wonders of this ruined capital, is the gun called Malik-i-Maidan, or "the King of the Plain," one of the largest pieces of brass ordnance in the world.

Beekaneer,—capital of the Rajpoot state of the same name, viewed from without presents the appearance of a great and magnificent city. The wall, which is built of stone, is 3½ m. in circuit, 15 to 30 ft. high (including parapet), 6 ft. thick, surrounded on three sides by a ditch 15 ft. deep and 20 ft. wide; there are five gates and three sally-ports. The interior exhibits a rather flourishing appearance; many good houses, neat and uniform, with red walls, and white doors and windows. Eighteen wells within the city; depth of each about 240 ft. Citadel situate ¼ a m. N.E. of the city, and quite detached from it; defences, about ¾ of a m. in circuit, constructed of good masonry. The rajah's residence occupies nearly the whole of the inside. Population, stated by Boileau and Tod, 60,000.

Belgaum,—Southern Mahratta country. Fort of an oval ground-plan, 1,000 yards long, 700 broad, and surrounded by a broad and deep wet ditch, cut in very hard ground. In 1848, the inhabitants formed a committee, and in four months reconstructed all the roads of the town, extending to a length of between 9 and 10 m. Belgaum was selected as the site of the educational institution for the instruction of the sons of natives of rank: in February, 1853, the number of pupils exceeded 50.

Bellary.—The fort, or fortified rock, round which the cantonment is situate, is a hill of granite: length, 1,150 yards; height, 450 ft.; circumference, 2 m.; eastern and southern sides precipitous; western face slopes gradually towards plain. Lower fort, ½ a m. in diameter, contains barracks, arsenal, and commissariat stores, church, two tanks, and several on the top of the rock. Native population in 1836, exclusive of military, 30,426.

Benares,—on the Ganges, 3 m. long, 1 m. broad. Streets very narrow, and access gained to the river by noble ghauts, extending along the bank of the river, in the city. Numerous Hindoo temples, which render it a celebrated place of pilgrimage. Population, 300,000.

Bhagulpoor,—on the right bank of the Ganges, here 7 m. wide during the rains. Though represented to be 2 m. long and 1 broad, it is a poor place, consisting of scattered market-places, meanly built; it is, however, ornamented by European residences and by mosques. Cavalry barracks, occasionally occupied; 4 m. from them are those of a native corps formed of the highlanders (Sonthals or Puharees) of the Rajmahal wilds. There is also a court of justice, a gaol, and an educational institution.

Bhooj,—the capital of Cutch, at the base of a fortified hill. When viewed from the north, has an imposing appearance. Rajah's palace, a castle of good masonry. A large tank has been excavated at the west end of the city. Population, about 20,000.

Bhopal.—Town surrounded by a wall of masonry about 2 m. in circuit, within which is also a fort of masonry. Outside, a large *gunje* or market, with wide straight streets. The fort of Futtyghur is on a rock S.W. from the town. S.W. of the fort is Bhopal Tal, or Lake, 4½ m. long, 1¼m. broad: another tank, 2 m. long, is on the east. They are deep, and abound with alligators, but both appear to be artificial. The Bess river has its rise in the former. Bhopal is the seat of the British political residency.

Bhurtpoor.—Town 3 m. long, 1¼ broad, and about 8 in circumference. Its site is somewhat depressed; and this circumstance, in a military point of view, contributes to its strength; as the water of a neighbouring *jhil*, being higher than the ditch of the town, can be discharged into it in such a volume, as to render it unfordable. The defences are now shapeless piles of mud.* This measure of repair was permitted to the young rajah, after attaining majority, in 1844, and the walls allowed to be maintained in a condition (in the rajah's words) "to keep out thieves and wild beasts:" and the town itself is

* See Historical Section, 1805-'6, and 1824-'5.

merely a great collection of hovels; but it is a thriving place, having a trade in the Sambhur Lake salt. Population estimated at 100,000.

Burdwan,—on the left bank of the Dammoodah. The rajah's residence is a great collection of buildings of various sizes and colours, and without symmetry or regularity: the town an assemblage of crowded suburbs, wretched huts, a few handsome houses, but no temple of striking effect. Contiguous to the town is an artificial piece of water, having an estimated area of 30 acres, and much frequented by the natives for bathing. Burdwan contains the civil establishment of the district, and two English schools.

Cawnpoor,—on the right bank of the Ganges; area of the city, 690 acres; contains about 11,000 houses, and nearly 59,000 inhabitants. Population of cantonments, 49,975; making a total of 108,796, exclusive of the military. Commerce—busy and important; the Ganges (which is here 500 yards wide when lowest, and 1 m. wide when swollen by the periodical rains) being navigable to the sea, a distance of 1,000 m., and upwards to Sukertal, a distance of 300 m.

Coimbatoor,—situate near the left bank of the Noyel, a tributary of the Cauvery, in a dry and well-cultivated country, near the base of the Neilgherry group of mountains. Streets wide, airy, and neatly built; European quarter eastward of the town, and detached from it. In the time of Hyder Ali it is said to have contained 4,000 houses, but it suffered much in the wars between the British and Mysoor.

Cuttack,—situated on a tongue of land near the bifurcation of the Mahanuddy. Fortifications in a ruinous state, their materials fast disappearing, the stones being carried away, and used in various public works; among others, in the lighthouse at False Point, and in the macadamization of the cantonment roads. Within the fort is an old mosque. Town straggling, and exhibits evident signs of decay. The Jumma Masjit, and the "Kuddum Russool," Moslem buildings, are inelegant, and Brahminical temples small and ungraceful. Manufactures—brass cooking-vessels and shoes. Population estimated at 40,000.

Dacca,—on the Burha Gunga, an offset of the Koniae or Jabuna; 4 m. long, and 1¼ m. broad. It is at present a wide expanse of ruins. The castle of its founder, Shah Jehangir, the noble mosque he built, the palaces of the ancient newaubs, the factories and churches of the Dutch, French, and Portuguese, are all sunk into ruin, and overgrown with jungle. The city and suburbs are stated to possess ten bridges, thirteen ghauts, seven ferry-stations, twelve bazaars, three public wells, a variety of buildings for fiscal and judicial purposes, a gaol and gaol-hospital, a lunatic asylum, and a native hospital. Population, 200,000.

Delhi,—about 7 m. in circumference, is inclosed on three sides by a wall, and on the other, the river. Streets mostly narrow; the principal one is ¾ of a m. long, and 50 yds. wide, with good shops on each side. Population, 137,977.

Dinapoor.—Important military station on the right bank of the Ganges. Remarkable for the barracks, which are magnificent buildings, and of great extent. Church, spacious and handsome.

Golconda.—Fortress and ruined city, in the Nizam's dominions. Fortress on a rocky ridge of granite, is extensive, very strong, and in good repair, but is commanded within breaching distance. Being the depository of the treasures of the Nizam, and also used as a state prison, it is very strictly guarded, and entrance cannot be obtained by any but officials. The ancient mausolea form a group about 600 yards from the fort, the stern features of the surrounding rocky ground heightening the impressiveness and grandeur of those astonishing buildings. These tombs were erected at great expense, some of them being said to have cost £150,000. The diamonds of Golconda have obtained great celebrity throughout the world. (*See* Minerals.)

Gwalior,—the capital of the possessions of Sindia's family. The rock on which the celebrated Hill Fort is situate, is completely isolated: greatest height at the north end, 342 ft. The approach, by means of steps cut in the rock, is so large, and of such gentle acclivity, that elephants easily ascend. The passage, protected by guns pointing down it, has a succession of seven gates. Within the enclosure there are several tanks, capable of supplying an adequate garrison, though 15,000 men would be required to man the defences. The town lies along the eastern base of the rock; it is large, but irregularly built, and contains a cannon-foundry, and gunpowder and firework manufactory.

Hurdwar, or sometimes Gangadwara, the "Gate of the Ganges,"—a celebrated place of Hindoo pilgrimage. Town evidently of great antiquity, is situate close to the western bank; the foundations of many of the houses in the bed of the river.

Hydrabad (Deccan.)—The ground plan is a trapezoid, the longest or north-western side of which, extending along the river Mussi, is about 2¾ m. in length; the south-eastern, 2 m.; the southern, 1 m.; the south-western, 1¾ m. A suburb on the river side communicates with the city by a stone bridge. Streets, some paved; narrow; houses close together, and displaying little or no taste. The most remarkable structures are the principal mosque, and the British residency. Population, probably not exceeding 200,000.

Hydrabad (Sinde),—on the Gunjah hills, 4 m. from the Indus. Outline of fortress irregular, corresponding with the winding shape of the hills. Walls built of burnt bricks, thick at the base, but taper towards the top, and weakened by loopholes. There are about 5,000 houses; bazaar extensive, forming one street the entire length of the town. Manufactures—arms, and ornamental silks and cottons. Population (supposed), 24,000.

Indore,—capital of the possessions of Holcar's family. Outline of city, nearly a square of 1,000 yards; area, about 216 acres: ill-built, the houses disposed in irregular winding streets, constructed with sun-dried bricks, and covered with clumsy tiles laid on bamboos. It contains a few mosques, but has no architectural pretensions. The British residency, east of the town, has a pleasing scene.

Jessulmere,—built at the base of the south end of a rocky range of hills. Ramparts and bastions of uncemented stone; circuit, about 2¼ m; height, 14 ft., including a parapet of 6 ft.; thickness of ramparts, 4 ft.: these defences are in many places so obliterated by sand-drifts, that they may be crossed on horseback. There are four gateways and three sally-ports. Outline of citadel an irregular triangle, about ¾ths of a mile in circumference; interior occupied by the palace, and several temples and dwellings. At the time of Boileau's visit, in 1835, there were 6 guns, a large howitzer, and 3 field-pieces.

Jeypoor,—in a small plain surrounded by hills on all sides, except the south. It is about 2 m. long, E. to W.; 1 m. broad, encompassed by a wall

of masonry, with lofty towers and well-protected gateways, and considered to be the most regularly built of the cities laid down by native Indians. A main street, 2 m. long and 40 yards wide, extends from E. to W.; this is intersected by several streets of the same width; and at each point of intersection is a *chauk* or market-place; and the whole is portioned out into rectangular blocks, the palace and royal premises being in the centre. Houses in the principal streets are generally built of stone, and, with the fine temples, add to the architectural splendour of the town. Population, 300,000.

Joudpoor,—on the north-eastern edge of a cultivated but woody plain. Site striking, being at the southern extremity of a ridge 25 m. long, between 2 and 3 m. broad, and from 300 to 400 feet above the average level of the plain. Built on an irregular surface, sloping upwards towards the base of the rock surmounted by the citadel, and inclosed by a rampart 5 m. in circumference. There are several tanks within the walls; but all fail in long-continued droughts, except the Rani Sagur, which is reserved exclusively for the garrison, being thrown open to the citizens only on extreme emergency. North-east of the city is the suburb Mahamandir. Population, 60,000.

Khatmandoo.—Capital of Nepaul, situate in a valley,* and on the east bank of the Bishnmutty river. Length, about 1 m.; average breadth, scarcely ¼ of a m. Streets narrow; houses brick, with tiled roofs, and though of several stories, are of mean appearance. Town adorned by several temples, the gilded pinnacles of which have a picturesque effect. The river is crossed by two bridges, one at each extremity of the town. Population estimated at 50,000; number of houses, 5,000.

Lahore,—surrounded by a brick wall, and defences 7 m. in circumference: fort at the north-west angle; there are several large and handsome mosques, besides Hindoo temples. Streets narrow; houses lofty; bazaars contracted and mean. Population, 100,000, or 120,000.

Loodiana,—four miles from left bank of the Sutlej: town ill-built, and without a wall, but having a fort of no great strength, which was constructed in 1808, on the north side, situate on a bluff, rising about 30 ft. above the *nullah* or watercourse. It is a thriving place, the residents including several capitalists, among whom are corresponding bankers; and as the mart lies on one of the principal routes between Hindoostan and Afghanistan, it has a considerable transit trade. Manufactures—cotton, cloth, and shawls. Population estimated at 20,000; chiefly Mohammedans.

Lucknow,—extends about 4 m. along the bank of the Goomtee. Streets, with few exceptions, crooked and narrow; number of brick-built houses small—palaces of showy architecture. The great ornament is the Imambarah, a Moslem cathedral, and the mosque attached to it. Population, 300,000.

Masulipatam,—on a plain stretching to the base of the E. Ghauts. Fort built on a swamp overflowed by the sea at spring-tides. Ground-plan, an oblong rectangle, 800 yards long and 600 broad, with high ramparts and a wide and deep ditch. The native town is situated south-west of the cantonment, and has some wide and airy streets, tolerably straight, and well built. Population, in 1837, 27,884.

Meerut,—situate in the Dooab, and nearly equidistant from the Ganges and the Jumna. Ruined wall of the town extensive, inclosing a considerable space. Streets narrow, and houses ill-built. Most important structure, the English church. Cantonments 2 m. north of the town. Population, 29,014.

Mhow.—In the territory of Indore. Its appearance is that of an European town, having a church with steeple on an eminence, a lecture-room and library, and a theatre. A considerable force is stationed at the cantonments, which are situate 1½ m. S.E. from the town.

Mirzapoor,—consists mainly of three long, wide, straight streets, along the side of which are rows of trees and wells. The houses, seldom more than two stories high, are for the most part built of mud or unburnt brick: those of the Europeans, which are the best, occur only at considerable intervals. It derives its present importance principally from its being the greatest cotton mart in India; military cantonment situated three miles north-east of the city. Population, 55,000.

Mooltan.—An ancient city, 3 m. east of the Chenab, whose inundations reach the fort. It is built on a mound of considerable height, formed of the ruins of more ancient cities. Bazaars extensive; about 4,600 shops. Manufactures—silks, cottons, shawls, loongees, brocades, tissues. Banking constitutes a large proportion of the business, and the merchants are considered rich. Population estimated at 80,000.

Moorshedabad,—extends about 8 m. along both banks of the Ganges, with an average breadth of 4 m. Though a place of considerable commerce it consists but of mud buildings, lying confusedly together. Unapproachable by craft of above a foot draught, during the dry months of spring. Population about 150,000.

Muttra,—extends along the Jumna in the form of a crescent, and, with its great ruined fort, has a very picturesque appearance; but its streets are steep, narrow, winding, and dirty. Population, in 1846, 49,672.

Nagpoor.—About 7 m. in circumference, but very irregular in shape. There is but one good street, the others being mean and narrow. Throughout the town no specimen of fine architecture; the rajah's palace, which is the most considerable building, is devoid of symmetry or beauty; it is merely a large pile of masonry, completely obscured by the encroachments of mean mud huts built against its walls Population, 111,231.

Oodeypoor, Rajpoot city,—situate on a low ridge, in a valley, where extends an artificial lake 5 m. in circuit. Town ill-built; palace, a noble pile of granite, 100 ft. high, and overlooking the city.

Oojein,—in the territory of Gwalior, on the Seepra. It is of oblong outline, 6 m. in circumference, surrounded by a stone wall with round towers. Houses crowded together, and built either of brick or wood. Principal bazaar, a spacious street. There are four mosques, and many Hindoo temples. City well supplied with water. The head of the Sindia family has a spacious palace here, but of little exterior magnificence. At the southern extremity of the town is the observatory constructed by Jai Sing, the scientific rajah of Jeypoor. Principal trade in cotton fabrics, opium, and the wares of Europe and China. It is one of the seven sacred cities of the Hindoos, and the first meridian of their geographers.

Patna.—City extends about 1½ m. along the Ganges, inclosed by a rectangular wall, and has extensive suburbs; the principal one, on the east, called Maruganj, contains the chief market, and many store-

* *See* Note at end of "Mountains."

houses for grain. This is joined by another, denominated Giafir Khan. On the other side of the city is a long, narrow suburb, extending to Bankipoor, a distance of about 4 m.; this is the European quarter. The better class of houses in the city are built of brick, but the greater number of mud, and generally tiled. Population, 284,132.

Peshawur,—built by Akber, who fixed the name, signifying "advanced post," in reference to its being the frontier town of Hindoostan towards Afghanistan, is situate on a plain about 18 m. east of the eastern extremity of the Khyber Pass, and 44 m. from the Indus. In the early part of the present century, when visited by Elphinstone, it was a flourishing town, about 5 m. in circuit, and reported to contain 100,000 inhabitants. Twenty years later, Runjeet Sing demolished the Balla Hissar, the state residence, injured the city, and laid waste the surrounding country. The fortress, erected by the Seiks on the site of the Balla Hissar, is a square of about 220 yards, with round towers at each angle, and surrounded by a wall of mud 60 ft. high, fausse-braie 30 ft., and a wet ditch. The city is now improved under the British government. Population, 56,045; Hindoos, 7,706; remainder, Mussulmen.

Poona,—an ill-built city, without walls or fort; bazaars mean, streets irregular; recent improvements have somewhat changed its appearance. Between 1841 and 1846, 400 new houses were built, and several more were in the latter year in course of construction.. A bridge over the Nagjurree Nullah was completed, and a stone one replaced for the old Mahratta bridge over the Moota Moola; there is another called the Wellesley bridge; the streets in the eastern part of the city have been macadamized, and a full supply of water secured to the population. The most remarkable building is the palace, formerly the residence of the Peishwa; situation picturesque. Population, 100,000.

Rangoon, or the "City of Victory,"—situated about a mile from the river of the same name. Ground-plan, a square of about ¾ths of a m., having at its northern side a pagoda as a citadel. It has been twice burnt (in 1850, when it was entirely destroyed, and in 1853); but conditions have been prescribed by government for ensuring its protection against future conflagrations.

Sattara,—situate amidst the highlands of the Deccan, and where the country, though rugged, inclines to the eastward. The fort, on the summit of a steep mountain, has an area extending about 1,000 by 500 yards. The town lies immediately under it, in a valley.

Saugor,—built along the west, north, and north-east sides of a lake nearly a mile in length, and three-quarters in breadth, which occupies the lowest part of a valley, or rather basin, surrounded by hills. There is a large fort, now used as an ordnance depôt. The mint stood about a mile from the lake, but the business of the establishment has been transferred to Calcutta. In 1830, an iron suspension-bridge was erected over the Bessi, a river running near the town. Population, 70,000.

Seringapatam,—a celebrated fortress (built 700 years ago) and town, once the capital of Mysoor, situate on an island in the Cauvery. Town ill-built, having narrow streets; houses ill-ventilated and inconvenient: water supplied abundantly from the river, which washes the walls on the northern and south-west sides. Ground-plan, an irregular pentagon, 1½ m. by ¾ of a m. Palace of Tippoo Sultan within the fort, and is surrounded by a strong wall of stone and mud. The Shehr Gangam, a suburb detached from the fortified town, was demolished by Tippoo on the eve of the investment of the place, but was afterwards built with considerable regularity. Population of the island, during his reign, estimated at 150,000; in 1800 it was only 31,895, exclusive of the garrison.

Shikarpoor.—The most important commercial town in Sinde. It is situate 20 m. west of the Indus. A branch of the Sinde canal passes within 1 m. of the city. Circuit of wall, which is now in ruins, 3,831 yards. The character of the place is thoroughly commercial, almost every house having a shop; mansions of the opulent Hindoo merchants large, inclosed and secluded by high brick walls; but the streets are narrow, and the houses generally small. The bazaar extends about 800 yards through the centre of the city, and contained, in 1837, 884, and in 1841, 923 shops. Transit trade important, as it is on the route to Afghanistan through the Bolan Pass. Population estimated at 30,000; viz., 20,000 Hindoos, and 10,000 Mohammedans, of whom 1,000 are Afghans. The town was founded in 1617.

Surat.—Outline of town an arc, nearly semicircular, the river forming the chord; circuit, about 6 m. Castle, though small, has bastions, covered way, and glacis; streets narrow and winding; houses high, upper stories projecting beyond the base. Population, in 1838, 133,544.

Tanjore.—Town consists of two forts; the greater, 4 m. in circumference, surrounded by a fortified wall and a ditch; streets within it irregularly built. Adjoining is the smaller fort, 1 m. in circuit, and very strong; within it is the great pagoda, considered to be the finest of the pyramidical temples of India.

Trichinopoly.—Rock very striking when viewed from a distance at any point, it being 600 ft. above the surrounding level. The fort is situate on part of the rugged declivity of the rock, and 2 furlongs from the Cauvery, which is embanked, but the works sometimes give way and inundate the country. The fort, with its strong and massive walls, bear the appearance of having been regularly and strongly built; they are from 20 to 30 ft. high, of considerable thickness, and upwards of 2 m. in circumference. Within is an extensive *petta* or town, arranged into tolerably straight, wide, and regular streets, many of which have bazaars. On the rock is a pagoda. The natives manufacture hardware, cutlery, jewellery, saddlery, and cheroots. The cantonment is from 2 to 3 m. south-west of the fort, and the troops generally there form a force of between 4,000 and 5,000 men.

Umballa.—On the route from Hindoostan to Afghanistan. It is a large walled town, situate in a level and highly cultivated country. Houses built of burnt brick, streets narrow. Fort at the N.E. of the town, and under its walls the encamping ground of the British troops.

Vellore.—A town in the Carnatic, with a strong extensive fort, on the south side of the Palar river; ramparts built of large stones, with bastions and round towers at short distances. A deep and wide ditch, cut in the rock, filled with water, surrounds the whole. Within are barracks, hospitals, magazines, and other buildings. Town situate between the fort and some rocky hills on the east, is clean and airy, and has an extensive and well-supplied bazaar. Most remarkable building, a pagoda dedicated to Crishna. Government, in 1846, sanctioned the erection of a church within the fort.

CLIMATE.—A country extending through six-and-twenty degrees of latitude, and with elevations from the coast-level to the height of three or four miles above the sea, must necessarily possess great variety of temperature. About one-half of India is intertropical, comprising within its limits the three principal stations of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay; in fact, all the country south of a line drawn from Burdwan on the east, through Bhopal, to the gulf of Cutch on the west—a distance from Cape Comorin of about 1,000 miles. All the region north of this line, and extending 800 miles from Cutch to Peshawur, is outside the tropic of Cancer: the area of the inter and extratropical territory is nearly alike. Mere distance from the equator will not convey an adequate idea of the climate of any district: other circumstances must be taken into account; such as elevation above the sea,—aspect in reference to the sun and the prevailing winds,—more or less vegetation,—radiation of terrestrial heat,—quantity of rain falling,* or siccidity of atmosphere,—proximity to snow-covered mountains or great lakes,—drainage, ventilation, &c.;†—all these, varying in collateral existence or in degree of operation, cause a variety of climate and thermometrical range, which latitude will not indicate. Regions contiguous to the equator, at or near the sea-level, possess a high but equable temperature: the mercury, on Fahrenheit's scale, exhibits in the shade at Singapore, a flat island in 1° 17′ N., a heat of 73° to 87° throughout the year. As we recede from the equator north or south, a wider caloric range is experienced, not only throughout the year, but within the limits of a single day. In the N. W. Provinces of India, and in the S.E. settlements of Australia, the mercury not unfrequently rises in the summer season to 90° and even 100° Fahr., and shows a fluctuation, in twenty-four hours, of 24°: but this extreme torridity —when the circumambient fluid seems to be aeriform fire—is but of brief duration. Animal and vegetable life are reinvigorated, for a large part of the year, by a considerably cooler atmosphere. Indeed, at New York and Montreal, I found the heat of June and July more intolerable than that of Jamaica or Ceylon; but then snow lies on the ground, at the former places, for several weeks in winter. Again, moisture with heat has a powerful and injurious effect on the human frame, though favourable to vegetation and to many species of animal life. Speaking from my own sensations, I have lain exhausted on a couch with the mercury at 80° Fahr., during the rainy season, in Calcutta, Bombay, and Hong Kong; and ridden through the burning forests of Australia, on the sandy Arabian plains, and over the sugar-cane plantations of Cuba, with the mercury at 100° Fahr. So, also, with reference to elevation: in the East and West Indies, at a height of several thousand feet above the sea, I have enjoyed a fire at night in June; and yet, in April and September, been scorched at mid-day in Egypt, Northern China, and Eastern Europe. These observations are made with a view of answering the oft-recurring inane question, without referring to any locality, "What sort of a climate has India?" In order, however, to

* The quantity of rain in the tropical or temperate zones is effected by the elevation of the land above the sea. In India the maximum fall is at 4,500 feet altitude; beyond this height it diminishes. This is shown by the present scientific chairman of the E. I. Cy., Colonel Sykes, in his valuable *Meteorological Observations*: thus, on the western coast of India the fall is at sea-level (mean of seven levels)—inches, 81; at 150 ft. altitude (Rutnagherry in the Concan), 114; at 900 ft., Dapoolee (S. Concan), 134; at 1,700 ft. (Kundala Pass, from Bombay to Poona), 141; at 4,500 ft. (Mahabulishwar—mean of 15 years, 254; at 6,200 ft. (Augusta Peak, Uttray Mullay range), 194; at 6,100 ft. (Kotagherry, in the Neilgherries, one year), 81; at 8,640 ft. (Dodabetta, highest point of Western India, one year), 101 inches. The same principle is observable in the arid lofty table-land of Thibet, and in the contiguous elevated regions where rain seldom falls. So also in Chili and other parts of the Andes. The distinguished meteorologist, Dr. John Fletcher Miller, of Whitehaven, adduces evidence, in his interesting account of the Cumberland Lake District, to demonstrate the existence of a similar law in England, where he considers the maximum fall of rain to be at the height of 2,000 feet.

† In 1829, I wrote and published in Calcutta a small *brochure*, entitled *The Effects of Climate, Food, and Drink on Man*. The essay was prepared in the hope of inducing the government to adopt sanitary measures for the drainage and ventilation of Calcutta, where cholera had become permanently located. I predicted that unless the *nidus* of this fearful malady were destroyed in the Indian cities by the purification of their respective atmospheres, the disease would be extensively generated and wafted with the periodical winds from Asia to Europe. The prognostication was ridiculed: sad experience may now perhaps induce corporations and citizens of large towns to adopt timely-effective sanitary measures. By so doing a healthy climate may everywhere be obtained; but no altitude or position will avail for the prevention of endemic diseases, or for lengthening the duration of life, wherever large masses of human beings are congregated, unless complete drainage, free circulation of air, and the removal of all putrescent animal and vegetable matter be made an urgent and daily duty.

convey some idea of the thermometrical range, and the quantity of rain falling at different stations, the following table has been collated from different sources:—

Meteorological Monthly Observations for different parts of India; showing the Latitude, number of feet above the level of the sea, average Thermometer, and Rain in inches.

Places, Latitude, and Elevation above sea.	THERMOMETER.												
	Jan.	Feb.	March	April.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Mean of Year.
Calcutta, 22° 34′, 18 ft. . .	69	73	78	87	88	83	82	82	82	82	71	67	79*
Madras, 13° 5′, sea-level .	78	78	82	88	92	87	88	86	86	84	82	78	83
Bombay, 18° 57′, sea-level†	77	77	80	82	85	85	81	84	79	84	84	80	84
Tirhoot, 25° 26′, 26° 42′, little elevated . . .	60	66	76	85	89	86	84	85	81	73	—	61	78
Goorgaon, 28° 28′, 817 ft. .	70	72	80	—	104	98	85	84	89	87	75	66	—
Delhi, 28° 41′, 800 ft. . .	53	62	70	79	82	82	82	80	80	73	62	56	72
Rajpootana,‡ about 500 ft.	70	73	82	82	74	90	85	—	—	—	90	66	—
Nagpoor, 21° 10′, 930 ft. .	68	75	83	89	90	84	79	79	79	79	73	72	79
Hyderabad, 17° 22′, 1,800 ft.	74½	76¼	84	91½	93	88	81	80¼	79	80	76½	74½	81½
Bangalore, 12° 58′, 3,000 ft.	71	73	79	78	79	75	74	74	74	71	71	70	74
Hawilbagh, 29° 38′, 3,887 ft.	47	55	61	60	73	76	78	79	75	69	60	52	—
Kotagherry, 11° 27′, 6,100 ft.	59	60	61	62	62	64	64	65	64	62	60	59	61
Ootacamund, 11° 24′, 7,300 ft.	54	56	60	64	64	59	56	56	56	56	55	53	57
Mussoorie, 30° 27′, 6,282 ft.	—	—	—	—	77	70	68	68	67	61	56	—	—
Landour, 30° 27′, 7,579 ft. .	41	46	55	65	68	66	68	66	64	57	46	47	—
Darjeeling, 27° 2′, 8,000 ft.	40	42	50	55	57	61	61	61	59	58	50	43	53
	RAIN IN INCHES.												Total.
Calcutta	0 05	0·48	1·77	3·52	12·86	3·04	12·44	8 15	8 19	3 68	0 06	2 57	56·61
Nagpoor	0 40	0 50	3·84	1·01	0 21	6 25	14·93	7·51	16 32	—	2·89	0·13	53 99§
Bangalore	—	—	35	4·16	5·89	3 24	5·88	4·13	13·97	5·10	1·30	—	—
Kotagherry	2	3	6	10	2	2	4	2	2	10	2	5	50
Ootacamund	1	1	2	5	6	8	7	6	7	9	5	3	60
Darjeeling	1	—	1	2	9	26	25	29	15	8	—	—	122

The monsoons or prevailing winds within the tropics, as on the Coromandel and Malabar coasts, are denominated the *South-west* and the *North-east*; but owing to modifying circumstances, the direction is in several places changed: at Arracan, the S.W. blows more frequently from the S., and the N.E. more to the W. of N. Lower Bengal, including the country around Calcutta, has a climate more trying than that of any other part of India. November, December, and January are tolerably cool, and Europeans may walk out during the day. In February, March, April, and May, the heat daily increases, until, during the last month especially, it becomes almost intolerable; not a cloud appears in the heavens to mitigate the burning rays of the sun, which seem to penetrate into the very marrow of an European. I have known men and beasts to drop dead in the streets of Calcutta. When the monsoon is on the eve of changing, before the *chota bursaut* (little rain) set in, the nights as well as the days are oppressive; respiration becomes laborious, and all animated nature languishes: the horizon assumes a lurid glare, deepening to a fiery red; the death-like stillness of the

* Abstract of the mean annual summaries of a meteorological register kept at Calcutta, for ten years:—

Years.	Sunrise.	2·40 P.M.	Sunset.
1841 . . .	72·7°	89·0°	82·4°
1842 . . .	73·3	88·0	82·1
1843 . . .	73·3	87 6	82 5
1844 . . .	72·7	87·6	82·3
1845 . . .	73·7	86 9	82 3
1846 . . .	74·3	86·3	81·9
1847 . . .	73·2	86 1	81·1
1848 . . .	74 1	87·4	82·5
1849 . . .	73·6	86·7	81·8
1850 . . .	73 1	86·1	81·4
Mean . .	73·4	87·2	82·0

The annual fall of rain at Calcutta, during six years, commencing with 1830, averaged 64 inches. In the wet season evaporation is very slight.

† Amount of rain at Bombay for six years:—

	Inches.		Inches.
1845	54·73	1848 .	73·42
1846	87·48	1849 . . .	118·88
1847	67·31	1850 . . .	47·78

Average annual fall during thirty years, 76·08 inches. At Madras, average for eight years, 66·59 inches.

‡ Between lat. 26° 54′, and lat. 29° 23′.—(Boileau's *Tour in Rajwara*, pp. 304—317.)

§ Situation, about 350 m. from nearest part of Bay of Bengal, and 420 m. from Indian Ocean. In 1826, and in 1831, the fall of rain slightly exceeded 65 inches; the greatest registered fall was 72 inches, and that was in 1809. Average fall of rain for eight years, 48·10 inches. Proceeding westward towards the Ghauts and Indian Ocean, the rains become heavier until reaching Mahabulishwar, where the fall is probably unexampled in amount; in 1849 it was 294 inches. The mean annual quantity is 239 inches, of which 227 fell in the four monsoon months. The greatest annual fall was in 1834, when it amounted to 297 inches. Another report gives the mean annual fall, as deduced from the observation of ten years, at 229 inches; and the number of days on which rain falls, at 127.

air is occasionally broken by a low murmuring, which is responded to by the moaning of cattle: dense, dark masses of clouds roll along the Bay of Bengal, accompanied with occasional gusts of wind; streaks of lightning, after sunset, glimmer through the magazines where the electric fluid is engendered and pent up; the sky becomes obscured with mist, and lowring; next, broad sheets of lambent flame illumine each pitchy mass, until the entire heavens seem to be in a blaze; while peal after peal of thunder reverberates from cloud to cloud, like discharges of heavy artillery booming through cavernous hills, or along an amphitheatre of mountains; thin spray is scattered over the coast by the violence of the increasing gale,—the rain commences in large drops, augments to sheeted masses, and sweeps like a torrent from the sky; the surf roars along the beach,—the wind howls furiously, screaming or groaning piteously; and every element seems convulsed with the furious conflict: at length the S.W. monsoon gains the victory, and the atmosphere becomes purified and tranquil. The monsoon is felt with varying degrees of intensity at different parts of the coast; but at Madras and at Bombay the scene is one of awful grandeur. During the rains the air is saturated with moisture; and the pressure on each square inch of the human frame causes extreme lassitude and mental depression: along the sea-shore the pernicious effects are mitigated by a sea-breeze, called the "Doctor," which sets in about ten, A.M., and lasts until sunset. As the country is ascended above the ocean-level, varieties of climate are experienced; but on the plains of the Ganges and of the Indus, and in some parts of Central India, hot winds blow nearly equal in intensity to those which are felt in Australia. In few words, some idea may be conveyed of the climate of several districts:—

Bengal Proper,—hot, moist, or muggy for eight months—April to November; remainder cool, clear, and bracing.

Bahar,—cool in winter months: hot in summer; rain variable.

Oude,—fluctuating temperature and moisture; therm. range 28 to 112°; rain, 30 to 80 inches.

Benares,—mean temperature, 77°; winter cool and frosty sometimes; therm. at night, 45°, but in the day, 100°; rain variable—30 to 80 inches.

Agra,—has a wide range of temperature; in midwinter night-frosts and hail-storms sometimes cut off the cotton crop and cover the tanks with ice; yet at noon in April, therm. reaches the height of 106° in the shade.

Ghazeepoor,—range in coldest months, 58 to 71°—April, 86 to 96°; May, 86 to 95°; June, 85 to 98°; July, 86 to 96°. In the *Dehra Doon*—range 37 to 101°. In the year 1841, December mean heat, 60°; June, 88°; whole year, 74°. In 1839, total fall of rain, 67 inches; of which in July, 15; August, 26.

Cuttack and opposite coast of Bay of Bengal,—refreshed by a sea-breeze blowing continuously from March to July.

Berar,—moderate climate, according to elevation.

Madras,—cold season of short duration in the Carnatic. Mercury in therm. higher than in Bengal, sometimes 100° Fahr. Heat tempered by the sea.

Arcot,—high temperature, 110° in the shade, sometimes 130° Fahr. Few sudden vicissitudes; storms infrequent.

Salem,—fluctuating climate—in January, 58 to 82°; March, 66 to 95°; May, 75 to 96°.

Trichinopoly,—has a steady high temperature, a cloudless sky, dry and close atmosphere, with much glare and intense radiation of heat.

Vizagapatam,—on the coast is hot, moist, and relaxing; inland equally sultry, but drier.

Bellary is characterised by great aridity; rain, 12 to 26 inches; therm. falls in January to 55 or 50°; thunder-storms frequent in summer months.

Cuddapah,—average max. temperature for several years (in the shade), 98°; minn., 65°; mean, 81°: mean temperature during monsoon, 77°; max., 89°.

Madura,—on the hills mild and genial in summer; therm. seldom below 50° or above 75°; in the plains, reaching 115° and even 130°.

Travancore,—owing to proximity of mountains, humid but not oppressive.

Mysoor,—table-land cool, dry, and healthy; at Bangalore (3,000 ft. high), therm. range from 56 to 82°. The monsoons which deluge the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, have their force broken by the Ghauts on either side, and genial showers preserve the Mysoorean verdure throughout the year.

Neilgherries,—the climate resembles that of the intertropical plateaux of America; at Ootacamund (height 7,300 ft.), mean temperature rather above that of London, but ann. range very small; not sufficient sunshine to bring the finer European fruits to perfection, but corn and vegetables thrive. Lower down the vales enjoy an Italian clime; at Coimbatoor (height 4,483 ft.), during the cold season, max., 59°; minn., 31°; in April, average 65°; May, 64° Fahr.; there are no sultry nights, a blanket being acceptable as bed-covering in all seasons. In the higher regions, the air beyond the zone of clouds and mists is clear and dry, as evidenced by the great distance within which sound is heard, and by the buoyancy of the human frame.

Coorg is a bracing mountain region. Daily range, 2 to 6°; ann., 50 to 80° Fahr.; annual rain, at Mercara (4,500 ft.), 119 inches; in June, about 40 inches.

Malabar coast,—warm but agreeable; therm. 68 to 88° Fahr.; ann. rain, 120 to 130 inches.

Canara and the Concans,—beneath the Ghauts are not, tropically speaking, unhealthy, except where marsh and jungle prevail, when malaria is produced.

Bombay,—tropical heat diminished by sea-breezes.

Broach,—December to March, cool; average rain, 33 inches.

In *Guzerat*, which is the hottest part of W. India, the westerly winds are burning in May, June, and July; temperature high for nine months; average fall of rain, 30 inches.

Mahratta country,—near the Ghauts the clouds are attracted from the Indian Ocean, and a profusion of rain falls for three or four weeks without intermission, but often not extending 30 m. to the E. or S.

The *Deccan* table-land is salubrious; at Sattara, mean ann. temperature, 66°. Even in September I enjoyed the air of Poona, as a great relief from the sultry heat of Southern China. Ann. range of therm., 37 to 94°; fall of rain, light and uncertain—22 to 30 inches; among the Ghauts, 300 inches. Proceeding westward towards the Ganges, and northward through *Central India* plateau, there is a modified temperature (at Meerut, therm. falls to 32° Fahr.), with occasional hot winds, which prevail as far as Sinde and the Punjab. Sinde is dry and sultry; at Kurachee, 6 or 8 inches rain; at Hydrabad, 2 inches; at Larkhana, farther north, there was no rain for three years. Mean max. temperature of six hottest months, 98° in the shade.

Punjab,—more temperate than Upper Gangetic plain; from November to April, climate fine; summer heat, intense; hot winds blow with great violence, and frequent dust-storms in May and June render the air almost unbreathable. Rains commence in July; August and September, sickly months. The Great Desert to the S. of the Punjab has a comparatively low temperature; at Bickaneer, in winter, ponds are frozen over in February; but in summer the heat is very great; therm. 110 to 120° in the shade.

Candeish has a luxurious climate like that of Malwa.

Upper Assam has a delightful temperature; the heat bearable, and the cold never intolerable. Mean temperature of four hottest months, about 80°; of winter, 57°; mean ann., 67°; heavy rains, which commence in March and continue to October. The quantity which falls is unequal; at Gowhatty, it is about 80; at Chirra Poonjee, 200; and in the Cossya country, 500 to 600 inches = 50 ft. At this latter place there fell in 1850, no less than 502 inches = 42 ft.; in August, 1841, there were 264 inches = 22 ft., in five successive days—30 inches every 24 hours. [Let it be remembered that the *annual* fall in London is 27; in Edinburgh, 24; in Glasgow, 32 inches.] The eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, to the Straits of Malacca, is more genial and agreeable than that of the Coromandel coast: the greatest heat is in April; therm., at Mergui, 100°; the monsoon is mild, but violent to the northward.

Lower Assam and Arracan are similar to Bengal.

This rapid sketch will indicate the variety of climates in India; but it is in the loftier adjoining regions that the greatest extremes exist.

The Himalaya and Hindoo-Koosh slopes and valleys exhibit a very varied temperature, and corresponding diversity of products, from the loftiest forest trees to the stunted lichens and mosses, when the last trace of vegetable life disappears as effectually as it does at the Arctic or Antarctic Poles, snow being equally perpetual at an elevation of four to five miles (20,840 to 25,000 ft) above the sea, as at the extreme northern and southern parts of our globe. On the southern, or Indo-Gangetic side of the Himalaya, which rises like a wall from the sub-Himalaya, the snow-line commences at 12,000 to 13,000 ft. on some of the spurs or buttresses; on the northern side of the same range,—table-land of Tibet 10,000 ft. above the sea; the snow-line commences at 16,000 ft., but in some places is not found at 20,000 ft. On the southern slope cultivation ceases at 10,000 ft.; but on the northern side, cultivation extends to 14,000 ft., where birch-trees flourish; the limit of furze-bushes is at 17,000 ft. Vegetation, to some extent, indicates the more or less severity of this mountain clime: the *Deodar* has its favourite abode at 7,000 to 12,000 ft.—attains a circumference of 30 ft., and of great stature, and the wood will last, exposed to the weather, for 400 years. Various species of magnificent pines have a range of 5,000 to 12,000 ft.; the arboraceous rhododendron, every branchlet terminated by a gorgeous bunch of crimson flowers, spreads at 5,000 to 8,000 ft.; the horse-chesnut and yew commence at 6,000 ft., and end at 10,000 ft.; the oak flourishes at 7,000 to 8,000 ft.; maple, at 10,000 to 11,000 ft.; ash, poplar, willow, rose, cytisus, at 12,000; elm, at 7,000 to 10,000; birch commences at 10,000, ceases on S. slope at 13,000 ft; on N. side fine forests of this tree at 14,000 ft. Juniper met with occasionally at latter-named height; the grape attains great excellence at Koonawur, 8,000 ft., but does not ripen beyond 9,000 ft.; the currant thrives at 8,000 and 9,000 ft.; apricot, at 11,000 ft.; gooseberry and raspberry, at 10,000 to 12,000 ft.

The decrement of heat in proportion to latitude and elevation is, as yet, imperfectly ascertained. Dr. Hooker* allows one degree of Fahrenheit's thermometer for every degree of latitude and every 300 ft. of ascent above the sea; at Calcutta, in 22° 34′, the mean ann. temperature is about 79°; that of Darjeeling, in Sikhim, 27° 2′; 7,450 ft. above Calcutta, is 53°, about 26° *below* the heat of Calcutta. The decrease of temperature with elevation is much less in summer than in winter: in January, 1° = 250 ft., between 7,000 and 13,000 ft.; in July, 1° = 400 ft.; the decrement also less by day than by night. The decremental proportions of heat to height is roughly indicated by this skilful meteorologist—

1° = 300 ft.	at elevation	1,000 to 8,000 ft.
1° = 320 ft.	„	8,000 to 10,000 ft.
1° = 350 ft.	„	10,000 to 14,000 ft.
1° = 400 ft.	„	14,000 to 18,000 ft.

This must be effected by aspect and slope of elevation; by quantity of rain falling, and permeability of soil to moisture; by amount of cloud and sunshine, exposure of surface, absence of trees, undulation of the land, terrestrial radiation, and other local influences.

Within the tropics, in the northern hemisphere, the limits of perpetual congelation is 16,000 to 17,000 ft. above the sea; in lat. 30°, 14,000 ft.; in 40°, 10,000 ft.; in 50°, 6,000 ft.; in 60°, 5,000 ft.; in 70°, 1,000 ft.; and in 80° and further north, at the sea-level. In the southern hemisphere, Georgia, which is in lat. 56°, exhibits perpetual frost.

At Kumaon, winter rigour is moderated by great solar radiation, and somewhat tempered by contiguous snow-capped mountains, whence a diurnal current of air sets in as regularly as a sea-breeze on a tropical shore, and with a nearly equally invigorating effect. Snow commences to fall at the end of September, and continues until the beginning of April. During the absence of snow for five months, the mercury ranges at sunrise, 40 to 55°; at mid-day, 65 to 75° in the shade—90 to 110° Fahr. in the sun. The heat of course diminishes as height increases, except during the cold season. At Almora town, in 29° 30′, 5,400 ft. elevation, the therm. before

* In his valuable work, *Himalayan Journals*, ii., 404.

sunrise is always lowest in the valleys, and the frost more intense than on the hills of 7,000 ft. elevation, while at noon the sun is more powerful; extreme range in 24 hours, sometimes from 18 to 51° Fahr. Snow does not fall equally in every season; the natives say the greatest fall is every third year. On the Ghagor range, between Almora and the plains, snow remains so late as the month of May. At Mussoorie, 6,000 to 7,000 ft. high, the mean ann. heat is only 57° Fahr.; indeed, at 4,000 ft. hot winds cease, and vegetation assumes an European character. Annual fall of rain at Almora, 40 to 50 inches.

The northernmost part of Nepaul valley, between 27 and 28°, and elevation of 4,000 ft., has a climate somewhat similar to that of the southern parts of Europe. In winter a hoar-frost commonly covers the ground, occasionally for three or four months, freezing the standing pools and tanks, but not severe enough to arrest the flow of rivers. In summer noon, the mercury stands at 80 to 87° Fahr. The seasons are very nearly like those of Upper Hindoostan; the rains set in earlier, and from the S.E. are usually very copious, and break up about October, causing excessive inundations in some places from the mountain torrents. In a few hours, the inhabitants, by ascending the sides of the enclosing mountains, may exchange a Bengal heat for a Siberian winter.

At Darjeeling the atmosphere is relatively more humid than at Calcutta; the belt of sandy and grassy land, at the foot of the Himalaya, only 300 ft. higher than in Calcutta, and 3½° N. of that city, is, during the spring months, March and April, 6 or 7° colder; and though there is absolutely less moisture in the air, it is relatively more humid; this is reversed after the rains commence. The south wind, which brings all the moisture from the Bay of Bengal, discharges annually 60 to 80 inches of rain in traversing 200 m. of land; but the temperature is higher in advancing north-west from the Bay of Bengal: which may be caused from the absence of any great elevation in the Gangetic valley and plain, and its being walled in to the northward by the Himalaya mountains.

Elevation causes in Afghanistan a corresponding diversity of climate: at Cabool, which is considered to be very salubrious, and 6,396 ft. above the sea, the air is warmer in summer and colder in winter than that of England; and the diurnal therm. range is great, amounting to 40°. June, July, and August are the hottest; December, January, and February the coldest months,—the mercury falling several degrees below zero Fahr.; but the sun possesses sufficient power at mid-day to melt the surface of the snow, which, however, is again frozen at night. The seasons are very regular; the sky is unclouded, the air bright and clear, with scarcely any rain; in November a few showers are followed by snow; and from the middle of March till the 1st of May, there is incessant rain, which melts the snow rapidly, and causes a sudden transition from winter to summer (with but little spring), when thunder and hail-storms occur; earthquakes are not unfrequent during winter in the immediate vicinity of the lofty ranges, but are said to be unknown at Candahar. Prevailing winds, N.N.W. and W.; E. seldom; winter, calm; variable at breaking up of the season.*

Cashmere valley, by its elevation (5,000 ft.), has a cool climate; in winter the celebrated lake is slightly frozen over, and the ground covered with snow to the depth of 2 ft.; hottest months, July and August, therm. 80 to 85° at noon, when the air is sometimes oppressive from want of circulation.

But it is in the loftier regions that the peculiarities caused by altitude are most observable: at—

Bussahir,—the climate varies from that of the intertropical at Rampoor, 3,260 ft.† above the sea, to that of the region of perpetual congelation: in parts bordering on the table-land of Tartary the air is at one season characterised by aridity greater than that of the most scorching parts of the torrid zone. In October, and later in the year, when the winds blow with the greatest violence, woodwork shrinks and warps, and leather and paper curl up as if held to a fire; the human body exposed to those arid winds in a few minutes show the surface collapsed, and if long left in this condition life becomes extinct. Vegetation with difficulty struggles against their effects. Gerard found tracts exposed to them to have a most desolate and dreary aspect; not a single tree, or blade of green grass, was distinguishable for near 30 m., the ground being covered with a very prickly plant, which greatly resembled furze in its withered state. This shrub was almost black, seeming as if burnt; and the leaves were so much parched from the arid winds of Tartary, that they might be ground to powder by rubbing them between the hands. Those winds are generally as violent as hurricanes, rendering it difficult for the traveller to keep his feet. The uniform reports of the inhabitants represent the year as continual sunshine, except during March and April, when there are some showers, and a few clouds hang about the highest mountains; but a heavy fall of rain or snow is almost unknown. The excessive cold and aridity on the most elevated summits cause the snow to be there so light, loose, and powdery, that it is continually swept like smoke through the air by the tempestuous winds. The limit of perpetual congelation in Bussahir ascends to the northward.

The direct rays of the sun are extremely hot at great elevations: insomuch, that Jacquemont found the stones on the ground on the table-land of Tartary, at an elevation of 15,000 or 16,000 ft., become so hot in sunshine, as to be nearly unbearable by the hand; at an elevation of 18,000 ft., Gerard found the rays of the sun so oppressive that he was obliged to wrap his face in a blanket.

At *Bulti* or *Little Tibet* the atmosphere is very clear and dry. But though rain is almost unknown, snow falls, and lies from the depth of 1 to 2 ft. The cold in the elevated parts is intense in winter; on the high and unsheltered table-land of Deotsuh, it at that season totally precludes the existence of animal life. The heat in the lower parts in summer is considerable, the therm.‡ ranging from 70 to 90° in the shade at noon.

At *Ladakh* the climate is characterised by cold and excessive aridity. The snow-line is so usually high in Spiti and Ruphsu, at the south-eastern extremity of Ladakh, as to show the utter futility of attempting to theorise respecting the so-called isosthermal lines, in the present scanty and imperfect state of our information as to the data from

* Notes of observations, 1st April, 1838, to 31st March, 1840, in Afghanistan.—(*Calcutta Jour. Nat. Hist.*

† The Choora district (valley of the Pabur, 4,800 feet) is a beautiful and fertile tract, with a delightful climate.

‡ Thornton's *Gazetteer: Afghanistan, &c.*, vol. i., p. 120.

which they should be determined. Gerard says, respecting Spiti, in lat. 32°, that the marginal limit of the snow, which, upon the sides of Chimborazo, occurs at 15,700 ft., is scarcely permanent in Thibet at 19,000, and upon the southward aspect has no well-defined boundary at 21,000 ft.; and one summit, 22,000 ft. high, was seen by him to be free of snow on the last day in August. This absence of snow probably results, in part, from the very small quantity of moisture kept suspended in the highly rarefied atmosphere, in part from the intense heat of the direct rays of the sun, the latter cause being in some degree dependent on the former. "Wherever we go," observes Gerard, "we find the sun's rays oppressive." In one instance, in the beginning of September, at an elevation of 15,500 ft., a thermometer, resting upon the rocks, marked 158°; in another, at 14,500 ft., the instrument, placed on sand, marked 130°; and in a small tent, at an elevation of 13,000 ft., it indicated 110°. These phenomena he attributed to the rarefaction and tenuity of the atmosphere, from elevation and the absence of moisture,—circumstances which allow of such immediate radiation of heat, that at the same moment there will be a difference of more than 100° between places only a few hundred yards asunder, occasioned by the one receiving, and the other being excluded, from the direct rays of the sun. At Ruphsu, at the elevation of 16,000 ft., it freezes every night, even at Midsummer; but the heat of the day so far countervails the cold of night, that the Lake Chamorereil is free from ice during the summer months. At Le, having an elevation of about 10,000 ft., frosts, with snow and sleet, commence early in September and continue until May; the therm. from the middle of December to February, ranges from 10 to 20°; even in June, the rivulets are often, at night, coated with ice. Moorcroft, during his Himalayan travels, found the therm., when exposed to the sun's rays at mid-day in July, to range from 134 to 144°. The atmosphere is in general dry in all parts of the country.

In the works of Gerard, Lloyd, Moorcroft, Vigue, Jacquemont, and Hooker, useful details are given on the meteorology of these lofty regions.

The climate of India is not inimical to the European constitution: that of Bengal and other low districts is very trying, especially to those who do not follow a strictly temperate course in all things; but there are many instances of Englishmen living for a quarter of a century at Calcutta, and on returning to England, enjoying another quarter of a century of existence, preserving, to old age, a vigorous mental and bodily frame.* In the hot and moist parts of India, abdominal diseases,—in the warm and dry, hepatic action or congestion prevail. Exposure at night, especially to malaria or the effluvia arising from intense heat and decomposing vegetable and animal matter, causes a bilious remittent (popularly called jungle fever), which operates as a poison on the human system, and becomes rapidly fatal if not counteracted by mercury or some other poison, or unless the morbific matter be expelled, and the patient have strength of frame to survive the fever.

The direct rays of a nearly vertical sun, and even those also of the moon, cause affections of the brain which are frequently fatal; and when not so, require removal to the temperate zone for their relief. The establishment of sanataria at elevated and healthy positions, has proved a great benefit to Anglo-Indians, who at Darjeeling, Simla, Landour, Mussoorie, Mount Aboo, the Neilgherries, and other places, are enabled to enjoy a European temperature and exercise,—to check the drain on the system from the cutaneous pores being always open,—to brace the fibres and tone the nerves, which become gradually relaxed by the long continuance of a high temperature. As India becomes more clear and cultivated, and facilities for locomotion by railroads and steam-boats are augmented, the health of Europeans will improve, and their progeny will derive a proportionate benefit: but it is doubtful whether there is any part of the country where a European colony would *permanently* thrive, so as to preserve for successive generations the stamina and energy of the northern races.

The diseases that prevail among the Indians vary with locality: low, continued fever is most prevalent in flat, and rheumatism in moist regions. Leprosy and other skin disorders are numerous among the poorest classes. *Elephantiasis*, or swelling of the legs; *berri-berri*, or enlargement of the spleen; torpidity of the liver, weakness of the lungs, and ophthalmia, are common to all ranks and places: goitre is found among the hill tribes; cholera and influenza sometimes decimate large masses of the people. Numerous maladies, engendered by early and excessive sensuality, exist among rich and poor, and medical or chirurgical skill are consequently everywhere in great request. The inhabitants of India, generally speaking, except in the more elevated districts, have not the robust frames or well-wearing constitutions which result from an improved social state, or from the barbarism which is as yet free from the vices and defects of an imperfect civilisation: the inhabitants of the torrid zone do not enjoy a longevity equal to those who dwell in the temperate climates of the earth.

* Mr. W. C. Blaquiere, for a long period police magistrate at Calcutta, died there in 1854, æt. 95: he arrived at Bengal in 1774.

GEOLOGY.—It will require many more years of scientific research before an accurate geological map can be laid down for India.* Immense tracts covered with impenetrable forests,—the few Europeans in the country occupied with military and civil governmental duties,—the lassitude of mind and body which, sooner or later, oppresses the most energetic,—and the malaria which inevitably destroys those who attempt to investigate the crust of the earth, overrun with jungle, or immersed in swamp;—these, and other obstacles render the prosecution of this science a matter of extreme difficulty. All that can be attempted in a work of this nature is to collate the best known data, and arrange them in outline, for reference and future systematic exposition.†

Rerepresentatives of all the series found in Europe and other parts of the world, are traceable in India. Mr. Carter has industriously noted the observations of various investigators; and the following summary is partly abstracted from his compilation:—

OLDER METAMORPHIC STRATA.—*Gneiss, Mica Schiste, Chlorite Schiste, Hornblende Schiste, Quartz Rock, Micaceous Slate, Talcose Slate, Clay Slate, Granular Limestone.*

Gneiss.—Most general and abundant,—occurring in different parts of the Himalaya; Oodeypoor; near Baroda; Zillah Bahar; Rajmahal hills; Phoonda Ghaut; Northern Circars; and more or less throughout "peninsula" (? Deccan) to the Palghaut, and probably to Cape Comorin: it is frequently veined by granite, contains in most places specular iron ore: beds of garnets common everywhere; corundum in southern India, and beryl in Mysoor. Composition varied in texture, compactness, and with more or less mica; colour—speckled, black, brown, reddish gray to white; sometimes tinted green where chlorite replaces mica: when very fine-grained and decomposing, gneiss bears a close resemblance to fine-grained sandstone.

Mica Schiste.—Southern Mahratta country, and western extremities of Vindhya range, passes into micaceous slate at the Phoonda Ghaut: veined with quartz, but no granite: being associated with gneiss and hornblende schistes, they pass into each other.

Chlorite Schiste.—Southern Mahratta country: it also contains garnets.

Hornblende Schiste, forms the sides of the Neilgherries, where it is from five to seven miles in breadth: garnets found in it. Southern Mahratta country, Salem; and often passes into mica schiste on the Malabar coast.

Quartz Rock.—Hills between Delhi and Alwur, and between Ajmere and Oodeypoor; mountains around Deybur Lake, Chittoor, and at the western part of the Vindhya range, with mica slate; southern Mahratta country; more or less in the granitic plains of Hydrabad, and in the *droogs* of Mysoor. The rock is compact and granular in the Ajmere mountains; and of a red, violet, gray, or brown colour; brilliantly white in the Mahratta country. Mica is frequently disseminated throughout the rock in large masses; talc and chlorite, occasionally.

Micaceous Slate and Chlorite Slate.—Both at the Phoonda Ghaut; and the latter in the Mahratta country. The micaceous occurs in the Indo-Gangetic chain, Koonawur; and in the Soolumbur range, Oodeypoor.

Clay Slate, appears to be of great thickness, and considerable extent, viz., from the Arravulli range, the lower part of which is composed of this formation; thence to Oodeypoor, *vid* the Soolumbur range, across the Durgawud valley to Malwa, on the Kistnah; southern Mahratta country, Nellore; and in the Eastern Ghauts at Jungamanipenta, a ferruginous clay-slate overlies the trap at Mahabulishwar. In the Arravulli it is massive, compact, and of a dark blue colour. The Soolumbur range is almost entirely composed of this and chlorite slates. Micaceous passes into clay-slate at the Phoonda, and, farther south, the Saltoor passes (Western Ghauts.) This also occurs at the Carrackpoor hills (Bahar), where the clay-slate is about twenty miles wide, and extends in the direction of the strata.‡

PLUTONIC ROCKS.—*Granite, Diorite or Greenstone.*

Granite.—Himalaya; Ajmere and around Jeypoor, traversing the mountains in veins and dykes; the Arravulli range consists chiefly of granite, resting on slate; Mount Aboo; from Balmeer across the sands to Nuggur Parkur; the Gir; Girnar; between Oodeypoor and Malwa, are all varieties: it extends more or less southward to the Nerbudda; on that river between Mundela and Amarkantak, Jubbulpoor, Kalleenjur, Zillah Bahar, Carrackpoor hills; in Bhagulpore and Monghyr districts; near Baitool; Nagpore territory; Cuttack; Orissa; Northern Circars; Hydrabad; between the Kistnah and Godavery; Gooty; Neilgherries; Malabar coast at Vingorla; Coromandel; between Madras and Pondicherry; ending at Cape Comorin. The granitic rocks vary in structure and composition, as they do in colour: thus there are *syenitic, pegmatitic,* and *protogenic.* It is gray at Ramteak in Nagpoor, red generally in

* The late eminent geologist, J. B. Greenough, has made an excellent beginning by his large map on this subject, and by the voluminous materials he collected.

† See a valuable *Summary of the Geology of India, between the Ganges, the Indus, and Cape Comorin;* by H. J. Carter, Asst. Surg. Bombay Establishment, Aug., 1853: reprinted from Journal of Bombay British Asiatic Society, p. 156.

‡ In the neighbourhood of Calcutta a series of boring experiments to find water, were carried on at intervals between 1804 and 1833; the results were—artificial soil at surface; next, as follows: a light blue or gray-coloured sandy clay, becoming gradually darker from decayed vegetable matter, until it passes at 30 ft. deep into a 2 ft. stratum of black peat, apparently formed by the *debris* of Sunderbund vegetation, which was once the delta of the Ganges; below the peat a black clay, and in this and the gray clay immediately above the peat, logs and branches of yellow and red wood, found in a more or less decayed state. In one instance only bones were discovered, at 28 ft. deep. Under blue clays, at 50 to 70 ft. deep, *kunkur* and *bagiri* (apparently small land shells, as seen in Upper India.) At 70 ft. a seam of loose reddish sand,—75 to 125 ft. beds of yellow clay predominate, frequently stiff and pure like potter's clay, but generally mixed with sand and mica: horizontal strata of kunkur pass through it, resembling exactly those found at Midnapoor. Below 128 ft. a more sandy yellow clay prevails, which gradually changes to a gray, loose sand, becoming coarser in quality to the lowest depth yet reached (176 ft.), where it contains angular fragments, as large as peas, of quartz and felspar.

the Deccan, but at Vencatigherry (Mysoor), and at Vingorla, gray: in the Neilgherries it is syenitic.

Greenstone. — Hazareebagh, Mahratta country, Mysoor, Nellore, Chingleput, Madras, Trichinopoly, Salem, in the granitic plains of Hydrabad; and extensively throughout Southern India. In the Deccan the dykes may be traced continuously for twenty miles; about Hydrabad they are from 100 to 300 feet broad; about four miles from Dhonee, between Gooty and Kurnool, there is one 150 feet high, and 200 feet broad, passing through a range of sandstone and limestone mountains.

SILURIAN ROCKS.—*Greywacke.*—Ghiddore, Rajmahal hills; Kumaon. It is a quartzoze sandstone; yellow colour, resinous lustre, and compact splintery fracture.

Transition or Cambrian Gneiss, is of great extent in Bhagulpore district, composing two-thirds of the country between the Curruckpore and Rajmahal hills, and the greater portion of the southern ridges of the latter group. It consists of quartz, more or less, hornblende, felspar, mica, and garnet pebbles.

OOLITIC. — *Limestone.*—Cutch; near Neemuch, Malwa; Bundelcund; on the river Sone; Firozabad, on the Bheema; Kuladgee, in the southern Mahratta country; on the Kistnah; and as far south as Cuddapah. Though its principal characters are its uniform lithographic texture, solidity, conchoidal smooth fracture, and hardness,—dendritic surface, smoky gray colour, passing into dark smoky blue; and parallel thin stratification,—it differs when departing from its general composition, just as the shales differ which interlaminate it, the coal strata, and the sandstone, as being more or less argillaceous, bituminous, or quartziferous; of different degrees of hardness, coarseness, and friability of structure; and of all kinds of colours, streaked and variegated. It is occasionally veined, and interlined with jasper and light-coloured cherts, which, near Cuddapah, give it a rough appearance; also contains drusy cavities, calcedonies, and cornelian, north of Nagpoor: in the bed of the Nerbudda between Lamaita and Beragurh, near Jubbulpoor, of a snow-white colour, and traversed by chlorite schiste. It is frequently denuded of its overlying sandstone and shales in Southern India, and in this state is not uncommonly covered by trap, as near Ferozabad on the Bheema.

Thickness, 310 feet near Kurnool; 10 to 30 feet on the Bheema, with strata from 2 inches to 2 feet thick. In the part of the Himalaya examined by Captain Strachey, the secondary limestones and shales were several thousand feet in thickness, the upper portion being in some places almost made up of fragments of shells.

If the white crystalline marble generally of India is allowed to be metamorphic strata, this limestone exists in the Girnar rock of Kattywar; the lithographic form in Cutch, and between Neemuch and Chittore; the white marble about Oodeypoor, and northwards in the neighbourhood of Nusseerabad, Jeypoor, Bessona, and Alwar; a narrow strip about 150 m. long in Bundelcund; again about Bidjyghur and Rhotasghur on the Sone; white marble in the bed of the Nerbudda, near Jubbulpoor; in the hills north-east of Nagpoor; near the junction of the Godavery and Prenheta rivers; thence along the Godavery more or less to Rajahmundry; Sholapoor district; on the Bheema; of every variety of colour, and greatly disturbed and broken up about Kaludgee, in the southern Mahratta country; along the Kistnah, from Kurnool to Amarawattee; and more or less over the triangular area formed by the latter place, Gooty, and the Tripetty hills. Chunam, an argillaceous limestone, used for building in Bengal, Bahar, Benares, &c.;* occurs in nodules in the alluvium, which, at Calcutta, is 500 to 600 feet thick. Near Benares, it contains fragments of fresh-water shells. South of Madras, a dark clay abounds in marine shells, used in preference for lime-burning to those on the beach, as beeing freer from salt.

Sandstone,—appears to be composed of very fine grains of quartz, and more or less mica, united together by an argillaceous material. It exists in Cutch; in the Panna range, Bundelcund; the Kymore hills; Ceded Districts; in lat 18°, 15 m. west of the Godavery; on the banks of the Kistnah; plains of the Carnatic, and the districts watered by the Pennar river. It is present in the sub-Himalaya range, and in the Rajmahal hills. All the towns on the Jumna, from Delhi to Allahabad, appear to be built of this sandstone. The plains of Beekaneer, Joudpore, and Jessulmere, are covered with the loose sand of this formation. It borders on the northern and western sides of the great trappean tract of Malwa, and forms the north-eastern boundary of the Western India volcanic district.

Its thickness varies, either from original inequality, or subsequent denudation. Its greatest depth, at present known, is in the eastern part of the Kymore range, where it is 700 feet at Bidjighur; and 1,300 feet at Rhotasghur; at the scarps of the waterfalls over the Panna range, it does not exceed 360 or 400 feet; from 300 to 400 feet is its thickness near Ryelcherroo and Sundrogam, in the Ceded Districts. Its greatest height above the sea is on the banks of the Kistnah, 3,000 feet. Organic remains are very abundant in this formation. It has been ascertained that the great trap deposit of the Western Ghauts, rests on a sandstone containing vegetable remains, chiefly ferns.

VOLCANIC ROCKS.†—*Trap.*—The largest tract is on the western side of India, and extends continuously from the basin of the Malpurba to Neemuch in Malwa; and from Balsar, about 20 m. south of the mouth of the Taptee, to Nagpoor. This is probably the most remarkable trap-formation existing on

* The British Residency at Hydrabad (Deccan) is a specimen; the Corinthian columns, &c., being executed in white chunam.

† Volcanic fires are said by the natives to exist among the loftier peaks of the Hindoo-Koosh and the Himalayan ranges, but earthquakes are of rare occurrence. A severe one was, however, experienced throughout a large extent of country on 26th August, 1833,—vibration from N.E. to S.W., with three principal shocks: first at 6·30 P.M.; second, 11·30 P.M.; and third, at five minutes to midnight. It was most severely felt at and near Katmandoo, where about 320 persons perished: the trembling of the earth commenced gradually, and then travelled with the rapidity of lightning towards the westward; it increased in violence until the houses seemed shaken from their foundations,—large-sized trees bent in all directions; the earth heaved fearfully; and while the air was perfectly calm, an awful noise burst forth as if from an hundred cannon. Probably in India, as in Australia, subterranean igneous action, which was formerly very violent, is now almost quiescent, or finds its vent through mighty chimneys at a height of four or five miles above the sea. The Lunar Lake, 40 m. from Saulna, is a vast crater 500 ft. deep, and nearly 5 m. round the margin; its waters are green and bitter, supersaturated with alkaline carbonate, and containing silex and some iron in solution: the mud is black, and abounds with sulphuretted hydrogen; the water is, nevertheless, pure and void of smell.

the surface of the globe; its breadth is about 335 m. N. to S.; length, about 350 m. E. to W.; and covers an area of from 200,000 to 250,000 sq. m.* Another portion extends from Jubbulpoor to Amarkantak, thence south-westerly towards Nagpoor. It constitutes the core of the Western Ghauts, and predominates in the Mahadeo and Sautpoora mountains.

Its two grand geological features along the Ghauts, where it has attained the highest elevation, are flat summits and regular stratification. Fourteen beds have been numbered in Malwa, the lowest and largest of which is 300 feet thick. These are equally numerous, if not more so, along the Ghauts, but the scarps are of much greater magnitude. Besides its stratification, it is in many places columnar; as in the beds of the Nerbudda and Chumbul; and the hill-fort of Singhur presents a surface of pentagonal divisions.

Wherever the effusions exist to any great extent, they appear to be composed of *laterite* above, then *basalt*, and afterwards *trappite* and *amygdaloid.*

Basalt.—There are two kinds of this rock; a dark blue-black, and a brown-black. Both are semi-crystalline. Their structure is massive, stratified, columnar, or prismoidal. Dark blue is the basalt of Bombay Island, brown-black that of the Deccan.

To this general description, I may add what I have been enabled to glean of the specific structure of some of the principal positions:—

Himalayas.—Formations primary: the first strata, which is towards the plain, consists of limestone, lying on clay-slate, and crowned by slate, greywacke, or sandstone. Beyond the limestone tract, gneiss, clay-slate, and other schistose rocks occur; granite arises in the mountains near the snowy ranges. The peaks are generally composed of schistose rocks, but veined by granite to a great elevation. Kamet, however, is an exception, appearing to consist of granite alone. Greenstone dykes rise through and intersect the regular rocks. Strata fractured in all directions; slate, as if crushed, and the limestone broken into masses. The soil is principally accumulated on the northern side.

The formation of the Indo-Gangetic chain, in Koonawur, is mostly gneiss and mica-slate; in some places, pure mica. On the left bank of the Sutlej, granite prevails, forming the Raldang peaks. Further north, it becomes largely intermixed with mica-slate; to the north-east changes into secondary limestone, and schistose rocks, abounding in marine exuviæ.† In Kumaon, the Himalayas are composed of crystalline gneiss, veined by granite; the range forming the north-eastern boundary, is believed to be of recent formation. The mountainous tract south of the principal chain in Nepaul consists of limestone, hornstone, and conglomerate. The Sewalik (the most southerly and lowest range of the Himalayan system) is of alluvial formation, consisting of beds of clay, sandstone with mica, conglomerate cemented by calcareous matter, gravel, and rolled stones of various rocks. The supposition is, that it is the *debris* of the Himalaya, subsequently upheaved by an earthquake. The geology of the Sewalik is characterised by the occurrence of quantities of fossil remains.

Punjab.—Near the north-east frontier, in the vicinity of the Himalaya, is an extensive tract of rocks and deposits of recent formation; limestone, sandstone, gypsum, argillaceous slate; occasionally veins of quartz.

The Salt-range.—Greywacke, limestone, sandstone, and red tenaceous clay, with deposits of chloride of sodium, or common salt.

The Sufied-Koh is *primary*, consisting of granite, quartz, mica, gneiss, slate, and primary limestone.

The Suliman mountains are of *recent* formations, principally sandstone and secondary limestone, abounding in marine exuviæ.

Central India.—Arravulli range, generally primitive, consisting of granite, quartz, and gneiss. Formation along banks of upper course of Nerbudda, trappean; lower down, at Jubbulpoor, granitic; at Bhera Ghur, channel contracted between *white* cliffs of magnesian limestone; at the junction of the Towah, there is a ledge of *black* limestone: at, and near Kal Bhyru, slate of various sorts; basaltic rocks scattered over channel. Ranges enclosing Nemaur, banks of rivers, and eminences in the valley, basaltic. Saugor and Nerbudda territory; eastern part, towards Amarkantak, generally sandstone; from here it extends westward, forming the table-land bounding Nerbudda valley on the north, and is intermixed with marl, slate, and limestone. The volcanic tract commences about lon. 79°, and extends to about the town of Saugor, which is situate on its highest part. This (trap), with that of sandstone, further east, may be considered to belong to the Vindhya; and the former to the Mahadeo and Sautpoora ranges. In some places, primitive rocks appear through the overlying bed. The Bindyachal hills are of horizontally-stratified sandstone; Panna hills, sandstone, intermixed with schiste and quartz; and, to the west, overlaid by limestone.

Western Ghauts.—The great core is of primary formation, inclosed by alternating strata of more recent origin. These have been broken up by prodigious outbursts of volcanic rocks; and from Mahabulishwar northward, the overlying rock is exclusively of the trap formation; behind Malabar they are of primitive trap, in many places overlaid by immense masses of laterite, or iron-clay. The Vurragherry or Pulnai hills (Madura) are gneiss, stratified with quartz; in some places precipices of granite.

Nagpoor.—North-western and western part, volposed of shell limestone, the large blocks composed of a multitude of shells of different sizes, imbedded in a mass of calcareous tufa. Four classes of shell formation were distinguished; one in particular, a freshwater bivalve, resembling the *unio*, which exists in great abundance at the foot of the lower hills and throughout the Dooab. In the Neermal hills, N. of the Godavery, on the road from Hydrabad to Nagpoor, many very perfect fossil shells, mostly bivalves, and evidently marine, have been discovered imbedded in a volcanic rock, together with the head and vertebræ of a fish: the formations around rest everywhere on granite; and there are several hot-springs holding lime in solution. Univalves and bivalves, particularly buccinum, ammonites, and mussels, abound in Malwa.

* The rock in which the Ellora caves are excavated is said to be a basaltic trap, which, from its green tinge and its different stages from hardness to disintegration, is supposed by the natives to be full of vegetable matter, in a greater or less advance to putrefaction: the crumbling rock affords a natural green colour, which is ground up and employed in painting on wet chunam (lime plaster.)

† Dr. Gerard found some extensive tracts of shell formation 15,000 ft. above the sea. The principal shells comprised cockles, mussels, and pearl-fish; nummulites and long cylindrical productions. These shells, of which many were converted into carb. of lime, some crystallised like marble, were lying upon the high land in a bed of granite, and pulverised state: the adjacent rocks com-

canic, principally basalt and trap. This terminates at the city of Nagpoor, and the primitive, mostly granite and gneiss, rises to the surface.

Mysoor.—The *droogs*, huge isolated rocks, scattered over the surface; vary in elevation from 1,000 to 1,500 feet; bases seldom exceeding 2 m. in circumference; generally composed of granite, gneiss, quartz, and hornblende; in many places overlaid by laterite.

SOIL,—mainly determined by the geological character of each district, except in the deltas, or on the banks of rivers, as in the Punjab, where an alluvium is accumulated. The land in Lower Bengal is of inexhaustible fertility, owing partly to the various salts and earthy limestone with which the deposits from the numerous rivers are continually impregnated: it is generally of a light sandy appearance. The alluvium of Scinde is a stiff clay; also that of Tanjore, Sumbulpore, and Cuttack, by the disintegration of granitic rocks. A nitrous (saltpetre) soil is general in Bahar; in the vicinity of Mirzapoor town, it is strongly impregnated with saline particles; and at many places in Vizagapatam. The *regur*, or cotton ground, which extends over a large part of Central India, and of the Deccan, is supposed to be formed by a disintegration of trap rocks; it slowly absorbs,* and long retains moisture; and it has produced, in yearly succession, for centuries, the most exhausting crops. It spreads over the table-lands of the Ceded Districts and Mysoor, flanks the Neilgherry and Salem hills, and pervades the Deccan, but has not been observed in the Concans. It is a fine, black, argillaceous mould, containing, in its lower parts, nodules, and pebbly alluvium. *Kunkur* (a calcareous conglomerate)† fills up the cavities and fissures of the beds beneath it; and angular fragments of the neighbouring rocks are scattered over its surface. It contains no fossils. In some parts it is from 20 to 40 feet thick. *Kunkur* is common in the north-western provinces, the rocks often advancing into the channel of the Jumna, and obstructing the navigation. In the western part of Muttra district, it is mixed with sand: in Oude, some patches of this rock, which undergo abrasion very slowly, stand 70 or 80 feet above the neighbouring country, which, consisting of softer materials, has been washed away by the agency of water. Its depth, in the eastern part of Meerut district, is from one to 20 feet. In the Dooab, between the Ganges and Jumna, and in many parts of the N.W. provinces, there is a light rich loam, which produces excellent wheat; at Ghazeepore, a light clay, with more or less sand, is favourable for sugar and for roses. As the Ganges is ascended before reaching Ghazeepore, the soil becomes more granitic, and is then succeeded by a gravel of burnt clay, argite, and cinders, resembling what is seen in basaltic countries. Assam, which has been found so well adapted for the culture of tea, has for the most part a black loam reposing on a gray, sandy clay; in some places the surface is of a light yellow clayey texture. The soil usually found in the vicinity of basaltic mountains is of a black colour, mixed with sand. Disintegrated granite, where felspar predominates, yields much clay.

A sandy soil exists in the centres of the *Dooabs*, of the Punjab; more or less in Paniput, Rhotuck, and Hurriana districts: Jeypoor, Machery, and Rajpootana; and in some parts of Scinde; in Mysoor, a brown and rather sandy earth prevails; Trichinopoly is arid and sandy; and near Tavoy town, on the E. side of the Bay of Bengal, there is a large plain, covered with sand.

The soil of Nagpoor, in some tracts, is a black, heavy loam, loaded with vegetable matter; red loam is found in Salem and in Mergui.

Tinnevelly has been found well suited for the cotton plant, and the substance in which it delights looks like a mixture of lime, rubbish, and yellowish brickdust, intermixed with nodules of *Kunkur*.‡ A chymical analysis of three of the best cotton soils in these districts, gives the following result:§—

Cotton Soils.	Vegetable matter.	Saline and Extractive.	Iron.			Carb. lime.	Magnesia.	Alumina	Silex.	Water and loss.	Remarks.
			Protox	Deutox.	Tritox.						
Bundelcund	2 00	0 33	—	7 75	—	11 90	trace	3 10	74·0	1·00	No peat or lignite; nothing soluble in cold water; silex in fine powder; kunkur in the gravel.
Coimbatore	2 30	traces	4 00	—	—	7·50	trace	2·80	82·80	0·60	Gravel, mostly silex, with some felspar, but no kunkur.
Tinnevelly .	0·15	0 20	—	--	2 88	19 50	0 15	2 00	74·00	1·12	Gravel, almost wholly kunkur; some carb iron; half the soil of gravel.

Guzerat is generally termed the Garden of Western India. With the exception of Kattywar, and to the eastward of Broach, it is one extensive plain, comprising many different soils; the chief varieties being the black or cotton soil, and the *gorat*, or light grain-producing soil.|| The former is chiefly confined to Broach and part of Surat N. of the Taptee; the latter prevails throughout Baroda, Kaira, and part

* All the soils of India have, in general, a powerful absorbing quality; hence their fertile properties.

† *Kunkur.*—A calcareous concretion, stratified and in mammillated masses of all sizes, which contains 50 to 80 per cent. of carbonate of lime, some magnesia, iron, and alumina: these nodules are interspersed in large quantities throughout extensive tracts of the alluvial and secondary formations, and are ascribed to the action of calcareous springs, which are of frequent occurrence.

‡ It is curious to note, in different countries, how plants seem to vary in their feeding: thus, at Singapore, the best cotton soil *apparently* consists of large coarse grains of white sand, mixed with something like rough charcoal-dust, and with fragments of vegetables and mosses of all sorts. A somewhat similar substance, mingled with shells and decayed vegetable matter, is the favourite *habitat* of the Sea Island cotton of Georgia, U. S.

§ See an interesting *Essay on the Agriculture of Hindoostan*, by G. W. Johnston.

|| See Mackay's valuable *Report on Western India*, p. 41.

of Ahmedabad, becoming more mixed with sand to the northward; black soil abounds to the westward of the Gulf, and in many of the Kattywar valleys. The numerous vegetable products of India attest the variety of soils which exist there.

MINERALS.—Various metals have been produced and wrought in India from the earliest ages: the geological character of the different districts indicates their presence. So far as we have yet ascertained, their distribution is as follows:—

Iron.—Ladakh.—Mines in the north-eastern part of the Punjab,* and in almost every part of Kumaon, where the requisite smelting processes are performed; though on a small scale, and in a rude and inefficient manner. Mairwarra; in veins, and of good quality, believed to be inexhaustible. Rajmahal; in gneiss. Lalgang, 16 miles south-west of Mirzapoor city. Kuppudgode hills; in schistes, quartz, and gneiss: on the north-east side, one stratum of iron, 60 feet thick. Ramghur—hills abounding in iron, though not of the best quality. Hazareebagh, in gneiss;—flinty brown colour, pitchy lustre, and splintery fracture; 20 feet thick. Various parts of Palamow district; at Singra in inexhaustible quantities. Eastern part of Nagpoor territory. Mine of good quality at Tendukhera, near Jubbulpoor (were the navigation of the Nerbudda available, this would prove a most useful article of export for railways.) Western extremity of Vindhya; in gneiss. Southern Mahratta country; in quartz: micaceous and magnetic iron-ore occur in the same district; in clay-slate. In all the mountains of the Western Ghauts; in Malabar; in veins, beds, or masses, in the laterite (here extensively smelted.) Salem, southern part (yields 60 per cent. of the metal fit for castings.) Nellore district. In many places in Masulipatam. Rajahmundry; in sandstone hills. Vizagapatam. Abundant in many parts of Orissa. Tenasserim provinces; occurs in beds, veins, and in rocks. Between the Saluen and Gyne rivers, it is found in sandstone hills. Most abundant between Ye and Tavoy, approximating the sea-coast; the best is at a short distance north of Tavoy town: it is there in two forms—common magnetic iron-ore; and massive, in granular concretions, crystallized, splendent, metallic, highly magnetic, and with polarity. The ore would furnish from 74 to 80 per cent. raw iron. In various places the process of smelting is rudely performed by the natives, but they produce a metal which will bear comparison with the best Swedish or British iron.†

Tin.—Oodeypoor,—mines productive. On the banks of the Barakur, near Palamow; in gneiss, Tenasserim provinces. Tavoy, rich in tin-ore; generally found at the foot of mountains, or in hills: Pakshan river; soil in which the grains are buried, yields 8 or 10 feet of metal; at Tavoy, 7 feet; of superior quality in the vicinity of Mergui town.

Lead.—Ladakh. Koonawur. Ajmere; in quartz rocks. Mairwarra. Eastern part of Nagpoor. In the vicinity of Hazareebagh. Eastern Ghauts at Jungamanipenta; in clay-slate—mines here. Amherst province. Fine granular galena obtained in clay-slate, and clay limestone on the Touser, near the Dehra-Doon.

Copper.—Ladakh. Koonawur, in the valley of the Pabur. Kumaon, near Pokree; but these mines are almost inaccessible, and the vicinity affords no adequate supply of fuel for smelting: others at Dohnpur,‡ Dhobri, Gangoli, Sira, Khori, and Shor Gurang. Mairwarra. Oodeypoor; abundant,—it supplies the currency. Southern Mahratta country, in quartz; also in a talcose form. Vencatigherry, North Arcot. Nellore district.§ Sullivan's and Callagkiank Islands, in the Mergui Archipelago. This metal is most probably extensively distributed, and of a rich quality.

Silver.—In the tin mines of Oodeypoor. In the lead mine, near Hazareebagh, and other places.

Gold.—Sands of Shy-yok, Tibet. Ditto Chenab, Huroo, and Swan rivers, Punjab. Ditto Aluknunda, Kumaon. Throughout the tract of country W. of the Neilgherries, amid the rivers and watercourses, draining 2,000 sq. m., this coveted metal abounds; even the river stones, when pounded, yield a rich product: it is usually obtained in small nuggets. In the iron sand of the streams running from the Kuppudgode hills, and from the adjoining Saltoor range. Sumbulpoor; in the detrius of rocks. In moderate quantities in several places in the eastern part of Nagpoor. Many of the streams descending from the Ghauts into Malabar; and in Wynaad. Gold-dust in Mysoor.‖ In the Assam rivers it is plentiful: near Gowhatty 1,000 men used to be employed in collecting ore for the state. Various parts of Tenasserim provinces, but in small quantities. The geological structure of India indicates an abundance of the precious metals.

Coal.—The carboniferous deposits of the *oolitic series* in Bengal, west of the Ganges and Hooghly, consist of coal, shale, and sandstone, but no limestone, and they appear chiefly to occupy the depressions of the granitic and metamorphic rocks which form this part of India, becoming exposed in the banks or beds of watercourses or rivers which have passed through them, or in escarpments which have

* Colonel Steinbach says that the mineral wealth of the Punjab is considerable; that mines of gold, copper, iron, plumbago, and lead abound, and that "properly worked they would yield an enormous revenue."

† The natives of Cutch make steel chain-armour, sabres, and various sharp edge tools from their iron; the horse-shoes are excellent—the metal being more malleable, and not so likely to break as the English iron.

‡ The gray ore found in Dohnpur affords 30 to 50 per cent. of copper; it is associated with malachite, and contained in a compact red-coloured dolomite: hence mining operations can be carried on without timbering or masonry.

§ Mines discovered by Dr. Heyne, near Wangapadu. "A footpath, paved with stones, led up the hill to the place which was shown me as one of the mines. It is situated two-thirds up the hill, and might be about 400 ft. above the village (Wangapadu.) An open gallery cut into the rock, demonstrated that it had been formerly worked; and as the stones, which lay in abundance near it, were all tinged or overlaid with mountain green, there could be no doubt that the ore extracted had been copper."—(Heyne, *Tracts on India*, p. 112.)

‖ In excavating the disintegrating granite in the vicinity of Bangalore, to ascertain the extent to which the decomposing influence of the atmosphere will affect the solid rock (viz., 30 to 35 ft.), the contents of soil were frequently auriferous. In blasting sienite at Chinapatam, 40 m. from Bangalore, on the road to Seringapatam, Lieutenant Baird Smith, B.E., observed considerable quantities of gold disseminated in small particles over the fractured surfaces. At Wynaad this metal was obtained from rich yellow earth in sufficient quantity to employ a number of labourers and to yield some return.

been produced by upheaval of the rocks on which they were deposited. The coal occurs in strata from an inch or less to 9 or 10 feet thickness, interstratified with shale and sandstone; the whole possessing a dark black or blue colour, of a greater or less intensity. At Burdwan its character is slaty: the genera of plants are partly English, some Australian, some peculiar. The depth at the Curhurbalee field, situated 60 miles south of the Ganges, near Surajgurrah, is from 50 to 100 feet. Proceeding westerly, towards Palamow district, which contains many valuable and extensive fields, and where several shafts have been sunk, it has been seen about 16 m. from Chergerh, in Singrowla; at the confluence of the Sone and Tipan, about 30 m. E. from Sohajpoor. Near Jeria, in Pachete district. Hills in Ramghur, abounding in coal. Jubbulpoor, 30 m. S. from Hoosungabad; in Shahpoor in the same neighbourhood; and abundantly along the valley of the Nerbudda. Traces of it are said to exist in the diamond sandstone north-west of Nagpoor, and it has been found in the Mahadeo mountains. In the Punjab, at Mukkud, on the left bank of the Indus, and in the localities of Joa, Meealee, and Nummul. The extremes of this coal formation, so far as have yet been discovered in India, are:—the confluence of the Godavery and Prenheta in the south, in lat. 19°, and the Salt range in about 33° N.; Cutch in the west, and Burdwan in the east; and detached in Silhet, Pegu (recently found of excellent quality), and the Tenasserim provinces (plentiful, and possessing good properties.) There are many other places, no doubt, in the country between Bengal and Berar, where this valuable mineral exists; traces of it have been observed in Orissa, but it has not yet been found available for use; it is not improbable that it extends across the delta of the Ganges to Silhet, distant 300 miles. It also occurs extensively in the grits bounding the southern slope of the Himalaya: it has been questioned whether this is the older coal, or only lignite associated with nagelflue,—where the Teesta issues from the plain, its strata is highly inclined, and it bears all the other characters of the older formation. Analysis of Indian coal found in different parts, and near the surface, gave the following results:—Chirra Poonjee, slaty kind: specific gravity, 1·497; containing volatile matter, 36; carbon, 41; and a copious white ash, 23 = 100. Nerbudda (near Fatehpoor), near the surface,—volatile matter, 10·5; water, 3·5; charcoal, 20; earthy residue (red), 64 = 100. Cossyah hills: specific gravity, 1·275; volatile matter or gas, 38·5; carbon or coke, 60·7; earthy impurities, 0·8 = 100 —(ash very small.) Hurdwar: specific gravity, 1·968; volatile matter, 35·4; carbon, 50; ferruginous ash, 14·6 = 100. Arracan: specific gravity, 1·308; volatile matter, 66·4; carbon, 33; ash, 0·6 = 100. Cutch: charcoal, 70; bitumen, 20; sulphur, 5; iron, 3; calcareous earths, 2.

Sulphur.—Mouths of Godavery, and at Condapilly, on the Kistnah. Sulphate of alumina obtained from the aluminous rocks of Nepaul; used by the natives to cure fresh wounds or bruises; yields on analysis—sulphate of alumina, 95; peroxyde of iron, 3; silex, 1: loss, 1. Sulphate of iron is procured in the Behar hills, and used by the Patna dyers: it yields sulphate of iron, 39; peroxyde of iron, 36; magnesia, 23: loss, 2 = 100.

Diamonds.—Sumbulpoor has been celebrated for the finest diamonds in the world; they are found in the bed of the Mahanuddy. Mines were formerly worked at Wyraghur, Nagpoor; Malavilly, in Masulipatam (near Ellore); and at Panna, in Bundlecund. Mr. H. W. Voysey described, in 1824, the diamond mines of the *Nulla Mulla* mountains, north of the Kistnah,* which were formerly extensively worked.†

Rubies.—Sumbulpoor; in the detrius of rocks.

Pearls.—Gulf of Manaar, near Cape Comorin, and on the coast of many of the islands in the Mergui Archipelago.

Muriat of soda (common salt) is found in rock and liquid form at various places. A salt lake, 20 m. long by 1½ broad, is situated in lat. 26° 53′, long. 74° 57′; it supplies a great portion of the neighbouring country with salt after the drains are dried up. A salt lake in Berar contains in 100 parts,—muriat of soda, 20; muriat of lime, 10; muriat of magnesia, 6. Towards the sources of the Indus, salt lakes exist at 16,000 ft. above the sea. There are extensive salt mines in the *Salt range* of the Punjab. Natron and soda lakes are said to exist in the Himalaya.

Cornelian is found and worked in different places: the principal mines are situated at the foot of the western extremity of the Rajpeepla hills, close to the town of Ruttunpoor; the soil in which the cornelians are imbedded consists chiefly of quartz sand—reddened by iron, and a little clay. Agates abound in Western India: at one part of Cutch the sides of the hills (of amygdaloid)) are covered with heaps of rock crystal, as if cart loads had been purposely thrown there, and in many parts of the great trappean district the surface is strewed with a profusion of agatoid flints, onyx, hollow spheroids of quartz, crystals, and zoolitic minerals. There are evidences of several extinct volcanoes in Cutch.

This is but an imperfect sketch of the minerals of India: doubtless, there are many more places where metals exist; but during the anarchy and warfare which prevailed prior to British supremacy, the very knowledge of their locality has been lost. At no distant day this subterranean wealth will be developed; and probably, when the gold-fields of Australia are exhausted, those of India may be profitably worked.

* These mountains are bounded on all sides by granite, that everywhere appears to pass under it, and to form its basis: some detached portions have only the upper third of their summits of sandstone and quartz, the basis or remaining two-thirds being of granite. Deep ravines are not infrequent. The diamond is procured only in the sandstone breccia, which is found under a compact rock, composed of a beautiful mixture of red and yellow jasper, quartz, chalcedony, and hornstone, of various colours, cemented together by a quartz paste: it passes into a pudding-stone of rounded pebbles of quartz, hornstone, &c., cemented by an argillo-calcareous earth of a loose friable texture, in which the diamonds are most frequently found. The breccia is seen at depths varying from 5 to 50 feet, and is about 2 feet in thickness; immediately *above* it lies a stratum of pudding-stone, composed of quartz and hornstone pebbles, cemented by calcareous clay and grains of sand. The miners are of opinion that the diamond is always growing, and that the chips and small pieces rejected ultimately increase to large diamonds.—*Trans. A. S. Bengal*, vol. xiv., p. 120.

† The diamonds of Golconda have obtained great celebrity throughout the world, but they were merely cut and polished there, having been generally found at Parteall, in a detached portion of the Nizam's dominions, near the southern frontier, in lat. 16° 40′, long. 80° 28′.

CHAPTER III.

POPULATION—NUMBERS—DISTRIBUTION—DENSITY TO AREA—PROPORTION OF HINDOOS TO MOHAMMEDANS—VARIETIES OF RACE—DIVERSE LANGUAGES—ABORIGINES—SLAVERY—PAST AND PRESENT CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

From remote antiquity India has been densely peopled; but, as previously observed (p. 13), we know nothing certain of its indigenous inhabitants,—of accessions derived from immigration, or from successful invasions by sea and land,—of the progressive natural increase,—or of the circumstances which influence, through many generations, the ebb and flow of the tide of population.* There is direct testimony, however, that before the Christian era the country was thickly inhabited by a civilised people, dwelling in a well-cultivated territory, divided into numerous flourishing states, with independent governments, united in federal alliance, and capable of bringing into the field armies of several hundred thousand men.

For more than a thousand years after the Greek invasion, we have no knowledge of what was taking place among the population of India, and but a scanty notice, in the eighth century, of the Arab incursions of the regions bordering on the Indus. Even the marauding forays of Mahmood the Ghaznevide, in the eleventh century, afford no internal evidence of the state of the people, save that derived from a record of their magnificent cities, stately edifices, immense temples, lucrative trade, and vast accumulations of wealth; the Hindoos were probably then in a more advanced state of social life, though less warlike than during the Alexandrine period: they had gradually occupied the whole of India with a greatly augmented population, and possessed a general knowledge of the arts, conveniences, and luxuries of life.

During the desolating period of Moslem forays, and of Mogul rule, there appears to have been a continued diminution of men and of wealth, which Akber in vain essayed to check by some equitable laws. We have sufficient indirect and collateral evidence to show that whole districts were depopulated, that famines frequently occurred, and that exaction, oppression, and misgovernment produced their wonted results in the deterioration of the country. No census, or any trustworthy attempt at ascertaining the numbers of their subjects, was made by the more enlightened Mogul sovereigns, even when all their energies were directed to the acquisition of new dominions.

The English, until the last few years, have been as remiss in this respect as their predecessors in power. An idea prevailed that a census would be viewed suspiciously as the prelude to a capitation tax, or some other exaction or interference with domestic affairs. In Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, which we have had under control for nearly a century, no nearer approximation has yet been made to ascertain the number of our subjects, than the clumsy and inaccurate contrivance of roughly ascer-

* It is not improbable that some of the early immigrants were offshoots of the colonists who are said to have passed from Greece into Egypt, thence travelled eastward, forming settlements on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris; and ultimately reached the Indus and Ganges. In craniological and facial characteristics, many Hindoos present a striking similitude to the ancient Greek, modified by climate, food, and habits; and in several architectural structures, of which ruins are still extant, there is considerable resemblance to the ancient buildings of Egypt, and those erected on the Babylonian plains. Bryant is of opinion that Chaldea was the parent country of the Hindoos; Vans Kennedey traces the Sanscrit language to Mesopotamia; H. H. Wilson deems that the Hindoos connected with the *Rig Veda* were from a northern site, as in that work the worshipper on more than one occasion, when soliciting long life, asks for an hundred winters, which the Professor thinks would not have been desired by the natives of a warm climate. This is not conclusive. In Britain man frequently dates his age from the number of summers he has seen. There can, however, be little doubt that many of the early invaders of India were of the type of Japhet,—some of them acquainted with maritime commerce, and all comparatively more civilised than the *indigènes* who were driven towards the southward and eastward, and to mountain and jungle fastnesses. When this occurred it is impossible to determine. General Briggs says that the *Vedas* were written in India at the period when Joshua led the Israelites over Jordan into Canaan. The date when Menu, the lawgiver, lived has not been ascertained. Whatever the period, the Hindoos had not then occupied the country farther south than the 23rd degree, as Menu describes the people beyond as "barbarians, living in forests, and speaking an unknown language." Remote annals are lost in legends and traditions; and the chronology of Hindooism is an absurdity, except on the principle of cutting off the ciphers attached to the apocryphal figures.

taining the houses and huts in a village or district, and then supposing a fixed number of mouths in each house (say five or six.) The fallacy of such estimates is now admitted, and rulers are beginning to see the value of a correct and full census, taken at stated intervals, in order to show the rates of increase or decrease, and to note the causes thereof. I believe that the Anglo-Indian government have no reason to apprehend unpleasing disclosures if a decennial census be adopted for all the territories under their sway: the natural fecundity of the Hindoos would lead to an augmentation where peace and the elements of animal sustenance exist; and a satisfactory proof would be afforded of the beneficence of our administration, by the multiplication of human life. With these prefatory remarks, I proceed to show briefly all that is at present known on the subject.

At pp. 3 to 11 of this volume will be found the returns collected by the indefatigable Edward Thornton, head of the statistical department of the East India House, with remarks thereon at p. 2. Evidently there must be erroneous estimates somewhere, otherwise there would not be so great a disproportion of mouths to each square mile, as appears between the British territories (157) and the other states (74)—say 105,000,000 on 666,000 sq. m., and 53,000,000 on 717,000 sq. m. Estimating the entire area, as above, at 1,380,000 sq. m., and the population thereon at 158,000,000, would give 114 to each sq. m. Viewing India as including the entire region, from the Suliman on the west, to the Youmadoung mountains on the east, and from Cape Comorin to Peshawur, and estimating the area at 1,500,000 sq. m., and the number of inhabitants to each sq. m. at 130, would show a population of 195,000,000; which is probably not far from the truth.

The Chinese census shows 367,632,907 mouths on an area of 1,297,999 sq. m., or 283 to each sq. m.* In England the density is 333; Wales, 134; Ireland, 200; Scotland, 100.† India, with its fertile soil, a climate adapted to its inhabitants, and with an industrious and comparatively civilised people, might well sustain 250 mouths to each sq. m., or 375,000,000 on 1,500,000 sq. m. of area.‡

The following table, framed from various public returns and estimates, is the nearest approximation to accuracy of the population of each district under complete British rule; it shows (excluding Pegu) a total of about 120,000,000 (119,630,098) persons on an area of 829,084 sq. m., or 146 to each sq. m.:—

* There have been several censuses of China, of which we have little reason to doubt the accuracy: that of 1753, showed 102,328,258; that of 1792, 307,467,200; that of 1812, 361,221,900. In some districts, along river banks, the density is very great; such as Kangsoo (Nankin)—774 to the sq. m.: in others the density varies from 515 down to 51. (*See* vol. i., p. 29, of my report on China to her Majesty's government, in 1847.)

† *See* Preface (p. xv.) to my Australian volume, new issue, in 1855, for density of population in different European states.

‡ In illustration of this remark, the following statement, derived from the Commissioners' Report on the Punjab,—of the population of Jullundhur Zillah, situated between the rivers Sutlej and Beas,—is subjoined, with the note appended by the census officer, Mr. R. Temple, 25th of October, 1851:—

Pergunnahs.	Hindoo.		Mussulmen.		Total.		Grand Total.	Total Area in Acres.	Area in sq. miles of 640 Acres each.	Number of inhabitants per sq. mile.	Number of Acres to each Person.
	Agricultural.	Non-Agricultural.	Agricultural.	Non-Agricultural.	Agricultural.	Non-Agricultural.					
Philor . . .	41,997	38,591	20,442	19,211	62,439	57,802	120,241	187,001	299	412	1·52
Jullundhur .	48,967	49,652	46,049	50,568	95,016	100,220	195,236	250,397	391	499	1·25
Rahoon. . .	42,739	47,201	25,145	19,027	67,884	66,228	134,112	199,472	312	430	1·48
Nakodur . .	28,787	19,349	44,085	26,181	72,872	45,530	118,402	225,031	351	337	1·80
Total . .	162,490	154,793	135,721	114,987	298,211	269,780	567,991	861,901	1,346	422	1·55

Note.—This return certainly shows a considerable density of population. It may of course be expected that a small and fertile tract like this, which contains no forest, waste, or hill, should be more thickly peopled than an extensive region like the North-Western Provinces, which embraces every variety of plain and mountain, of cultivation and jungle; we find therefore that in the provinces we have 322 inhabitants per square mile, while here we have one-fourth more, or 422; the population of this district proportionately exceeds that of twenty-two out of thirty-one districts of the North-Western Provinces, and is less than that of nine. It also exceeds the average population of any one out of the six divisions. It about equals that of the districts of Agra, Muttra, Furruckabad, and Cawnpoor, but is inferior in density to the populous vicinities of Delhi or Benares, and to the fertile districts of Juanpoor, Azeemgurh, and Ghazeepoor. The comparative excess of Indian over European population has become so notorious, that it is superfluous to comment on the fact, that the population averages of this district exceed those of the most highly peopled countries of Europe.

British Territories in Continental India—Area, Chief Towns, and Position.

Provinces, Districts, &c.	Area in Square Miles.	Population.	Principal Town.	Position of Town.		Date of Acquisition.
				Lat. N.	Long. E.	
Bengal Province:—						
Calcutta, and 24 Pergunnas	1,186	701,182	Calcutta	22° 34′	88° 26′	1700 & 1757
Hooghly	2,089	1,520,840	Hooghly	22 55	88 23	1757 & 1765
Nuddea	2,942	298,736	Kishnugur	23 24	88 28	1765
Jessore	3,512	381,744	Jessore	23 9	89 11	"
Backergunge and Shabazpore	3,794	733,800	Burrisol	22 33	90 22	"
Dacca	1,960	600,000	Dacca	23 43	90 25	"
Tipperah and Bulloah	4,850	1,406,950	Tipperah	23 28	91 10	"
Chittagong	2,560	1,000,000	Chittagong	22 20	91 55	"
Sylhet and Jyntea	8,424	380,000	Sylhet	24 54	91 50	1835
Mymensing	4,712	1,487,000	Sowara	24 44	90 23	1765
Rajeshaye	2,084	671,000	Rampoor	24 33	88 38	"
Moorshedabad	1,856	1,045,000	Berhampore	24 12	88 18	"
Beebhoom	4,730	1,040,876	Sooree	23 53	87 31	"
Dinagepoor	3,820	1,200,000	Dinagepoor	25 34	88 38	"
Rungpoor	4,130	2,559,000	Rungpoor	25 40	89 16	"
Burdwan	2,224	1,854,152	Burdwan	23 12	87 56	1760
Baraset	1,424	522,000	Baraset	22 43	88 33	"
Bancoorah	1,476	480,000	Bancoorah	23 14	87 6	1760
Bhagulpore	5,806	2,000,000	Bhagulpore	25 11	87 0	1765
Monghyr	2,558	800,000	Monghyr	25 19	86 30	"
Maldah	1,000	431,000	Maldah	25 2	88 11	"
Bagoorah	2,160	900,000	Bagoorah	24 50	89 25	"
Pubna	2,606	600,000	Pubna	24 0	89 12	"
Purneah	5,878	1,600,000	Purneah	25 46	87 34	"
Fureedpore, Deccan, and Jelalpore	2,052	855,000	Fureedpore	23 36	89 50	"
Darjeeling	834	30,882	Darjeeling	27 2	88 19	1835 & 1850
Singhbhoom	2,944	200,000	Chaibassa	22 36	85 44	1765
Maunbhoom	5,652	772,340	Pachete	23 36	86 50	"
South West Frontier:—						
Chota Nagpore	5,308	482,900 (Chota Nagpore and Palamow)	Lohadugga	23 6	84 46	1818
Palamow	3,468		Palamow	23 50	84 1	"
Bahar Province:—						
Ramghur	8,524	372,216	Ramghur	24 0	85 24	1765
Behar	5,694	2,500,000	Gyah	24 43	85 2	"
Patna	1,828	1,200,000	Patna	25 53	85 16	"
Shahabad	3,721	1,600,000	Arrah	25 31	84 43	1775
Tirhoot	7,402	2,400,000	Mozufferpoor	26 6	85 28	1765
Sarun and Chumparun	2,560	1,700,000	Sarun or Chupra	25 45	85 48	"
Sumbhulpoor	4,693	800,000	Sumbhulpoor	21 29	84 0	1850
Orissa Province:—						
Midnapore and Hidgellee	5,029	666,328	Midnapore	22 25	87 23	1760
Cuttack and Pooree	4,829	1,000,000	Cuttack	20 28	85 55	1803
Balasore	1,876	556,395	Balasore	21 30	87 0	"
Koordah	930	571,160	Koordah	20 10	85 43	"
Madras Presidency:—						
Ganjam	6,400	926,930	Ganjam	19 24	85 7	1765
Vizagapatam	7,650	1,254,272	Vizagapatam	17 41	83 21	"
Rajamundry	6,050	1,012,036	Rajamundry	17 0	81 50	"
Masulipatam	5,000	520,866	Masulipatam	16 10	81 12	1759
Guntoor	4,960	569,968	Guntoor	16 20	80 30	1788
Bellary	13,056	1,229,599	Bellary	15 9	76 59	1800
Cuddapah	12,970	1,451,921	Cuddapah	14 28	78 52	"
North Arcot	6,800	1,485,873	Chittoor	13 12	79 9	1751
South Arcot	7,610	1,006,005	Cuddalore	11 42	79 50	"
Chingleput and Madras	3,050	1,283,462	Madras	13 6	80 21	1765
Salem	8,200	1,195,367	Salem	11 39	78 14	1792
Coimbatore	8,280	1,153,862	Coimbatore	11 0	77 2	1799
Trichinopoly	3,000	709,196	Trichinopoly	10 48	78 46	1801
Tanjore	3,900	1,676,068	Tanjore	10 48	79 11	1799
Madura	10,700	1,756,791	Madura	9 55	78 10	1801
Tinnivelly	5,700	1,269,216	Tinnivelly	8 44	77 44	1801
Malabar	6,060	1,514,909	Calicut	11 15	75 50	1792
Canara	7,720	1,056,333	Mangalore	12 52	74 54	1799
Nellore	7,930	935,690	Nellore	14 27	80 2	1801
Kurnool	3,243	273,190	Kurnool	15 50	78 5	1838
Coorg	1,420	65,437 in 1836	Merkara	12 27	75 48	1834
Bombay Presidency:—						
Concan, North	5,477	815,849	Tannah	18 57	72 53	1818
" South	3,964	665,238	Rutnagheriah	17 0	73 20	"
Bombay Island	18	566,119	Bombay	18 57	72 52	1661
Dharwar	3,837	754,385	Dharwar	15 28	75 4	1818
Poona	5,298	666,006	Poona	18 31	73 53	"
Kandeish	9,311	778,112	Malligaum	20 32	74 30	"
Surat	1,629	492,684	Surat	21 9	72 51	1759
Broach	1,319	290,984	Broach	21 42	73 2	1803
Ahmednuggur	9,931	995,585	Ahmednuggur	19 6	74 46	1817
Sholapore	4,991	675,115	Sholapore	17 40	76 0	1818
Belgaum	5,405	1,025,882	Belgaum	15 50	74 36	1817

British Territories in Continental India—Area, Chief Towns, and Position.

Provinces, Districts, &c.	Area in Square Miles.	Population.	Principal Town.	Position of Town. Lat. N.	Position of Town. Long. E.	Date of Acquisition.
BOMBAY PRESIDENCY—*continued.*						
Kaira	1,869	580,631	Kaira	22° 43	72° 40	1803
Ahmedabad and Nassik	9,931	995,585	Ahmedabad	23 0	72 36	1818
Sattara	10,222	1,005,771	Sattara	17 40	74 3	1848
BERAR PROVINCE:—						
Deogur above the Ghauts			Chindwara	22 3	78 58	1854
„ below the Ghauts			Nagpore	21 10	79 10	„
Wein-Gunga	76,432	4,650,000	Bundara	21 11	79 41	„
Choteesgurh			Ryepore	21 11	81 40	„
Chandarpoor			Chandah	19 57	79 23	„
NERBUDDA DISTRICTS:—						
Saugor	1,857	305,594	Saugor	23 50	78 49	1818
Jubbulpoor	6,237	442,771	Jubbulpoor	23 10	80 1	„
Hoosungabad	1,916	242,641	Hoosungabad	22 44	77 44	„
Seuni	1,459	227,070	Seuni	22 1	79 40	„
Dumoh	2,428	363,584	Dumoh	23 49	79 30	„
Nursingpoor	501	254,486	Nursingpoor	24 0	79 28	„
Baitool	990	93,441	Baitool	21 50	77 58	„
AGRA PRES., OR N.W. PROV.:—						
Benares	995	851,757	Benares	25 17	83 4	1775
Ghazeepore	2,181	1,596,324	Ghazeepore	25 32	83 39	„
Azimghur	2,516	1,653,251	Azimghur	26 0	83 14	1801
Goruckpoor	7,340	3,087,874	Goruckpoor	26 42	83 24	„
Jounpoor	1,552	1,143,749	Jounpoor	25 44	82 45	1775
Allahabad	2,788	1,379,788	Allahabad	25 26	81 45	1801
Banda	3,009	743,872	Banda	25 27	80 23	1803
Futtehpore	1,583	679,787	Futtehpore	25 57	80 51	1801
Cawnpore	2,348	1,174,556	Cawnpore	26 29	80 25	„
Etawah	1,677	610,965	Etawah	26 46	79 5	„
Furruckabad	2,122	1,064,607	Furruckabad	27 24	79 40	„
Shajehanpoor	2,308	986,096	Shajehanpoor	27 52	79 58	„
Allyghur	2,153	1,134,565	Allyghur	27 56	78 8	1817
Bareilly	3,119	1,378,268	Bareilly	28 23	79 29	1801
Moradabad	2,698	1,138,461	Moradabad	28 50	78 51	„
Agra	1,864	1,001,961	Agra	27 10	78 5	1803
Delhi	789	435,744	Delhi	28 38	77 19	„
Saharunpoor	2,162	801,325	Saharunpoor	29 58	77 36	1803
Paniput	1,269	389,085	Paniput	29 23	77 2	„
Hissar	3,294	330,852	Hissar	29 8	75 50	„
Rohtuk	1,340	377,013	Rohtuk	28 54	76 38	„
Goorgaon	1,939	662,486	Goorgaon	28 28	77 5	„
Mozuffernuggur	1,646	672,861	Mozuffernuggur	23 28	77 45	1836
Meerut	2,200	1,135,072	Meerut	28 59	77 46	„
Boolundshuhur	1,823	778,342	Burrun	28 24	77 56	1803
Bijnore	1,900	695,521	Bijnore	29 22	78 11	1802
Budaon	2,401	1,019,161	Budaon	28 2	79 11	„
Muttra	1,613	862,909	Muttra	27 30	77 45	1803
Mynpoory	2,020	832,714	Mynpoory	27 14	97 4	„
Humeerpoor	2,241	548,604	Humeerpoor	25 58	80 14	1802
Mirzapoor	5,152	1,104,315	Mirzapoor	25 6	82 38	1801
Jaloun	1,873	176,297	Jaloun	26 9	74 24	„
Ajmere	2,029	224,891	Ajmere	26 29	74 43	1817
Mairwarra	282	37,715	Nyanugga	26 6	74 25	„
CIS SUTLEJ:—						
Umballah	293	67,134	Umballah	30 24	76 49	1847
Loodianah	725	120,898	Loodianah	30 55	75 54	„
Kythul and Ladwa	1,538	164,805	Kythul	29 49	76 28	1843
Ferozepore	97	16,890	Ferozepore	30 55	75 55	1835
Seik States	1,906	249,686	Patialah	30 20	76 25	„
PUNJAB:—						
Jhelum	13,959	1,116,035	Jhelum	32 56	73 47	1849
Lahore	13,428	2,470,817	Lahore	31 36	74 21	„
Leia	30,000	1,500,000	Leia	30 57	71 4	„
Mooltan	14,900	500,000	Mooltan	30 12	71 30	„
Jullunder	1,324	569,722	Jullunder	31 21	75 31	1846
Peshawur	4,836	about 850,000	Peshawur	34 71	71 38	1849
Kangra			Kangra	32 5	76 18	„
SCINDE PROVINCE:—						
Kurrachee	16,000	185,550	Kurrachee	24 56	67 3	1843
Shikarpoor	6,120	350,401	Shikarpoor	28 1	68 39	„
Hydrabad	30,000	551,811	Hydrabad	25 12	69 29	„
ULTRA-GANGETIC DISTRICTS:—						
Arracan	15,104	321,522	Akyab	20 10	92 54	1826
Assam, Lower	8,948	710,000	Gowhatty	26 9	91 45	„
Assam, Upper	12,857	260,000	Seebpore	27 0	94 40	„
Goalpara	3,506	400,000	Goalpara	26 8	90 40	1765
Cossya Hills	729	10,935	Chirra Ponjee	25 14	91 45	1826
Cachar	4,000	60,000	Silchar	24 49	92 50	1830
Tenasserim, Mergui, Ye, &c.	29,168	115,431	Mergui	12 27	98 42	1826
Pegu Province	25,000	550,000	Prome	17 40	96 17	1853

A more recent return (28th July, 1855) from the East India House, gives the population of India thus:—

British States.—Bengal, &c., 59,966,284; N. W. Provinces, 30,872,766; Madras, 22,301,697; Bombay, 11,109,067; Eastern settlements, 202,540: total, 124,452,354.

Native States.—Bengal, 38,259,862; Madras, 4,752,975; Bombay, 4,460,370: total, 47,473,207.

Foreign States. — French settlements, 171,217; Portuguese ditto, not known. Grand total, 172,096,778.*

The varying degree of density of population to area forbids reliance being placed on any mere "estimates," or "approximations to actual amount." Thus in Bengal, Behar, and Cuttack, the number of mouths to each square mile is stated to be—in Jessore, 359; Moorshedabad, 394; Bhagulpoor, 318; Patna, 506; Cuttack, 220; Dacca, 193; Chittagong, 324: average of all, 324.† These are high ratios; but the soil is fertile, and the inhabitants very numerous along the banks of rivers. In Assam, on the N.E. frontier of Bengal, and along the rich valley of the Brahmapootra, the density is placed at only 32 to the square mile; in Arracan, at 21; Tenasserim provinces, at 4; on the S.W. frontier (Chota Nagpoor, &c.), at 85; in the Saugor and Nerbudda territories, at 109; in the non-regulation provinces, Kumaon, Ajmeer, &c., at 44.

The census of the Madras Presidency (*see Appendix*) shows, on an area of 138,279 sq. m., a population of 22,281,527, or 161 persons to each sq. m. In some districts the inhabitants are much more thinly scattered: for instance, at Kurnool, 84; at Bellary, 94; at Masulipatam, 104; the highest is the rich district of Tanjore, with 430 to each sq. m. Madras has a much less density than the British N. W. Provinces, which, according to the return of 1852-'3, shows the following results:‡—

Districts.	Square M.	Population.	Mouths to each sq. m.
Agra	9,298	4,373,156	465
Allahabad . .	11,971	4,526,607	378
Benares . . .	19,737	9,437,270	478
Delhi	8,633	2,195,180	254
Meerut . . .	9,985	4,522,165	453
Rohilcund . .	12,428	5,217,507	419
Total . . .	72,052	30,271,885	420

By the two full censuses of Madras and the N. W. Provinces, we gain at last a fair estimate of the small number of Mohammedans, as compared with the Hindoos, in India: the Madras census of 1850-'1, shows, on a total of 21,581,572, that the *adult* Hindoos numbered 13,246,509; Mohammedan adults and others, 1,185,654: the *children*—Hindoos, 6,655,216; Mohammedans and others, 594,193: total census (exclusive of Madras city and suburbs, containing 700,000)—

Class.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Hindoos . . .	10,194,098	9,707,627	19,901,725
Mohammedans and others.	852,978	826,869	1,679,847
Total . . .	11,047,076	10,534,496	21,581,572

The proportion of Moslems to Hindoos in Southern India, is as one to ten.

The N. W. Provinces return, in 1852-'3, shows—

Class.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Hindoos . . .	13,803,645	11,920,464	25,724,109
Mohammedans and others.	2,376,891	2,170,880	4,547,771
Total . . .	16,180,536	14,091,344	30,271,880

* The sum of 124,452,354 is a higher figure than the Anglo-Indian subjects of the British crown have hitherto been rated, and is probably the result of a more accurate numbering of the people: thus, until a census now (July, 1855) in progress was made of the Punjab, the population was, as usual, under-estimated. According to the *Lahore Chronicle* of 30th of May, 1855, the returns then received show for Lahore, 3,458,322; Jhelum, 1,762,488; Cis-Sutlej, 2,313,969: which are higher figures than those given from the Parliamentary Papers, at previous page. The enumerations made up to May last, for the Punjab, gave 10,765,478; and it was supposed that the grand total, when completed, would be about eleven million and a-half, or nearly four million more than the official document previously given for the Punjab and Cis-Sutlej states. In my first work on India, twenty years ago, I assumed the population under British jurisdiction to be about one hundred million, which some considered an exaggeration; the above augmentation of twenty-four million is accounted for by the addition of new states, such as the Punjab. I have little doubt that an accurate census will show a larger aggregate than 124,000,000.

† I obtained in India, in 1830, "a census," or rather estimate of these districts, showing an aggregate of area in sq. m., 153,792; villages, 154,268; houses, 7,781,240; mouths, 39,957,561: or about one village to each sq. m. of 640 acres, five houses to each village, five and a-half persons to each house, and 259 mouths to each sq. m. (*See* my first *History of the British Colonies*, vol. i., Asia; 2nd edition, p. 166: published in 1835.)

‡ As regards the censuses of Madras and the N.W. Provinces, I have seen no details given of the means adopted to ensure an accurate enumeration in a single day; they must, I think, be considered as "near approximations" to truth: they appear to be the best yet obtained.

Delhi, Agra, and the adjacent provinces, have for several centuries been the strongholds of the Moslems; yet even here their numbers (including "other" denominations not Hindoos) is only four million to twenty-five million. In 1830, I estimated the total Mohammedan population of India at fifteen million, and recent investigations justify this estimate.

A census of Agra and its suburbs (excluding inmates of bungalows round about the city, and the domestics attached thereto, about 3,000 in number, and also the inhabitants of bazaars and villages in military cantonments) was made in 1844–'45, after seven months' careful examination: the result showed a population of 103,572, with an excess of 8,245 Hindoos over Mohammedans, in this a former seat of Moslem rule; the grand total of houses was 15,327.

A census, in 1829, of Moorshedabad city and district, the head-quarters of the former Mohammedan ruler of Bengal, showed—Hindoos, 555,310; Mussulmen, 412,816 =968,126: proportion of sexes—*Hindoo*, males, 286,148; females, 269,162: Mussulmen, males, 216,878; females, 196,344: number of houses, Hindoo, 123,495; Mussulmen, 84,734. Allahabad city census in 1831-'2, gave—of Hindoos, 44,116; Mussulmen, 20,669. Allahabad district—Hindoos, 554,206; Mussulmen, 161,209; in the city, the Hindoos were in the proportion of two to one; in the district, of more than three to one.

The population of Calcutta has been a matter of wide estimate, and is in proof of the past neglect of statistical inquiries: in July, 1789, the inhabitants of the Anglo-Indian metropolis were *guessed* at 400,000; at the commencement of the present century, about one million; in 1815, at half a million; in 1837, an imperfect census gave a quarter of a million (229,714); and in 1850, a more complete census showed nearly half a million (413,182), comprising only those residing within the City Proper, bounded by the Mahratta ditch, or limits of the supreme court: the dense population of the suburbs, probably exceeding half a million, are not stated; nor, I believe, the floating mass of people who pass into and out of Calcutta daily; viz., 72,425, of whom 10,936 cross the river diurnally in ferries.

Resume of Censuses.	1850.	1837.
	Males.	Females.
Europeans	6,233	6,479
Eurasians (mixed blood)	4,615	4,746
Armenians	892	636
Chinese	847	362
Asiatics and low castes	15,342	21,096
Hindoos	274,335	137,651
Mohammedans	110,918	58,744
Total	413,182	229,714

It is usual to speak of India as if it were inhabited by a single race: such is not the case; the people are more varied in language, appearance, and manners, than those of Europe.* About twenty languages are extensively spoken; viz., (1.) *Hindoostanee*, in pretty general use, particularly in the N.W. Provinces, and usually by Mussulmen† throughout India; (2.) *Bengallee*, in the lower parts of the Gangetic and Brahmapootra plains; (3.) *Punjabee* or Seik, in the upper portion of the Indies; (4.) *Sindhee*, in Cis-Sutlej states and Sinde; (5.) *Tamul*, around Madras and down to the coast of Cape Comorin; (6.) *Canarese* or Karnata, in Mysoor and Coorg; (7.) *Malyalim*, in Travancore and Cochin; (8.) *Teloogoo* or Telinga, at Hydrabad (Deccan), and eastward to coast of Bengal Bay; (9.) *Oorya*, in Orissa; (10.) *Cole* and *Gond*, in Berar; (11.) *Mahratta*, in Maharashtra; (12.) *Hindee*, in Rajpootana and Malwa; (13.) *Guzerattee*, in Guzerat; (14.) *Cutchee*, in Cutch; (15.) *Cashmerian*, in Cashmere; (16.) *Nepaulese*, in Nepaul; (17.) *Bhote*, in Bootan; (18.) *Assamese*, Up. Assam; (19.) *Burmese*, in Arracan and Pegu; (20.) *Brahooi*, or Beloochee, in Beloochistan; Persian and Arabic sparingly, and numerous dialects in different localities.

In Bengal and Orissa the majority of the people do not eat meat, and the abstinence is ascribed to a religious precept forbidding the destruction of life: but almost every Hindoo eats fish; several consume kid flesh (especially when sacrificed and offered to idols),

* Principal languages: English, French, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, German, Russ, Polish, Turkish, Greek, Dutch, Danish, Swede, Norwegian, Finn = 15.

† This tongue was formed as a medium of colloquial intercourse in 1555, by the Emperor Akber, out of *Hindee*, the primitive language of the Hindoos, and Arabic and Persian, which were used by the Mohammedan conquerors: the character adopted is sometimes the Deva Nagri (Sanscrit), but more generally the Arabic alphabet. Although the great majority of the people of India are usually termed Hindoos as regards creed, there is as slight a bond of union among them on that account as there is among the professing Christians in Europe, and as much diversity in reference to practices supposed to be connected with their religious faith

and also birds. Numerous Brahmins and Rajpoots of the highest castes, in N. and W. India, partake of goat, deer, and wild boar; while they abhor the domestic sheep and swine: others who use the jungle cock, (similar to our game-cock), would deem the touch of barn-door poultry pollution. Some classes feed on descriptions of provender which are rejected by others: at Bikaneer, all the Hindoos profess an abhorrence of fish; at Kumaon, they will masticate the short-tailed sheep of the hills, but not the long-tailed one of the plains; people will buy baked bread, but would lose caste if they touched boiled rice cooked by these very bakers: an earthen pot is polluted past redemption if touched by an inferior caste; a metal one suffers no such deterioration: some tribes allow a man to smoke through his hands from the bowl (*chillum*) which contains the tobacco, but would not suffer the same person to touch that part of the *hookah* which contains the water. Other instances of diversity might be multiplied. Even the religious holidays of Bengal are different from those observed in the N. W. Provinces. The barbarous ceremonies of Juggernaut, and the abominations of the Churruk Poojah (where men submit themselves to be swung in the air, with hooks fastened through their loins), are unknown in N. and W. India. In some parts, female infanticide is or was wont to be almost universal; in others it is held in just abhorrence: in some districts, polygamy prevails; in others polyandria—one woman being married to all the brothers of a family, in order to retain property among them;—*here* the marriage of a daughter is a great expense,—*there* a source of profit, as the husband buys his bride, and has the right to sell her, and even to mortgage her for a definite time as security for a debt.

Independent of the division of the Hindoos into castes—Brahmins, Cashtriya, Vaisyas, and Soodras,—and the subdivision of society into numerous hereditary classes, there are other diversities, arising probably from origin of race, and the peculiarities engendered during a long course of time by climate and food: thus the brave Rajpoot and the bold Mahratta are decided antagonists; but both view, with something of contempt, the peaceful, subtle, rice-feeding* Bengallee, whose cleanly, simple habits are outraged by the gross-feeding, dirty Mughs of Arracan, who object not to a dish of stewed rats or snakes, or even to a slice of a putrefying elephant. The Coromandel men have features and modes of thought distinct from those of the Malabar coast; while inhabitants of the Kattywar peninsula differ essentially from both. The dwellers on the cool and dry hills and plateaux, present a marked contrast to those who reside in the hot and humid plains and valleys; and the aborigines, such as the Gonds of Berar, present no similarity whatever to the fine mould and beautifully-chiselled head and face, arched nose, and olive hue, of the pure Hindoo, or to the large-boned, massive frame, and manly cast of the hard-featured, genuine Moslem.

The variety of races in India are so decided, that an experienced officer will at once say whether a soldier belongs to the respective departments of the army of Bengal, of Madras, or Bombay; and further, whether a Hindoo is from Rajpootana, from Oude, from the Deccan, from the coast, or elsewhere.†

With regard to the Mohammedans, irrespective of their local aversions, they are divided into two sects—Soonee and Shea,—who abhor each other as cordially as the members of the Latin and Greek church do, or as the Romanists and Orangemen of Ireland, and are equally ready to fight and slay on a theological point of dispute. Then, besides these two leading divisions of the population, there are several million persons under the denominations of Jains or Buddhists, who consume no animal food or fermented beverage; Seiks, who eat the flesh of the cow, and drink ardent spirits; Parsees or Guebers (erroneously termed "fire-worshippers"), Latin, Protestant, Nestorians, or Syriac and Armenian Christians, —Jews,‡ and a mixed race sprung from the

* A comparatively small portion of the Hindoo population live on rice; the majority eat wheat and other grain, as also various species of pulse.

† In Calcutta, where a variety of races, or, as they may more properly be termed *nations*, are collected, the peculiarities of each are readily ascertainable, and their antagonisms quickly manifested. Among twenty persons in my service at one time in Bengal, there were (excepting four Balasore palanquin-bearers, a tribe bearing a high repute for honesty), not two of the same race; consequently much mutual distrust, frequent quarrels, bickering, and fighting.

‡ Stavorinus adverts, in 1775—'78, to the colony of Jews at Cochin, who, he says, "although most of them are nearly as black as the native Malabars, they yet retain, both men and women, those characteristic features which distinguished this singular people from all other nations of the earth."—

marital union of all—some of one creed, some of another: added to these are the *Eurasians*, born of European fathers and Indian mothers; a rapidly increasing class, probably destined, at some future day, to exercise an important influence in the East.

Before passing from the subject of the numbers and variety of the people, I would wish to draw public attention to a large and most interesting section of them, to whom reference has been made previously, as the aborigines of India. They are scattered over every part of the country, generally in the hilly districts; and although speaking different dialects,* and of varying appearance, manners, and customs, they are considered by General Briggs and Mr. Hodgson (who have studied their peculiarities) as having their origin from a common stock. Of their number throughout India we know nothing; they must amount to several million human beings, whose character is thus summed up:—"The man of the ancient race scorns an untruth, and seldom denies the commission even of a crime that he may have perpetrated, though it lead to death: he is true to his promise; hospitable and faithful to his guest, devoted to his superiors, and always ready to sacrifice his own life in the service of his chief; he is reckless of danger, and knows no fear."† It may be added, that he considers himself justified in levying "black mail" on all from whom he can obtain it, on the ground that he has been deprived of his possession of the soil by the more civilised race who have usurped the territory. The aborigines are distinguished from the Hindoos by several marked customs: they have no castes; eat beef and all sorts of animal food; drink, on every possible occasion, intoxicating beverages (no ceremony, civil or religious, is deemed complete without such drink); have no aversion to the shedding of blood; atone for the sins of the dead by the sacrifice of a victim; widows marry and do not burn; they are ignorant of reading or writing, and usually live by the chase and by pastoral pursuits. Some tribes take their designation from the country they inhabit: Gonds, in Gondwana; Koles or Kolis, in Kolywara; Mirs or Mairs, in Mairwara; Bheels or Bhils, in Bhilwara and Bhilwan; Benjees, in Bengal, &c. Other tribes, such as the Todawurs of the Neilgherries, have designations of which the origin is unknown.

The men are nearly naked; the women wear a cloth wrapper round the waist, carried over the left shoulder and under the right arm; they live mostly in conical thatched hovels, apart from the dwellings of the Hindoos, by whom they are treated as outcasts, and have no valuables but asses and dogs. As watchmen and thief-takers they are of great use, from their fidelity, sacred regard for truth, and the skill evinced in following a foot-track: they are entrusted with the care of private property to a large amount, and convey the public revenue to the chief towns of districts—a duty which they perform with scrupulous care and punctuality.

An unseen deity is worshipped; prayers are offered to avert famine and disease, and for preservation from wild beasts and venomous reptiles: to propitiate the favour

(*Voyages to East Indies*, vol. iii., p. 226.) They had then "a very beautiful and authentic copy of the Pentateuch," but know not when or where they derived it. Their own statement is, that they are of the posterity of the ten tribes carried away into captivity by Shalmaneser, and who, after being liberated from their Assyrian bonds, came hither, where they have from time immemorial constituted a small but isolated community, and enjoyed for a series of ages valuable privileges, including the exercise of their religion without restraint. Their houses, in a separate town, are built of stone, plastered white on the outside, and they have three synagogues; most of them are employed in trade, and some are very wealthy. How these Jews became black is not known; but according to Stavorinus, when they purchase a slave he is immediately circumcised, manumitted, and received into the community as a fellow Israelite. By intermarriages with such converts, the colour, in process of time, may have become perfectly dark, while the peculiar physiognomy was perpetuated in the race of mixed blood, as I have noticed is generally the case with the descendants, by male fathers, of the English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese. There is a colony of white Jews at Mattacherry, or *the Jews' town*, a suburb of Cochin; they regard the black Jews as an inferior caste: the former say that they came to Cranganore after the destruction of the second temple, and that they have a plate of brass in their possession since the year A.D. 490, which records the grant of land and privileges conceded to them by the king of that part of India: a copy of it is now in the public library at Cambridge. By discord and meddling in the disputes of the natives, the Cranganore Jews brought destruction on themselves at the hands of an Indian king, who destroyed their strongholds, palaces, and houses, slew many, and carried others into captivity. The Jews have a never-ceasing communication with their brethren throughout the East. For fuller details of these white and black Israelites, *see* Hough's *History of Christianity in India*, vol. i., 404.

* They seem to be connected with the Tamul and other languages of Southern India, and have no affinity with the Sanscrit.

† *Lectures on the Aboriginal Race of India*; by Lt.-General Briggs: 1852, p. 13.

or appease the anger of the object of adoration, living sacrifices (in some cases human beings) are deemed essential; and the blood of the victim is retained in small vessels by the votaries. All social and religious ceremonies are accompanied by feasting, drinking, and dancing; the latter performed, sometimes, by several hundred women (their hair highly ornamented with flowers) grouped in concentric circles, each laying hold with one hand on her neighbour's cincture or waist, and beating time with the heels on the ground. In figure they are well made and sinewy; rather low in stature; face large or flat, and wide; eyes black and piercing; nose-bridge depressed, nostrils expanded, mouth protruding, lips large, little or no beard: altogether presenting a marked contrast to the Apollo-like form of the genuine Hindoo.*

Several benevolent governmental servants have undertaken the civilisation of different tribes, and by kindness and tact effected considerable improvement in their habits and condition. When disciplined, they make brave and obedient soldiers, are proud of the consideration of their European officers, to whom they become ardently attached, and are ready to follow them abroad, on board ship, or wherever they go. The aborigines of the Carnatic formed the leading sepoys of Clive and Coote; and at the great battle of Plassy they helped to lay the foundation of the Anglo-Indian empire.† The *Bengies*, who are found in all parts of the Gangetic plain, when serving in the Mohammedan armies, claimed as *indigenes* the honour of leading storming parties. In the defence of Jellalabad, under the gallant Sir R. Sale, the *Pariahs* (out castes, or low castes, as the aborigines are termed) evinced the most indomitable courage and perseverance, as they have done at Ava, or wherever employed in the pioneer and engineer corps. These hitherto neglected races may be turned to beneficial uses. The tribe termed *Ramoosees*, or foresters, became the active and indefatigable infantry, who enabled Sevajee to conquer from the Moguls the numerous hill forts which formed the basis of the Mahratta dominion. The *Bheels* have long been celebrated in Western India annals, and their deeds recorded by Malcolm, Tod, &c.: as a local militia, they rendered good service in Candeish. The *Southals* of Bhagulpoor, reclaimed by the noble-minded civilian Cleveland, have now one of the finest regiments of the British army, recruited from their once despised class. The *Mairs* of Mewar are selected to guard the palace and treasury of the Rajpoot rajah, and form the only escort attendant on the princesses when they go abroad. Hyder Ali had such confidence in the *Bedars* of Canara, that a body of 200 spearmen ran beside him, whether on horseback or in his palanquin, and guarded his tent at night.

Slavery in India.—During the early Hindoo sway, the aborigines were, as far as practicable, reduced to servitude; those who could not find refuge in the hills and jungles, were made *adscripti glebæ*, and transferred as predial slaves with the land. Under Moslem rule, this unhappy class was augmented by another set of victims of man's rapacity. Persons unable to pay the government taxes were sold into servitude; others who were reduced to extreme poverty voluntarily surrendered themselves as bondsmen, either for life or for a term of years, to obtain the means of existence: in many cases the children of the poor were bought by the wealthy for servants or for sensual purposes. Eunuchs and others employed in the harems and as attendants, were imported from Africa and other places. Hence slavery, domestic and predial, now exists in almost every part of India. Our government, even during the administration of Warren Hastings, were aware of the fact; but it was deemed politic not to interfere, for the same reasons that induced the long toleration of widow-burning and infanticide.

In 1830, I applied to Mr. Wilberforce on the subject, and urged the anti-slavery society to investigate the matter; but he considered it then most advisable to give all his attention to the West Indies. Evidence adduced before the East India parliamentary committee, in 1832, disclosed a dreadful state of human suffering among East Indian slaves, which was confirmed by subsequent investigations, when it was ascertained that the Anglo-Indian government were large

* Some of the gipsy tribe of the aborigines whom I saw in the Deccan, were like their European brethren of the same class, and the women equally handsome: in the form of their encampment—asses, carts, and dogs—the tribe might have been considered a recent migration from Devonshire. Some gipsies, whose location I visited in China, presented similar characteristics.

† My authority for these statements is Lt.-general Briggs.

slaveholders in right of lands held in actual possession. Parliament, in 1834-'35, began to discuss the matter, and several eminent civil servants of the E. I. Cy. exerted themselves to elucidate the evils of this nefarious system. In December, 1838, I laid before the Marquis Wellesley a plan for the gradual but effectual abolition of slavery in India: it was highly approved by his lordship, who urged the adoption thereof on the Indian authorities. Some part of the plan* was adopted: the government relinquished their right to slaves on escheated lands; reports were called for from the collectors and other public officers; and, on the 7th of April, 1843, an act (No. 5) was passed by the President of India in council, which declared as follows:—

"I. That no public officer shall, in execution of any decree or order of court, or for the enforcement of any demand of rent or revenue, sell or cause to be sold any person, or the right to the compulsory labour or services of any person, on the ground that such person is in a state of slavery.

"II. That no rights arising out of an alleged property in the person and services of another as a slave shall be enforced by any civil or criminal court or magistrate within the territories of the E. I. Cy.

"III. That no person who may have acquired property by his own industry, or by the exercise of any art, calling, or profession, or by inheritance, assignment, gift, or bequest, shall be dispossessed of such property, or prevented from taking possession thereof, on the ground that such person, or that the person from whom the property may have been derived, was a slave.

"IV. That any act which would be a penal offence if done to a free man, shall be equally an offence if done to any person on the pretext of his being in a condition of slavery."

Much, however, still remains to be done, until slavery be as effectually extinguished in the *East* as it has happily and beneficially been in the *West* India possessions of the British crown. There is no difficulty among the Hindoo population, as slavery is not a question of *caste;* and with regard to Mohammedan laws, a Christian government cannot be expected to recognise that which is repugnant to the first principles of humanity. We know nothing certain of the number of slaves in Hindoostan; the estimates made are but guess-work: in Malabar,† Canara, Coorg, Tinnevelly, and other parts of Southern India, the estimates are from a half to one million; for Bengal, or the N. W. Provinces, we have no estimates. In fact, we know not whether there be *one* or *ten* million slaves under the British government in Asia.

The foregoing illustrations sufficiently indicate that there is no homogenity of population in India, no bond of union,—no feeling of patriotism, arising from similarity of origin, language, creed, or caste,—no common sentiment, founded on historic or traditional associations: there is therefore more security for the preservation of British authority; but there is greater difficulty in ameliorating the social condition of the mass of the people, which was deteriorated under Moslem tyranny, and is still, as compared to some past period, at a low ebb.

The discussion of this theme is beyond my appointed limits, and I can only offer a few passing observations. The Hindoos speak of having experienced three ages,—1. Gold and silver; 2. Copper and brass; 3. Earth and wood,—which form the component parts of their domestic utensils; but when these ages commenced and ended, there are no means of ascertaining.‡ Ere Tyre became a place for fishermen to dry their nets, the Hindoo-Phœnician commerce had an Asiatic renown: the spices of India were sought in the time of Solomon; the gossamer muslins of Dacca, the

* My chief recommendations were—(1.) A committee of inquiry. (2.) A registry in each collectorate of male and female slaves, agrestic and domestic. (3.) District magistrates to report on the laws and customs in force. (4.) All children born after a certain date to be declared free. (5.) Slaves to have the same protection of the law as freemen; their evidence equally receivable in a court of justice. (6.) Ill-treatment to be followed by manumission. (7.) Masters no power to punish. (8.) Wife and children not to be separated. (9.) Slaves on government lands to be at once freed. (10.) No voluntary sale of individuals or of their children to be lawful. (11.) Transfers of slaves only in their respective districts. (12.) Slaves to be entitled to acquire and possess property, and to purchase manumission: magistrate to arbitrate in cases of disputed price. (13.) Magistrate to attend to the condition and complaints of slaves, to pass summary judgment, and to report his proceedings annually to government, who were to send out queries, and call for reports on the nature and extent of slavery in each district, from the officers entrusted with supervisionment.

† Mr. Peggs and others estimate the number of slaves, in Malabar alone, at 147,000; in Canara, Coorg, Wynaad, Cochin, and Travancore, at 254,000; in Tinnevelly, 324,000; Trichinopoly, 10,000; Arcot, 20,000; Assam, 11,300; Surat, 3,000. According to Buchanan, the number must be very large in Behar and in Bengal: and all authorities describe their condition as truly miserable;—stunted, squalid, and treated with far less care than the beasts of the field.

‡ The third age is still extant, as illustrated by the earthen water and cooking pots—*chatty*.

beautiful shawls of Cashmere, and the brocaded silks of Delhi, adorned the proudest beauties at the courts of the Cæsars, when the barbarians of Britain were painted savages. Embossed and filigree metals,—elaborate carvings in ivory, ebony, and sandalwood; brilliant dyed chintzes; diamonds, uniquely set pearls, and precious stones; embroidered velvets and carpets; highly wrought steel; excellent porcelain, and perfect naval architecture,—were for ages the admiration of civilised mankind: and before London was known in history, India was the richest trading mart of the earth. Ruined cities, such as *Gour*, the ancient capital of Bengal, which covered an area of seventeen miles,—*Beejapoor*, with its million of inhabited houses; *Mandoo*, with a wall twenty-eight miles in circuit; *Rajmahal*, the dwelling-place of an hundred kings; Palebothra and Canouj,—indicated a large urban class, who required to be fed by a proportionately numerous agrestic population. Hundreds of cave temples,* equal in interior-size and architectural beauty to the noblest cathedrals of Europe, attest the depth of religious feeling among the worshippers; while gorgeous ceremonials and sensuous luxuries indicate the highest stage of Pagan refinement: but all afford a melancholy contrast to the poverty which now pervades the mass of the people, and to the dull intellectuality and idolatrous routine that at present extends over social life.†

An extensive study of Indian records leads to the conclusion that the decay of Hindoostan dates from the period of Mohammedan incursions and conquests. Afghan, Tartar, Patan, Mogul, Persian, Arab, and other Moslem adventurers, here found the richest spoil and the most fertile field: swarming like locusts, and equally ravenous, successive hordes crossed the frontiers, slew all who opposed, and, by their tyranny and sensuality, pauperised and demoralised all whom they subjected to their sway. Hence entire regions became desolate, and famines frequent in the inhabited parts. One of these afflictions, prolonged from 1640 to 1655, was felt throughout India, but principally in Bengal and in the Deccan; another occurred in 1661, when Aurungzebe was endeavouring to collect fifty per cent. of the produce of the land: other famines, resulting from poverty and exactions (not, as is alleged, from unpropitious seasons), occurred at different times, followed as usual by sicknesses, and swept off millions of the inhabitants.

Then the fierce and long-continued struggles of the Rajpoot, Mahratta, and other Hindoo races in refusing to bow their necks to Islamite yoke; the frequent rebellions in distant provinces necessitating the maintenance of large armies for the support of imperial power at Delhi; the internecine contests between several Mogul viceroys for the extension of dominion; and the desolations of the Carnatic and of Southern India by those Moslem scourges Hyder Ali and his son Tippoo, must each and all, together with other collateral circumstances which cannot here be examined, have contributed to the rapid decay and impoverishment of the people of India, in a manner not dissimilar to the destruction and demoralisation of the Greeks, and the desolation of the fair regions of Asia Minor by the Turks.‡ That the Moguls have left traces behind

* Such as those of Karli, Ellora, Elephanta, &c. Dr. Buist, of Bombay, in his eloquent advocacy of the claims of India, says—"These have been hewn out in the absence of gunpowder, and, fashioned without natural adjunct or addition of masonry into their present form, covered with rich and elaborate structures by the hand of man. The caves are grouped together so as to furnish places of worship, halls of instruction, and domiciles for the professors and their pupils, exactly on the plan of the universities which came into existence in Europe *two thousand years after* those of India were forgotten; indicating an amount of civilisation and demand for knowledge in the East twenty-four centuries ago."—(*Notes on India:* London, 1853, p. 10.) The number of temples in India is as yet imperfectly ascertained. Mount Aboo, 5,000 feet high, is covered and surmounted by these singular structures.

† *See* Dr. Buist's *Notes on India.*

‡ The desolating effect of Moslem sway over the fairest portion of Eastern Europe for nearly 400 years, notwithstanding the influences of surrounding civilisation, and with an active, intelligent, impressive character in the millions of Greeks subject to its sway, proves the incapability of Mohammedanism for that progressive improvement in society which pre-eminently marks Christianity as the true religion adapted for man. The Turks for three centuries lived among, yet apart, from the Greeks; during their intolerant rule, there was no social intercourse between the dominant and subject races; and, in matters of dispute, all law or justice was set aside, as the word or oath of a Christian was not recognised in their legal tribunals. The taxes levied were enormous; in the local country, where resistance to fiscal oppression was impossible, four-fifths of his produce was exacted from the agriculturist, independent of minor plunderings, of "presents," forced tribute to each new pasha or provincial governor, and of endless extortions by his satellites, which was required from all who had accumulated any wealth. As in India during the Mogul sway, so in Greece: there was no security for life, honour, and property; the virtue of woman, the labour of the peasant, the skill

them of some great works is undoubtedly true, but they were the work of Hindoo artificers, and such as conquerors exact from slaves;—palaces and fortresses, mosques and mausoleums, canals and tanks—the latter indispensable for the production of territorial revenue, which would fail without irrigation of the land: but the Mohammedans took as little root in India as the Romans did in Britain; and their power crumbled to pieces of its own accord, leaving the sceptre which Baber, Akber, and Aurungzebe had wielded by military force, to be scrambled for by the strongest arm. We found the people of Bengal and of the Carnatic impoverished and oppressed; the oppression has been removed, but the poverty is as yet only slightly mitigated. On this topic I hope to offer, at the concluding section (if space permit), some points for consideration.

of the artisan, were all at the mercy of sensual, barbarous, and cruel tyrants, from the sultan at Constantinople to the janissary in the smallest village; the whip and the bastinado, the sword and the rope, were the prime instruments of Turkish rule. As financiers and penmen, the Greeks, like the Hindoos, were entrusted sometimes with high offices, which the Mohammedans were incapable of executing. The Hindoos, especially the Mahrattas, made several attempts to destroy Moslem sway, but there was no effectual combination. The Greeks were successful by their union in 1821. After seven years of secret organisation, they commenced their efforts for independence. Instead of being met by any concessions, Gregory, the patriarch of their church,—although he had, at the bidding of the sultan, excommunicated and anathematised the strugglers for liberty, and released the *Philikoi* (members of the Secret Society) from their oath,—was seized on Easter eve, dragged ignominiously through the streets of Constantinople, and then strangled at the door of the church in which he recently officiated; the body was left hanging three days to be pelted at and made the jest of the populace, then cast into the Bosphorus. Three suffragan archbishops were hanged by a black executioner at different parts of the city, and many hundreds of the clergy were massacred by the populace. Then began a series of atrocities which ought to have caused the entire expulsion of the barbarians from Europe. Throughout every part of the wide-spread Turkish dominions there was an indiscriminate slaughter of the Christians; savage brigands from Anatolia and Kurdistan were brought across the Bosphorus, under a firman calling on all true Mohammedans for defence: a few wealthy Greek merchants, fearing what was coming, fled to Odessa, but for the mass of their countrymen there was no refuge or hope of escape; houses were broken open, and the inmates torn from their hiding-places and carried to slaughter; every Christian seen in the streets was instantly slain as if he were a mad dog; "the European ships in the harbour, and the houses of the foreign consuls were thronged by the unhappy Christians, but their asylum was disregarded; and the decks of British and French *merchant vessels* were deluged with the blood of those whom their captains had vainly endeavoured to protect. In a few days 10,000 Christians perished in that one city; the remnant of the Greek population there was scattered to the four winds of heaven; they wandered as beggars through the streets of Odessa, or starved in the ditches of the Byzantine suburbs."—(*See* London *Times*, 5th October, 1853.) In Adrianople and Smyrna the streets were smeared with blood; and from the Danube to the Nile, wherever the Moslem held sway, the life of a Christian was not worth one hour's purchase. Within the short space of a few weeks, in the year 1821, it is estimated that 40,000 Christians were slain; and during six years' struggle for life and liberty, at least 100,000 perished. Perhaps of all the massacres, the fiendish character of the followers of the false prophet is best exemplified by that which took place in the beautiful and fertile island of Scio, of which an account is given in the columns of the *Annual Register*, 1822-'3. Suffice it to say, that a population which at the beginning of the year numbered 120,000, was in the month of July reduced to 900, and even these were in danger of perishing from the pestilence which ensued on the fearful slaughter of their countrymen. How many such scenes may have been acted in Hindoostan there were none to record. During the debates in parliament, pending the war between Russia and England, fearful illustrations were produced of the cruelty, oppression, exaction, and remorseless spirit which characterise the Mohammedans even at the present day. The consequences of Turkish rule, and the condition of a Christian village after an Osmanli invasion, are thus stated by Mr. Layard:—"Their church was in ruins; around were the charred remains of the burnt cottages, and the neglected orchards overgrown with weeds. A body of Turkish troops had lately visited the village, and had destroyed the little that had been restored since the Turkish invasion. The same taxes had been collected three times—and even four times over. The relations of those who had run away to escape from these exactions had been compelled to pay for the fugitives. The chief had been thrown, with his arms tied behind his back, on a heap of burning straw, and compelled to disclose where a little money that had been saved by the villagers had been buried."—(*Times*, 14th March, 1851.) On the 4th July, 1853, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe wrote to his government that he was necessitated of late, and indeed for some years back, to bring to the knowledge of the Porte atrocious acts of cruelty, rapine, and murder, for which no effectual redress was provided. Doubtless there are many high-minded, trustworthy, and amiable men among the disciples of the Crescent. Asiatic travellers can record numerous instances of good offices received from Moslems—whether designated as Turks, Arabs, Persians, or Hindoos. Under the Anglo-Indian government, there are thousands of Mohammedans as "true to their salt," as brave and kindly in their nature, as those of any other form of religion: but for civil government, the creed of the Koran is utterly unfit; indeed, Mohammed never designed it for aught but military power and despotic sway, which naturally corrupts the minds of those who long use these means to preserve their dominion,—to keep men morally and politically in bondage,—instead of fitting them in this world, by freedom and the exercise of their faculties, for an eternity of happiness.

Locality and Physical Aspect of Districts, Provinces, and States of India.

PUNJAB, or region of the "five rivers;" adjoining Afghanistan on the E.,—A plain, sloping from N.E. to S.W.; north part, near Himalayas, hilly and mountainous. Pasturage and grazing-grounds.

CIS-SUTLEJ TERRITORY,—Between Sutlej and Jumna, and a strip of land between the Ghara river and Rajpootana. Bhawulpoor and Sirhind, a plain; hill-slates on Himalaya ridges, mountainous and richly wooded.

CASHMERE,—Western Himalaya. Cashmere Proper, a fertile valley, enclosed by mountains. Elevation of bottom, 5,500 to 6,000 ft.: lofty snow-clad ranges, N.W. to S.E., constitute the general configuration.

BUSSAHIR,—Wonderful maze of some of the highest mountains in the world; general rise from S. to N.

GURHWAL,—Ranges of enormous height, with several valleys; the whole drained by the Ganges. Slope from N. and N.E.

SINDE,—Lower course and delta of Indus; between Beloochistan mountains and Great Desert. Low and flat. Some short ridges of hills in the W. part; towards the E. a desert. Mouths of Indus continually changing.

CUTCH,—S.E. of Sinde. Two parallel hilly ranges nearly intersect province.

WESTERN RAJPOOTANA,—Between Sinde and Bhawulpoor and Arravulli range. Mostly a plain, interspersed with sand-hills: rocky ridges extend in various directions.

EASTERN RAJPOOTANA,—Between Arravulli mountains and Malwa. Near the Arravulli a table-land, declining to N.E.: continuous parallel hilly ranges extend N.E. to the vicinity of Delhi.

GUZERAT,—S. of Cutch and Rajpootana. Very rugged, especially in Kattywar: hills connected with Vindhya, and part of W. Ghauts.

MALWA (Central India),—Between Guzerat and Bundelcund. A plateau, supported by Vindhya range; elevation diminishing towards Northern Gangetic valley.

BHOPAL, MALWA,—Greater part a table-land, resting on N. side of Vindhya; declivity to N. A few streams find their way, through gorges in the chain, into Nerbudda, which flows along the S. frontier.

GWALIOR, or SCINDIAH,—Central India. N.E. part level, bare, and much cut up by ravines; S., the country becomes hilly; middle part, a plateau; slope to the N.; S. part crossed by Nerbudda valley.

AHMEDABAD and KAIRA,—Head of the Gulf of Cambay. Almost a perfect level; appearing as if the sea had abandoned it at no very remote period.

KANDEISH,—Both banks of Taptee river. Valley of Taptee, enclosed by hills 1,000 to 1,800 ft. high. Tracts formerly cultivated; now covered with jungle and infested with tigers.

NORTHERN and SOUTHERN CONCANS,—Along the sea from lat. 16° to lat. 20°, including Bombay. Valleys enclosed by spurs from W. Ghauts, through which a clear stream flows, until influenced by the tides. Ravines and gorges filled with jungle, harbouring beasts of prey, especially tigers.

POONA,—Deccan. High table-land; slope from N.W. to S.E. Intersected by numerous spurs from W. Ghauts: elevation diminishing towards S.E.

SATTARA,—Deccan. High table-land; slope from N.W. to S.E. Gradual but rugged declivity from W. Ghauts to S.E.

DHARWAR, BELGAUM, and SHOLAPOOR,—Deccan. Undulating plains, elevated from about 2,000 to 2,500 ft.; slope to the E. and N.E.

HYDERABAD, or NIZAM'S DOMINIONS,—Deccan. For the most part an undulating plain; declivity from W. to E.: many isolated hills and ranges, of moderate elevation.

WESTERN DIVISION: MADRAS PRESIDENCY,—Malabar coast. Low sea-coast, rising towards culminating ridge of W. Ghauts. Numerous narrow shallow rivers flowing E. to W. from Ghauts. Country hilly.

TRAVANCORE,—Malabar coast. Low sandy sea-coast; behind the W. Ghauts; attaining in some places an altitude of 7,000 ft.

SOUTHERN DIVISION: MADRAS PRESIDENCY,—Between Mysoor and Travancore, and Coromandel coast. E. parts level; towards the W. rising into mountains: Neilgherries and E. Ghauts supporting table-land of Mysoor.

MYSOOR,—S. of Deccan. High table-land; here and there huge masses of rock, apparently thrown tumultuously together.

CENTRAL DIVISION: MADRAS PRESIDENCY,—Between Mysoor and Coromandel coast. Bellary and Cuddapah district; a table-land, resting on stupendous wall of mountains. Coast districts low, interspersed with hills.

NORTHERN DIVISION: MADRAS PRESIDENCY,—W. side of Bay of Bengal. Low sea-coast (except a ridge extending along sea-shore in Vizagapatam district), hilly and mountainous to W. delta of Godavery and Kistna rivers.

CUTTACK,—Orissa coast. Low sandy shore; delta of Mahanuddy; inland, the Moghalbandi, a dry tract; then rises the hill country, closing down to the sea near Chilka lake, and near Balasore.

CUTTACK MEHALS,—Inland of Cuttack province. Very hilly. Forests of fine timber.

SOUTH-WEST FRONTIER OF BENGAL. Table-lands of Chota-Nagpoor, Sirgooja, and Mynpat; and mountains of Palamow, &c.

ORISSA,—Inland of Northern Circars. Table-land, supported by E. Ghauts: slope to W., to Godavery; to S., to Bay of Bengal, the rivers flowing through *ghats*, or passes; and to N. and N.E., to Mahanuddy.

NAGPOOR, or BERAR,—Between Saugor and Nerbudda, and the Circars; and the Godavery and Wein-Gunga, and upper course of Mahanuddy. In general of considerable elevation; slope from N.W. to S.E. Lanjhee range divides the territory into two basins—one into Mahanuddy, and the other into Godavery. N. part rugged and mountainous; S.E. part hilly and woody.

SAUGOR and NERBUDDA TERRITORY,—On each bank of upper course of Nerbudda river. Considerably elevated tract: E. part a table-land, declining to W., to valley of Nerbudda; to the S. are the Sautpoora and Mahadeo mountains; to the N. the Vindhya, which is but the brow of a rugged plateau; elevation diminishing towards the N.

REWAH,—Adjoining Nerbudda territories on the N.E. W. and N.W. mountainous, rising in three successive plateaux: intersected by valley of Sone from W. to E. S. of this a table-land, contiguous to that of Sirgooja.

BUNDELCUND STATES,—Between Nerbudda territory and N.W. Provinces. Plain, little elevated above valley of Jumna; on the W. and S. a continuous range of hills; to the E. they close down upon the Ganges. Some of the rivers flow through the plain, or are precipitated in cascades over the brow of the high land.

ALLAHABAD,—N. W. Provinces. Plain, sloping from N.W. to S.E. Banks of Jumna high in some parts of Banda district.

AGRA,—N. W. Provinces. Plain, sloping from N.W. to S.E. A slightly elevated ridge extends along the Dooab, about midway between the Ganges and Jumna.

BHURTPOOR,—Gangetic plain. Level; slope to E. Small detached hills in N. part.

MEERUT,—N. W. Provinces. Plain; slope in Suharunpoor, Mozuffurnuggur and Meerut districts, from N. to S.; in Boolundshuhur and Allyghur, N.W. to S.E.

DELHI,—N. W. Provinces. Mostly level. Ridges in Goorgaon district 400 to 600 ft. above surrounding country.

KUMAON,—N. W. Provinces. Well-defined mountain system. S. limit, Ghagur mountain; successive ranges rise higher and higher, until ultimately crowned by the culminating ridge of the stupendous Himalaya.

ROHILCUND,—N. W. Provinces. Level; slope from N.W. to S.E., and from N. to S.

OUDE,—Gangetic plain. Plain; declivity (avg. 7 in. per m.) from N.W. to S.E. Sub-Himalaya range on N. frontier.

NEPAUL,—S. of Himalaya; sustained by sub-Himalaya. Table-land average about 4,000 ft. Valleys, enclosed by lofty chains; sides covered with forests, surmounted by culminating ridge of snow-clad Himalaya.

SIKHIM,—Himalaya. Spurs from Himalaya; enclosing deep valleys.

BENARES,—N. W. Provinces. Plain on either side of Ganges. Declivity from N.W. to S.E., and from W. to E. In S. part of Mirzapoor dist., surface rises into a rugged table-land, being a continuation of the Vindhya chain.

PATNA,—Gangetic plain, Bengal. Sarun and Patna districts; and along Ganges, level; table-land in S.W. part of Shahabad, descent very abrupt; a rocky ridge in S. part of Behar district.

BHAGULPOOR,—Gangetic plain, Bengal. Generally flat; slope from W. to E. Rajmahal hills rise on river bank of Ganges, and stretch S. and S.W. through Bhagulpoor district. Tirhoot diversified by undulations.

MOORSHEDABAD,—Bengal. Rungpoor and Pubna dists. low; Rajeshaye flat; hilly to W.; W. parts of Moorshedabad and Beerbhoom hilly.

JESSORE,—Delta of Ganges, and river bank of Hooghly river (Calcutta district.) Greater part level; even depressed in Jessore district; in W. parts of Hooghly, Burdwan, and Bancoora, rises into slight eminences.

DACCA,—E. Bengal. Declivity from N. to S.; intersected by Brahmapootra. Jyntea, hilly; Silhet, a hollow, swampy basin, enclosed on three sides by mountains.

GARROW and COSSYAH STATES,—Assam. Hilly and mountainous; numerous streams.

COOCH BEHAR,—Bengal. Level; slope to S.E.

N.E. FRONTIER: ASSAM,—N. of Burmah. Intersected by Brahmapootra, which receives the drainage of the sub-Himalaya from the N.; Garrows, Cossyahs, and Nagas from the S.: numerous clumps of abrupt hills.

BHOTAN,—Foot of E. section of Himalaya. Imperfectly known: a table-land resting on the sub-Himalaya, which rise from 5,000 to 6,000 ft. above Assam.

NAGA TRIBES,—Upper Assam. Range of mountains dividing Burmah from the British dominions.

TIPPERAH,—Bengal. Wild hilly regions: fertile tracts on Megna.

MUNEEPOOR,—Burmese fronter. Valley, enclosed by precipitous mountains.

CHITTAGONG,—Mouths of Brahmapootra, and N.E. side of Bay of Bengal. Sea-coast: plains,—backed by parallel ranges of lofty mountains, throwing off spurs in a W. direction. Drainage from E. to W.

ARRACAN,—E. side of Bay of Bengal. Extensive flats, intersected by numerous navigable salt-water creeks: ranges of mountains extending N. and S. Islands and fine harbours.

PEGU,—Lower course and delta of Irawaddy. Gradual slope from N. to S. N. of Prome, hilly: range skirting E. shore of Bay of Bengal, diminishing in height towards C. Negrais. Numerous passes.

TENASSEREM PROVINCES,—E. side of Bay of Bengal. Generally rugged: parallel ranges N. and S., and E. and W.: also extensive plains. High, bold islands, with many harbours.

Islands on the Coast of India—Name, Locality and Position, Extent, Physical Features, and Remarks.

KAROOMBA,—Gulf of Cutch; lat. 22° 27′, lon. 69° 47′. 1½ m. broad, and 3 m. long.

BEYT, or BET,—Gulf of Cutch; lat. 22° 28′, lon. 69° 10′. About 3 m. long, and greatest breadth about ½ m. On the banks are situate a castle or fort, compact and imposing; lofty massive towers, mounted with iron ordnance. Many temples and shrines in honour of Crishna.

DIU,—Kattywar; lat. 20° 42′, lon. 71°. About 7 m. long; breadth, varying from 1½ to 2 m. (See *Diu*—"Ports and Havens.")

PERIM,—Gulf of Cambay; lat. 21° 38′, lon. 72° 19′. About 2 m. long, and ½ m. broad. Numerous organic remains embedded in conglomerate: various antiquities extant.

BASSEIN,—Concans; lat. 19° 25′, lon. 72° 50′. About 11 m. long, and 3 m. broad; 35 sq. m. Irregular surface; amongst other eminences a high hill of tabular form, and a conical peak not quite so elevated.

SALSETTE,—Concans; lat. 19°—19° 18′, lon. 72° 54′—73° 3′. 18 m. long, 10 m. broad; about 150 sq. m. Diversified by hills, some of considerable elevation. Keneri commands an extensive view.

BOMBAY,—Concans; lat. 18° 57′, lon. 72° 52′. Length, 8 m.; average breadth, 3 m. Two parallel ranges of rocks of unequal length are united at their extremities by hills of sandstone. Malabar, Mazagon, and Parell hills are the principal elevations.

ELEPHANTA, or GARA-PORI,—Bombay harbour; lat. 18° 57′, lon. 73°. Rather less than 6 m. in circumference. Composed of two long hills, with a narrow valley. Famed for its excavated temples.

KOLABAH,—Concans; lat. 18° 38′, lon. 72° 56′. Long neglected, as a barren rock, but fortified by the Mahratta, Sevajee.

MALWUN,—Concans; lat. 16° 4′, lon. 73° 31′. Little elevated above the sea, and not easily distinguished from the main-land.

RAMISERAM,—Gulf of Manaar; lat. 9° 18′, lon. 79° 21′. 14 m. long, and 5 m. broad. Low, sandy, and uncultivated. Sacred in Hindoo mythology; great pagoda.

SAUGOR,—Mouths of Ganges; lat. 21° 42′, lon. 88° 8′. 7 or 8 m. long, and 4 m. broad. Salt manufacture formerly carried on. Island held in great veneration by the Hindoos.

DON MANICK ISLANDS,—Mouths of Megna; lat. 21° 55′, lon. 90° 43′. Flat.

LABADOR,—Mouths of Megna; lat. 22° 22′, lon. 90° 48′. Low.

DECCAN SHABAZPORE,—Mouths of Megna; lat. 22° 30′, lon. 91°. Flat.

HATTIA,—Mouths of Megna; lat. 22° 35′, lon. 91°. Level.

SUNDEEP,—Mouths of Megna; lat. 22° 30′, lon. 91° 32′. About 18 m. long, and 6 m. broad. Level; fertile, and abounding with cattle.

KOOTUBDEA ISLANDS,—Chittagong; lat. 21° 50′, lon. 91° 55′. About 12 m. long. Low and woody.

MUSCAL,—Chittagong; lat. 21° 35′, lon. 92°. 15 m. long, and 7 m. broad. Some small elevations.

SHAPOREE,—Arracan; lat. 20° 46′, lon. 92° 21′.

ST. MARTIN,—Arracan; lat. 20° 36′, lon. 92° 25′. Two divisions united by a dry ledge of rocks.

BOLONGO,—Arracan; lat. 20°, lon. 93°. Mountainous, woody, and rugged.

PENY KYOUNG,—Arracan; lat. 20°, lon. 93° 4′. 26 m. long; 6 m. broad. Mountainous, woody, and rugged.

ANGEY KYOUNG,—Arracan; lat. 19° 50′, lon. 93° 10′. 20 m. long; 3 m. broad. Mountainous, woody, and rugged.

RAMREE,—Arracan; lat. 19° 5′, lon. 93° 52′. About 50 m. long; extreme breadth, 20 m.

CHEDUBA,—Arracan; lat. 18° 40′—56′, lon. 93° 31′—50′. About 20 m. long, and 17 broad; 250 sq. m. Hill and dale; some parts picturesque. Hills in the north part covered with jungle.

FLAT,—Arracan; lat. 18° 37′, lon. 93° 50′. About 4 m. long. High towards the centre.

NEGRAIS,—Pegu; lat. 15° 58′, lon. 94° 24′. Circumference, about 18 m.; area, 10 sq. m. Rendered conspicuous by a hill forming the E. high land on the coast.

PELEW GEWEN,—Mouth of Saluen river; lat. 16° 20, lon. 97° 37′.

KALEGOUK,—Tenasserim; lat. 15° 32′, lon. 97° 43′. 6 m. long; 1 m. broad.

MOSCOS ISLANDS,—Tenasserim; lat. 13° 47′—14° 28′, lon. 97° 53′. Safe channel between them and the coast.

TAVOY,—Tenasserim; lat. 12° 55′—13° 15′, lon. 98° 23′. About 20 m. long, and 2 m. broad. Of moderate height.

CABOSSA,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. 12° 48', lon. 97° 58'. Moderately high.
KING,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. 12° 31', lon. 98° 28'. Length, 26 m.; breadth, 10 m.
ELPHINSTONE,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. 12° 21', lon. 98° 10'. 13 m. long; 4½ m. broad.
ROSS,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. 12° 54', lon. 98° 12'.
BENTINCK,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. 11° 45', lon. 98° 9'. 20 m. long; 6 m. broad.
DOMEL,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. 11° 40', lon. 98° 20'. 26 m. long; 5 m. broad.
KISSERANG,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. 11° 34', lon. 98° 36'. 20 m. long; 10 m. broad.
SULLIVAN'S,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. 10° 50', lon. 98° 20'. 36 m. long, and 3 m. broad.
CLARA,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. 10° 54', lon. 98° 4'. High; having small peaks, one very sharp, like a sugar-loaf.

Harbours and Havens on the Coast of India—Name, District, Position, Dimensions, Soundings, and Remarks.

KURRACHEE,—Sinde; lat. 24° 51' N., lon. 67° 2' E. Spacious; about 5 m. N. from Munoora point, and about the same from town. Entrance, 1½ fath. at low-water; 3 ft. at spring-tides. W. side, from 2 to 4 fath. at low-water. Position of great importance: the only safe port in Sinde. Population, 22,227. Railway from port to navigable part of Indus.
POORBUNDER,—Kattywar; lat. 21° 37', lon. 69° 45'. Entrance obstructed by a bar. Much frequented by craft from 12 to 80 tons burthen; trading with Africa, Sinde, Beloochistan, Persian Gulf, and Malabar coast. Exp., grain and cotton. Imp., various kinds.
NUVVEE-BUNDER,—Kattywar; lat. 21° 28', lon. 69° 54'. Available only for small craft. River Bhader, navigable for 18 m. above town.
DIU,—Kattywar (on an island); lat. 20° 42', lon. 71°. Good haven, 3 and 4 fath. Small harbour E. of Diu head, from 2 to 3½ fath. A Portuguese town, well fortified; little traffic.
MOWA,—Kattywar; lat. 21° 3', lon. 71° 43'. 7 to 10 fath. Anchorage without shelter from the S.; with the flood-tide a vessel must lie with a reef of rocks right astern; considerable traffic.
GOGO,—Kattywar; lat. 21° 39', lon. 72° 15'. Excellent anchorage; safe during S.W. monsoon; water always smooth. Ships touching here may procure water and refreshments, or repair damages.
BHOWNUGGUR,—Kattywar; lat. 21° 45', lon. 72° 10'. Good and safe harbour. Place of extensive trade.
BROACH,—Bombay; lat. 21° 42', lon. 73° 2'. River (Nerbudda) 2 m. wide, but shallow; at flood-tide there is a deep but intricate channel. Navigable only for craft of 50 tons burthen at all times. Town walled.
SURAT,—Bombay; lat. 21° 10', lon. 72° 52'. A barred harbour. Roadstead dangerous in spring, when S. and W. winds prevail.
DAMAUN,—Bombay; lat. 20° 24', lon. 72° 53'. 2 ft. on bar at low-water; spring-tides, 18 or 20 ft. inside. Rise of tide, 17 or 18 ft. Outside bar, a roadstead 8 fath. Excellent place for small vessels during S.W. monsoon, and for repairs. Portuguese town fortified.
BOMBAY,—Concans; lat. 18° 57', lon. 72° 52'. Excellent and extensive haven. Continuous breakwater for nearly 10 m. Lighthouse, 150 ft. above sea, at S. extremity of Colaba Island. Great facilities for shipbuilding. Large docks, and strongly fortified.
JINJEERA, or RAJAPOOR,—Concans; lat. 18° 18', lon. 73° 1'. 4 to 5 fath. at entrance, and same depth inside at low-water. No bar; shelter from all winds. Fortified.
BANKOTE,—Concans; lat. 17° 58', lon. 73° 8'. 5 fath. low-water. Small haven at the mouth of the Savitree. Fort Victoria, on a high barren hill, S. side of entrance.
GHERIAH, or VIZIADROOG,—Concans; lat. 16° 32', lon. 73° 22'. 5 to 7 fath. entrance, and 3 to 4 fath. inside at low-water. Excellent harbour; land-locked and sheltered from all winds. No bar.
VINGORLA,—Concans; lat. 15° 50', lon. 73° 41'. Small bay; sheltered from every point except the S. About 2 m. from the main-land are the Vingorla rocks,—dangerous.
GOA,—W. coast, S. India; lat. 15° 30', lon. 74°. Fine harbour, formed by an arm of the sea, into which flows a small river. Ancient Portuguese city, now falling into decay.
SEDASHEVAGHUR,—Malabar coast; lat. 14° 52', lon. 74° 12'. Entrance to river 25 ft. at high tide; hazardous and intricate. Anchorage outside in Carwar Bay, sheltered by several islets. Fortified.
HONAHWAR,—Malabar coast; lat. 14° 17', lon. 74° 30'. 7 m. long; 3 m. broad; 15 sq. m.; 5 or 6 fath. Though not a good haven, it can receive large ships.
MOOLKY,—Malabar coast; lat. 13° 6', lon. 74° 51'. Place of shelter for coasting and fishing craft. Mulki rocks outside.
MANGALORE,—Malabar coast; lat. 12° 52', lon. 74° 54'. Estuary, a fine expanse of water, separated from the sea by a beach of sand. The utility of the haven is greatly impaired, as the depth at the entrance is liable to vary.
CANANORE,—Malabar coast; lat. 11° 52', lon. 75° 26'. Small bay, open to the S., but sheltered on the W. 5 and 5½ fath. abreast of the fort. Water-shoals and rocky bottom near the fort.
TELLICHERRY,—Malabar coast; lat. 11° 45', lon. 75° 33'. Abreast of the fort is a ledge of rocks, between which and the land small craft may anchor. A shipping-place for produce of coast.
MAHE,—Malabar coast; lat. 11° 42', lon. 75° 36'. 5 or 6 fath. from 1½ to 3 m. from shore. Vessels of considerable burthen must anchor in the road. In fair weather, small craft can cross the bar of the river safely. A small French possession.
CALICUT,—Malabar coast; lat. 11° 15', lon. 75° 50'. 5 or 6 fath. from 2 to 3 m. from land. No river or haven. A capacious haven said to have existed formerly; now filled up by drifted sand.
PONANY,—Malabar coast; lat. 10° 48', lon. 75° 58'. 3 or 4 m. to sea is a shoal, but anchorage between it and land. 4 fath. on shoal, 6 fath. inside between it and shore. River navigable only for small craft. A railway from Madras is contemplated.
COCHIN,—Malabar coast; lat. 9° 58', lon. 76° 18'. Outside the mouth of the Backwater there is a bar with 14 or 15 ft., inside about 25 or 30 ft. Injuriously affected by the S.W. monsoon.
QUILON,—Malabar coast; lat. 8° 53', lon. 76° 39'. A bight where ships may anchor, under shelter, at about 2½ or 3 m. from the fort. Formerly a place of note.
TUTICORIN,—Gulf of Manaar; lat. 8° 48', lon. 78° 12'. Safe roadstead; good anchorage, sheltered on all points. Pearl oyster banks exist in the vicinity.
NAGORE,—Coromandel coast; lat. 10° 49', lon. 79° 54'. 8 ft. on the bar at high-water. Several vessels of 200 or 300 tons burthen belong to this place.
PORTO-NOVO,—Coromandel coast; lat. 11° 31', lon. 79° 49'. Ships must anchor 2 m. off shore, in 6 or 7 fath. River small at its mouth; admits only coasting craft.
CUDDALORE,—Coromandel coast; lat. 11° 43', lon. 79° 50'. River small, and mouth closed up by a bar. Admits coasting craft; good anchorage off shore 1½ m.
PONDICHERRY,—Coromandel coast; lat. 11° 56', lon. 79° 54'. 7 or 8 fath., about ¾ of a mile from land; 12 or 14 fath. in the outer road. Mouth of a small river, capable of admitting coasting craft. French possession; lighthouse, 89 ft.
MADRAS,—Coromandel coast; lat. 13° 5', lon. 80° 21'. Anchorage 2 m. from shore, 9, 10, or 11 fath.; 300 yards from beach, varying from 12 to 25 ft. Vessels obliged to anchor 2 m. from shore, exposed to a heavy swell rolling in from seaward. Surf at all times sufficient to dash to pieces any European boat. During the S.W. monsoon no communication with the shore can be held without great danger. Fort St. George, strong.

NIZAMPATNAM,—Coromandel coast; lat. 15° 55', lon. 80° 44'. No vessel of great burthen can approach the place. A considerable coasting trade.

MASULIPATAM,—Golconda coast; lat. 16° 10', lon. 81° 13'. Very shallow, ½ fath. for nearly a mile. Ships must anchor 4 or 5 m. from the land, and abreast of the town.

CORINGA,—Golconda coast; lat. 16° 49', lon. 82° 19'. Bar at entrance, with 12 or 14 ft. at spring-tides. Within, from 2½ to 4 fath. Best place on this coast for building or repairing small vessels.

VIZAGAPATAM,—Orissa coast; lat. 17° 41', lon. 83° 21'. Bar at entrance passable for vessels of from 150 to 200 tons burthen. 8 or 10 ft. on bar; anchorage off land, 8 fath. In the S.E. monsoon, ships anchor S. of the Dolphin's Nose; in the N.E. monsoon, from 1½ to 1¾ m. from land.

JUGGURNATH, or POOREE,—Orissa coast; lat. 19° 49', lon. 85° 53'. No harbour for town. Surf here very violent; landing can be effected only by boats similar to those used on the Coromandel coast.

BALASORE,—Orissa coast; lat. 21° 30', lon. 87°. 12 to 15 ft. on bar at spring-tides. Large ships cannot enter the river; they must lay in Balasore-roads, where they are in some degree sheltered. Dry docks, to which vessels may be floated during spring-tides.

KEDJEREE,—Bengal; lat. 21° 53', lon. 88°. 6 or 7 fath.; a bank has reduced the depth to 2 or 2½ fath. at low-water. Telegraphic communication with Calcutta, to announce arrivals and intelligence.

DIAMOND HARBOUR,—Bengal; lat. 22° 12', lon. 88° 10'. So called as a part of Hooghly river. Formerly the resort of the large "Indiamen."

CHITTAGONG,—Bengal; lat. 22° 29', lon. 91° 54'. Formerly a place of considerable trade, but now declining; other ports having supplanted it.

AKYAB,—Arracan; lat. 20° 10', lon. 92° 54'. Good harbour. Suited for a commercial town.

KHYOUK PHYOU,—Arracan; lat. 19° 24', lon. 93° 34'. Harbour said to be one of the finest in the world. Safe ingress for largest-sized ships at any season of the year.

GWA, or GOA,—Arracan; lat. 17° 33', lon. 94° 41'. Barred. Harbour for vessels of 200 tons burthen.

BASSEIN,—Pegu; lat. 16° 45', lon. 94° 50'. Deep river channel affords a safe passage for large ships.

RANGOON,—Pegu; lat. 16° 46', lon. 96° 17'. Anchorage off the town in river. Rangoon river, a branch of the Irawaddy river.

MOULMEIN,—Tenasserim; lat. 16° 30', lon. 79° 42'. An excellent well-sheltered haven. Fine seaport town. Forests in the neighbourhood, with other advantages favourable for ship-building.

AMHERST,—Tenasserim; lat. 16° 4', lon. 97° 40'. Harbour large, difficult of access, and, during the S.W. monsoon, dangerous.

TAVOY,—Tenasserim; lat. 14° 7', lon. 98° 18'. Obstructed by shoals and banks. Inaccessible for large ships within some miles of the town.

MERGUI,—Tenasserim; lat. 12° 27', lon. 98° 42'. Harbour spacious, secure, and easy of access and egress for ships of any size. Town inaccessible for vessels of large burthen, as a bank obstructs the stream.

*Military Stations.**—1. Agra; 2. Ahmedabad; 3. Ahmednuggur; 4. Akyab; 5. Allahabad; 6. Allyghur; 7. Allypoor; 8. Almora; 9. Arcot; 10. Arnee; 11. Asseerghur; 12. Baitool; 13. Bareilly; 14. Barrackpoor; 15. Bancoorah; 16. Bandah; 17. Bangalore; 18. Balmer; 19. Baroda; 20. Broach; 21. Beawr; 22. Benares; 23. Berhampoor; 24. Bellary; 25. Belgaum; 26. Bhagulpoor; 27. Bhooj; 28. Bhopawur; 29. Bhurtpoor; 30. Bishnath; 31. Bombay; 32. Burdwan; 33. Buxar; 34. Cannanore; 35. Cawnpoor; 36. Chicacole; 37. Chinsurah; 38. Chirra-poonjee; 39. Chittagong; 40. Chunar; 41. Cuddapah; 42. Cuttack; 43. Dacca; 44. Dapoolee; 45. Delhi; 46. Dehra; 47. Deesa; 48. Dharwar; 49. Dinapoor; 50. Dindigul; 51. Dorunda; 52. Dumdum; 53. Durrumgaun; 54. Etawah; 55. Frazerpett; 56. Ft. William; 57. Futtehghur; 58. Ghazeepoor; 59. Goruckpoor; 60. Gowhatty; 61. Gurrawarra; 62. Gwalior; 63. Hansi; 64. Hawil-Bagh; 65. Hazareebagh; 66. Hoosungabad; 67. Hursole; 68. Hydrabad (Deccan); 69. Hydrabad (Sinde); 70. Kaira; 71. Khyou-phyou; 72. Kirkee; 73. Kulladjee; 74. Kurnaul; 75. Kurrachee; 76. Jounpoor; 77. Jubbulpoor; 78. Jumalpoor; 79. Lahore; 80. Lohooghaut; 81. Loodiana; 82. Lucknow; 83. Malligaum; 84. Mangalore; 85. Masulipatam; 86. Meerut; 87. Midnapoor; 88. Mirzapoor; 89. Mhow; 90. Moradabad; 91. Moorshedabad; 92. Mudduckray; 93. Mullye; 94. Mundlaisir; 95. Mynpooree; 96. Nagpoor; 97. Neemuch; 98. Noagaum; 99. Nusseerabad; 100. Ootacamund; 101. Palamcotta; 102. Palavera; 103. Palgatcheri; 104. Peetoraghur; 105. Peshawur; 106. Poona; 107. Poonamallee; 108. Prome; 109. Quilon; 110. Rangoon; 111. Rajkote; 112. Russell-Koondah; 113. Samulkotta; 114. Sattara; 115. Saugor; 116. Seerolee; 117. Seetapoor; 118. Secunderabad; 119; Suharunpoor; 120. Seroor; 121. Shahjehanpoor; 122. Sholapoor; 123. Silhet; 124. St. Thomas's Mt. (Ft. St. George); 125. Subathoo; 126. Sultanpoor (Benares); 127. Sultanpoor (Oude); 128. Surat; 129. Trichinopoly; 130. Vellore; 131. Vizianagrum; 132. Vizagapatam; 133. Wallajahbad.

Principal Native Cities.—1. Ahmedabad; 2. Ajmere; 3. Amritsir; 4. Azimghur; 5. Bandah; 6. Banswarra; 7. Bareilly; 8. Baroda; 9. Beejapoor; 10. Beekaneer; 11. Benares; 12. Bhawulpoor; 13. Bhooj; 14. Bhopal; 15. Boondee; 16. Burdwan; 17. Burranpoor; 18. Calcutta; 19. Calpee; 20. Cuddapah; 21. Culna; 22. Cuttack; 23. Dacca; 24. Dholpoor; 25. Dinajepoor; 26. Dohud; 27. Dutteah; 28. Ellichpoor; 29. Ellore; 30. Etawah; 31. Ferozabad; 32. Furruckabad; 33. Futtehpoor; 34. Fyzabad; 35. Garakota; 36. Gayah; 37. Goruckpoor; 38. Guntoor; 39. Gwalior; 40. Hurdwar; 41. Hydrabad (Deccan); 42. Hydrabad (Sinde); 43. Indore; 44. Kashmir; 45 Khatmandoo; 46. Kolapoor; 47. Jamoo; 48. Jansi; 49. Jeypoor; 50. Joudpoor; 51. Lahore; 52. Leia; 53. Lucknow; 54. Lukkur; 55. Madura; 56. Midnapoor; 57. Mittunkote; 58. Moorshedabad; 59. Muttra; 60. Nagpoor; 61. Oodeypoor; 62. Patna; 63. Putteeala; 64. Rangoon; 65. Sattara; 66. Sikri; 67. Silhet; 68. Tanjore; 69. Trichinopoly.

Principal Maritime Stations.—1. Akyab; 2. Amherst; 3. Arracan; 4. Balasore; 5. Broach; 6. Bombay; 7. Calcutta; 8. Cambay; 9. Cannanore; 10. Cochin; 11. Coringa; 12. Dalhousie; 13. Diu; 14. Kedjeree; 15. Kurrachee; 16. Madras; 17. Mangalore; 18. Masulipatam; 19. Mergui; 20. Moulmein; 21. Poorbunder; 22. Quilon; 23. Ramoo; 24. Rangoon; 25. Surat; 26. Vizagapatam.

Sanitaria.—Aboo, (Mt.); Chunar; Darjeeling; Ootacamund; Landour; Simla; Mahabulishwar; Murree (on a spur of the Suttee hills in the Hazara district); Chumba (at the head of the Baree Doab.)

* *Seats of Government.*—1. Agra; 2. Bombay; 3. Calcutta, or Fort William; 4. Hydrabad (Sinde); 5. Lahore; 6. Madras, or Fort St. George.

Statistical Return of Land Revenue, Area, and Population in

Division.	Districts.	Number of Mouzahs or townships.	Area in sq. British Statute miles of 640 acres each.	Area in Acres.	Malgoozaree or assessed land.		Minhaee or unassessed land.		Demand on act. of land revenue 1851-'52, in Rs.	Rate per acre on Total area.
					Cultivated Acres.	Culturable Acres.	Lakhiraj Acres.	Barren Acres.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
DELHI.	Paneeput	538	1,269·9	812,745	407,051	261,747	19,398	124,549	827,123	1 0 3
	Hissar	653	3,294 2	2,108,279	988,923	864,099	85,528	169,729	465,760	0 3 6
	Delhi	568	789·7	505,320	263,208	76,585	91,402	74,125	456,487	0 14 5
	Rohtuck	300	1,340·4	857,885	641,792	147,183	22,730	46,180	631,132	0 11 9
	Goorgaon	1,274	1,939·1	1,241,017	895,940	168,428	16,352	160,297	1,047,231	0 13 6
	Total	3,333	8,633·3	5,525,246	3,196,914	1,518,042	235,410	574,880	3,427,736	0 9 11
MEERUT.	Saharunpoor	1,904	2,162·3	1,383,898	774,253	211,449	54,597	343,599	1,064,513	0 12 4
	Moozuffernugger	1,138	1,646 3	1,053,641	670,468	153,173	76,287	153,713	1,107,538	1 0 10
	Meerut	1,638	2,200 1	1,408,063	907,758	236,021	82,028	182,256	1,693,046	1 3 3
	Boolundshahur	1,576	1,823 6	1,167,094	715,587	143,260	88,036	220,211	1,056,835	0 14 6
	Allyghur	1,997	2,153·4	1,378,204	961,076	77,725	41,070	298,333	1,985,136	1 7 1
	Total	8,253	9,985 7	6,390,900	4,029,142	821,628	342,018	1,198,112	6,907,068	1 1 0
ROHILCUND.	Bijnore	3,030	1,900·0	1,216,005	590,622	175,553	42,626	407,204	1,197,695	0 13 9
	Moradabad	3,484	2,698·8	1,727,216	839,919	308,851	256,086	322,360	1,340,312	0 12 5
	Budaon	2,232	2,401·9	1,537,191	928,299	286,055	69,734	253,103	1,097,329	0 11 5
	Bareilly	3,563	3,119·1	1,996,224	1,056,961	394,810	83,630	460,823	1,769,610	0 14 2
	Shahjehanpoor	2,785	2,308·4	1,477,359	716,201	453,032	33,067	275,059	1,060,318	0 11 9
	Total	15,094	12,428·2	7,953,995	4,132,002	1,618,301	485,143	1,718,549	6,465,264	0 13 0
AGRA.	Muttra	1,019	1,613·4	1,032,542	733,362	87,224	97,649	114,307	1,657,283	1 9 9
	Agra	1,143	1,864 9	1,193,537	747,536	118,104	84,460	243,437	1,622,980	1 5 9
	Furruckabad	2,017	2,122·9	1,358,685	749,023	178,345	69,985	361,332	1,333,011	0 15 8
	Mynpoory	1,344	2,020·2	1,292,946	687,098	114,526	8,510	482,812	1,267,079	0 15 8
	Etawah	1,495	1,677·0	1,073,276	557,804	59,927	29,143	426,402	1,272,086	1 3 0
	Total	7,018	9,298 4	5,950,986	3,474,823	558,126	289,747	1,628,290	7,152,439	1 3 3
ALLAHABAD.	Cawnpoor	2,257	2,348 0	1,502,699	800,438	149,232	61,992	491,037	2,144,075	1 6 10
	Futtehpoor	1,617	1,583 1	1,013,171	509,793	131,895	9,417	362,066	1,426,205	1 6 6
	Humeerpoor	997	2,241·6	1,434,651	770,254	316,504	14,531	333,362	1,277,864	0 14 3
	Banda	1,257	3,009 6	1,926,112	846,831	561,281	82,934	435,066	1,591,377	0 13 3
	Allahabad	4,003	2,788·7	1,784,780	971,558	247,255	28,240	537,727	2,141,221	1 3 2
	Total	10,131	11,971 0	7,661,413	3,898,874	1,406,167	197,114	2,159,258	8,580,742	1 1 11
BENARES.	Goruckpoor	15,714	7,340 2	4,697,706	2,232,901	1,268,024	160,732	1,036,049	2,133,931	0 7 3
	Azimgurh	6,270	2,516·4	1,610,498	798,707	213,729	41,027	557,035	1,489,619	0 14 10
	Jounpoor	3,431	1,552 2	993,383	573,616	58,121	23,497	338,149	1,254,095	1 4 2
	Mirzapoor	5,280	5,152·3	3,297,472	768,296	293,394	1,421,412	814,370	839,732	0 4 1
	Benares	2,296	995·5	637,107	420,069	35,791	29,571	151,676	903,358	1 6 8
	Ghazeepoor	5,088	2,181·0	1,395,808	924,884	151,168	41,532	278,224	1,500,426	1 1 2
	Total	38,079	19,737·6	12,631,974	5,718,473	2,020,227	1,717,771	3,175,503	8,121,161	0 10 3
	Grand Total	81,908	72,054·2	46,114,514	24,450,228	7,942,491	3,267,203	10,454,592	40,654,410	0 14 1

Non-Regulation Districts, from Census of 1847-'48, the latest date.

Divisions.	Districts.	Area in Sq Miles.	Population.	No. to each Sq. Mile.
Saugor and Nerbudda Territories	Saugor	1,857	305,594	165
	Dumoh	2,428	363,584	149
	Jubbulpore	6,237	442,771	71
	Seonee	1,459	227,070	156
	Mundla	6,170	225,092	36
	Hoshungabad	1,916	242,641	127
	Baitool	990	93,441	94
	Nursingporo	501	254,486	508
	Jáloun	2,313	246,297	106
	Jhansi	1,394	300,000	215
	Chundeyree	556	87,260	157
Jawud Neemuch	Jawud Neemuch	443	84,866	191
Nimar	Nimar, British	269	25,727	96
Ajmere	Ajmere, including all Mairwarra	2,891	287,290	99
Kumaon	Kumaon—Gurwhal	11,972	605,830	50
Total, Non-Regulation Districts		41,396	3,791,949	91

the Districts of the North Western Provinces, prepared in 1852-'53.

Rate per acre on Total Malgoozaree.	Rate per acre on Total Cultivation.	POPULATION.									No. of persons to each sq. British Statute mile of 640 acres each.	Number of acres to each person.
		Hindoos.				Mohammedan and others not Hindoo.				Total.		
		Agricultural.		Non-Agricultural.		Agricultural.		Non-Agricultural.				
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.			
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
1 3 9	2 0 6	94,360	73,397	49,252	38,802	20,411	16,869	51,643	44,351	389,085	306	2·09
0 4 0	0 7 6	113,974	93,170	23,555	17,207	33,638	28,189	12,044	9,075	330,852	100	6·37
1 5 6	1 11 9	93,963	77,731	78,912	65,459	10,036	8,881	52,292	48,470	435,744	552	1·16
0 12 10	0 15 9	117,168	102,275	61,770	50,610	11,890	12,059	11,451	9,790	377,013	281	2·27
0 15 9	1 2 8	174,457	147,726	73,138	65,453	85,314	73,057	22,107	21,234	662,486	342	1·87
0 11 8	1 1 2	593,922	494,299	286,627	237,531	161,289	139,055	149,537	132,920	2,195,180	254	2·52
1 1 3	1 6 0	155,176	109,146	165,789	125,829	53,281	44,833	79,840	67,431	801,325	370	1·73
1 5 6	1 10 10	135,478	105,768	133,273	115,652	44,336	39,607	51,672	47,075	672,861	409	1·56
1 7 8	1 13 10	237,105	190,680	245,814	211,639	43,996	38,354	88,386	79,098	1,135,072	516	1·24
1 3 8	1 7 8	182,783	152,925	154,520	143,468	24,512	23,259	49,164	47,711	778,342	427	1·50
1 14 7	2 1 1	273,368	229,145	269,663	241,198	15,475	14,047	47,369	44,300	1,134,565	527	1·21
1 6 9	1 11 5	983,910	787,664	969,059	837,786	181,600	160,100	316,431	285,615	4,522,165	453	1·41
1 9 0	2 3 2	126,819	98,796	128,377	110,802	25,613	22,811	96,425	85,878	695,521	366	1·75
1 2 8	1 9 6	273,881	228,450	139,417	124,246	95,925	86,842	97,249	92,451	1,138,461	422	1·52
0 14 6	1 2 11	386,097	321,094	92,372	77,946	40,792	36,678	33,674	30,508	1,019,161	424	1·51
1 3 6	1 10 9	462,647	398,764	110,757	97,169	75,540	67,921	84,481	80,989	1,378,268	442	1·45
0 14 6	1 7 8	380,372	317,803	85,589	74,768	27,434	25,099	36,354	38,677	986,096	427	1·50
1 2 0	1 9 0	1,629,816	1,364,907	556,512	484,931	265,304	239,351	348,183	328,503	5,217,507	419	1·52
2 0 4	2 4 2	274,285	231,893	152,452	134,329	14,004	11,909	23,226	20,811	862,909	535	1·20
1 14 0	2 2 9	315,239	256,987	177,098	146,714	13,551	11,521	42,533	38,318	1,001,961	537	1·19
1 7 0	1 12 6	389,191	306,376	130,824	110,356	24,861	20,747	41,013	41,239	1,064,607	501	1·28
1 9 3	1 13 6	347,819	271,840	89,684	71,738	10,637	9,456	16,738	14,802	832,714	412	1·55
2 0 11	2 4 6	225,376	175,991	96,249	80,542	4,843	4,484	12,166	11,314	610,965	364	1·76
1 12 4	2 0 1	1,551,910	1,243,087	646,307	543,679	67,896	58,117	135,676	126,484	4,373,156	465	1·36
2 4 1	2 10 10	361,396	316,720	213,925	193,091	10,158	9,732	36,614	32,920	1,174,556	500	1·28
2 3 7	2 12 9	195,857	168,302	127,106	121,172	14,435	13,571	19,904	19,440	679,787	428	1·49
1 2 10	1 10 7	205,018	175,086	67,863	60,618	7,595	7,084	13,102	12,238	548,604	245	2 61
1 2 1	1 14 1	258,153	232,162	105,835	97,541	11,872	11,175	14,298	12,836	743,872	247	2·59
1 12 1	2 3 3	421,873	375,459	208,282	194,313	33,454	31,857	59,189	55,361	1,379,788	495	1·29
1 9 11	2 3 3	1,442,297	1,267,729	723,011	666,735	77,514	73,419	143,107	132,795	4,526,607	378	1·69
0 9 9	0 15 3	1,184,951	1,082,559	236,681	212,581	136,121	126,012	57,234	51,732	3,087,874	421	1·52
1 7 6	1 13 10	646,984	552,356	120,288	107,302	54,922	50,781	62,940	57,678	1,653,251	657	·97
1 15 9	2 3 0	442,429	378,734	108,690	101,735	22,356	20,992	34,732	34,081	1,143,749	737	·87
0 12 6	1 1 6	336,134	312,986	193,985	186,793	7,906	7,458	30,724	28,329	1,104,315	214	2·98
1 15 9	2 2 5	220,243	197,909	181,768	169,196	4,515	4,512	38,252	35,[illegible]62	851,757	856	·75
1 6 4	1 9 11	516,593	467,738	231,525	222,229	17,527	17,523	63,218	60,061	1,596,324	732	·87
1 0 9	1 6 9	3,347,337	2,992,282	1,072,937	999,836	243,347	227,278	287,010	267,243	9,437,270	478	1·34
1 4 1	1 8 2	9,549,192	8,149,968	4,254,453	3,770,498	996,950	897,320	1,379,941	1,273,560	30271885	420	1·52

Bombay—Population.

Districts.	Hindoos.	Wild Tribes.	Low Castes.	Shrawniks.	Lingayets	Mussulmans.	Parsees.	Jews.	Christians.	Grand Total.
Ahmedabad . . .	363,980	129,363	51,402	32,766	3,204	69,275	156	—	77	650,223
Kaira	289,060	182,138	48,806	7,010	—	53,541	5	—	71	580,631
Broach	122,528	81,429	23,570	3,583	24	57,272	2,552	—	26	290,984
Surat	256,535	131,728	34,317	10,687	—	46,608	12,663	—	146	492,684
Tannah	640,821	83,413	70,099	1,468	2,354	39,624	2,213	2,440	32,138	874,570
Candeish	566,562	83,725	68,622	4,154	4,078	50,879	25	4	63	778,112
Bombay and Colaba Islands, including City of Bombay .	296,931	—	8,007	1,902	—	124,155	114,698	1,132	19,294	566,119
Poonah	514,596	38,470	76,347	2,780	8,871	24,604	107	3	228	666,006
Ahmednuggur . . .	722,813	67,910	131,059	13,607	8,299	51,520	65	—	307	995,585
Sholapoor	427,561	12,170	86,148	4,531	83,529	61,202	18	—	16	675,115
Rutnagherry . . .	549,960	90	61,093	675	5,381	46,023	19	29	1,968	665,238
Belgaum	543,762	58,631	76,375	35,977	235,729	72,322	35	—	3,051	1,025,882
Dharwar . .	357,055	44,909	46,158	9,658	213,978	82,239	7	—	381	754,385
Total	5,652,109	913,976	782,003	128,798	565,447	779,264	132,563	3,608	57,766	9,015,534

Population of the Territories of the Madras Presidency, according to the Census taken in the Revenue Year 1850–'51.

Districts.	Adults.				Children				Grand Total.			Area in Square Miles.	No. of Persons to each Square Mile.
	Males.		Females.		Males.		Females.						
	Hindoos.	Mahomedans and others.	Hindoos.	Mahomedans and others.	Hindoos.	Mahomedans and others.	Hindoos.	Mahomedans and others.	Males.	Females.	Total.		
1. Ganjam	282,650	1,616	295,110	1,984	190,334	845	153,738	653	475,445	451,485	926,930	6,400	145
2. Vizagapatam	397,463	4,815	411,715	5,425	240,019	3,026	189,393	2,416	645,323	608,949	1,254,272	7,650	164
3. Rajahmundry	322,316	6,726	339,613	7,171	181,872	3,789	147,409	3,140	514,703	497,333	1,012,036	6,050	167
4. Masulipatam	176,167	7,323	166,497	7,639	91,049	4,665	64,083	3,443	279,204	241,662	520,866	5,000	104
5. Guntoor	168,461	10,578	168,061	10,586	103,893	7,531	94,227	6,631	290,463	279,505	569,963	4,960	115
6. Nellore	312,213	14,060	294,920	12,946	151,425	7,720	135,476	6,930	485,418	450,272	935,690	7,930	118
7. Bellary	394,103	29,404	374,459	28,619	202,446	17,413	168,203	14,947	643,371	586,228	1,229,599	13,056	94
8. Cuddapah	147,959	29,762	430,283	28,773	261,011	20,389	216,551	17,193	759,121	692,800	1,451,921	12,970	112
9. Chingleput	191,239	6,144	183,947	5,928	102,649	3,673	86,740	3,142	303,705	279,757	583,462	3,020	193
10. North Arcot	465,620	22,361	450,896	24,159	261,060	13,674	236,262	11,841	762,715	723,158	1,485,873	6,800	218
11. South Arcot	359,431	13,637	327,508	12,742	152,293	6,726	127,766	5,902	532,087	473,918	1,006,005	7,610	132
12. Salem	380,945	9,965	383,418	9,962	212,700	6,262	187,013	5,102	609,872	585,495	1,195,367	8,200	146
13. Tanjore	523,970	44,036	542,731	50,407	249,934	23,180	221,556	20,272	841,120	834,966	1,676,086	3,900	430
14. Trichinopoly	184,741	57,390	188,027	57,418	88,425	29,769	76,861	26,565	360,325	348,871	709,196	3,000	236
15. Madura	532,214	53,705	552,737	56,304	268,998	28,206	239,982	24,645	883,123	873,668	1,756,791	10,700	164
16. Tinnevelly	361,946	39,785	387,630	45,001	207,188	27,804	176,884	22,978	636,723	632,493	1,269,216	5,700	223
17. Coimbatoor	357,473	8,207	381,239	8,637	206,504	4,944	182,698	4,160	577,128	576,734	1,153,862	8,280	139
18. Canara	314,921	34,775	315,383	34,856	171,715	21,358	145,063	18,262	542,769	513,564	1,056,333	7,720	137
19. Malabar	358,361	125,432	371,933	123,683	200,823	79,316	181,095	69,266	763,932	750,977	1,514,909	6,060	250
20. Kurnool	74,525	14,019	73,679	14,674	43,037	8,948	36,841	7,467	140,529	132,661	273,190	3,243	84
Total	6,606,723	533,740	6,639,786	551,914	3,587,375	319,238	3,067,841	274,955	11,017,076	10,534,496	21,581,572	138,249	156
21. Madras	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	700,000	30	23·333
Grand Total	6,606,723	533,740	6,639,786	551,914	3,587,375	319,238	3,067,841	274,955	11,047,076	10,534,496	22,281,572	138,279	161

Population of Calcutta in May, 1850, exclusive of Suburbs.

Class.	Males by Ages.					Females by Ages.					Grand Total.
	Under 4 yrs. of age.	Above 5, under 20.	Above 20, under 40.	Above 40.	Total.	Under 5 yrs of age.	Above 5, under 20.	Above 20, under 40.	Above 40.	Total.	
Europeans	600	1,050	1,473	668	3,791	503	817	809	313	2,442	6,233
Eurasians	417	934	779	319	2,449	348	766	779	273	2,166	4,615
Armenians	174	151	135	39	499	118	131	113	31	393	892
Chinese	50	87	421	141	699	40	46	43	19	148	847
Asiatics	1,505	1,799	2,920	1,746	7,970	1,226	1,529	2,436	2,181	7,372	15,342
Hindoos	18,297	40,507	70,770	36,085	165,659	14,897	30,437	41,038	22,304	108,676	274,335
Mahomedans	7,544	19,850	32,759	12,179	72,332	6,214	10,536	14,763	7,173	38,686	111,018
Total	28,587	54,378	109,257	51,177	253,399	23,346	44,262	59,981	32,294	159,883	413,282

Districts.	Area, Square Miles.	Population.
BENGAL.		
Jessore—		
Jessore	3,512	381,744
24 Pergunnahs . .	1,186	288,000
Burdwan . . .	2,224	1,854,152
Hoogly	2,089	1,520,840
Nuddea . . .	2,942	298,736
Bancoorah . . .	1,476	480,000
Baraset	1,424	522,000
	14,853	5,345,472
Bhaugulpore—		
Bhaugulpore . . .	5,806	2,000,000
Dinajpore . . .	3,820	1,200,000
Monghyr . . .	2,558	800,000
Poorneah . . .	5,878	1,600,000
Tirhoot	7,402	2,400,000
Maldah	1,000	431,000
	26,464	8,431,000
Cuttack—		
Cuttack with Pooree:— Cuttack . . . 3,061; Pooree . . . 1,768	4,829	1,000,000
Balasore . . .	1,876	556,395
Midnapore and Hidgellee	5,029	666,328
Koordah . . .	930	571,160
	12,664	2,793,883
Moorshedabad—		
Moorshedabad . .	1,856	1,015,000
Bagoorah . . .	2,160	900,000
Rungpore . . .	4,130	2,559,000
Rajshahye . . .	2,084	671,000
Pubna	2,606	600,000
Beerbhoom . . .	4,730	1,010,876
	17,566	6,815,876
Dacca—		
Dacca	1,960	600,000
Furreedpore, Dacca Jelalpore . .	2,052	855,000
Mymensing . . .	4,712	1,487,000
Sylhet, including Jyntea	8,424	380,000
Bakergunge, including Deccan Shabazpore.	3,794	733,800
	20,942	4,055,800
Patna—		
Shahabad . . .	3,721	1,600,000
Patna	1,828	1,200,000
Behar	5,694	2,500,000
Sarun, with Chumparan	2,560	1,700,000
	13,803	7,000,000
Chittagong—		
Chittagong . . .	2,560	1,000,000
Tipperah and Bulloah . .	4,850	{ 806,950 600,000
	7,410	2,406,950
Saugor and Nerbudda—		
Jaloun and the Pergunnahs ceded by Jhansie	1,873	176,297
Saugor	1,857	305,594
Jubbulpore . . .	6,237	442,771
Hoshungabad .	1,916	242,641

Districts.	Area, Square Miles.	Population.
Seonee	1,459	227,070
Dumoh	2,428	363,584
Nursingpore . . .	501	254,486
Baitool	990	93,441
British Mahairwarrah .	282	37,715
	15,670	1,967,302
Cis-Sutlej—		
Umballah . . .	293	67,134
Loodianah, includ. Wudni	725	120,898
Kythul and Ladwa .	1,538	161,805
Ferozepore . . .	97	16,890
		369,727
Territory lately belonging to Seik chiefs.	1,906	249,686
	4,559	
North-East Frontier (Assam)—		
Cossya Hills . . .	729	10,935
Cachar	4,000	60,000
	4,729	
Camroop, Lower 2,788	—	300,000
Nowgong, do. . 4,160	8,948	70,000
Durrung, do. . 2,000	—	80,000
Joorhat (Seebpoor) Upper . 2,965	—	200,000
Luckimpoor, do. 2,950	12,857	30,000
Sudiya, including Mutruck . . 6,942	—	30,000
	21,805	780,935
Goalpara . . .	3,506	400,000
Arracan . . .	15,104	321,522
Tenasserim, Tavoy, Ye, .	29,168	115,431
Pegu	no	returns.
South-West Frontier—		
Sumbulpore . . .	4,693	800,000
Ramgurh or Hazareebah	8,524	372,216
Lohurdugga { Chota Nagpore / and Palamow }	5,308 3,468	482,900
Singbhoom . .	2,914	200,000
Maunbhoom { Pachete . / Barabhoom }	4,792 860	772,340
	30,589	2,627,456
The Punjaub, inclusive of the Julundur Doab and Koolo territory— Lahore . . ; Jhelum . . ; Mooltan . . ; Leia . . . ; Peshawur . . ; Huzara and Kohat	78,447	4,100,983
The Sunderbunds— Mouths of Ganges. .	6,500	unknown.
Total, Bengal . .	325,652	47,958,320
NORTH WEST. PROV.		
Delhi—		
Paneeput . . .	1,279	283,420

Districts.	Area, Square Miles.	Population.
Hurreeanah . . .	3,300	225,086
Delhi	602	306,550
Rhotuck . . .	1,340	294,119
Goorgaon . . .	1,942	460,326
	8,463	1,569,501
Meerut—		
Saharunpoor . . .	2,165	547,353
Mozuffernuggur . .	1,617	537,594
Meerut	2,332	860,736
Boolundshuhur . .	1,855	699,393
Allygurh . . .	2,149	739,356
	10,118	3,384,432
Rohilcund—		
Bijnour	1,904	620,546
Moradabad . . .	2,967	997,362
Budaon	2,368	825,712
Bareilly and Pillibheet .	2,937	1,143,657
Shajehanpore . .	2,483	812,588
	12,659	4,399,865
Agra—		
Muttra	1,607	701,688
Agra	1,860	828,220
Furruckabad . . .	1,909	854,799
Mynpoorie . . .	2,009	639,809
Etawah	1,674	481,224
	9,059	3,505,740
Allahabad—		
Cawnpore . . .	2,337	993,031
Futtehpore . . .	1,583	511,132
Humeerpore and Calpee	2,240	452,091
Banda	2,878	552,526
Allahabad . . .	2,801	710,263
	11,839	3,219,043
Benares—		
Goruckpore . . .	7,346	2,376,533
Azimghur . . .	2,520	1,313,950
Jounpore . . .	1,552	798,503
Mirzapore . . .	5,235	831,388
Benares	994	741,426
Ghazepore . . .	2,187	1,059,287
	19,834	7,121,087
The Butty Territory, including Wuttoo.	3,017	112,274
Pergunnah of Kote Kasim	70	13,767
Jaunsar and Bawur .	579	24,684
Deyrah Dhoon . . .	673	32,083
Kumaon (including Ghur-	6,962	166,755
wal.	2,029	224,891
Ajmeer	269	25,727
British Nimaur . . .		
	13,599	600,181
Total, N. W. Provinces	85,571	23,800,549

Districts.	Area, Square Miles.	Population.
MADRAS.		
Rajahmundry . . .	6,050	1,012,036
Masulipatam . . .	5,000	520,860
Guntoor, including Palnaud	4,960	570,089
Nellore	7,930	935,690
Chingleput . . .	2,993	583,462
Madras, included in Chingleput.	—	720,000
Arcot, South Division, including Cuddalore.	7,600	1,006,005
Arcot, North Division, including Consooddy.	5,790	1,485,873
Bellary	13,056	1,229,599
Cuddapah	12,970	1,451,921
Salem, including Vomundoor and Mullapandy.	8,200	1,195,377
Coimbatore . . .	8,280	1,153,862
Trichinopoly . . .	3,243	709,196
Tanjore, including Najore	3,900	1,676,086
Madura, including Dindigul	9,535	1,756,791
Tinnivelly	5,700	1,269,216
Malabar	6,060	1,514,909
Canara	7,720	1,056,333
	118,987	19,847,305
Gangam	6,400	926,930
Vizagapatam . . .	7,650	1,254,272
Kurnool	2,643	273,190
Total, Madras . .	135,680	22,301,697
BOMBAY.		
Surat	1,629	492,684
Broach	1,319	290,984
Ahmedabad . . .	4,356	650,223
Kaira	1,869	580,631
Kandeish	9,311	778,112
Tannah	5,477	815,849
Poonah	5,298	666,006
Ahmednuggur, including Nassick Sub-collectorate.	9,931	995,585
Sholapore	4,991	675,115
Belgaum	5,405	1,025,882
Dharwar	3,837	754,385
Rutnagherry . . .	3,964	665,238
Bombay Island, including Colaba Island.	18	566,119
Sattara	10,222	1,005,771
Colaba	318	58,721
Sinde — Shikapore . .	6,120	350,401
Sinde — Hydrabad .	30,000	551,811
Sinde — Kurrachee . .	16,000	185,550
Total, Bombay .	120,065	11,109,067
Total, Madras and Bombay	255,745	33,410,764

The foregoing districts are under the sole control of the British government; the succeeding tables exhibit the locality, area, population, revenue, subsidy or tribute paid by, and military resources of, each of the protected and subsidiary native states; several of these, however—Mysore, for instance—are entirely under our government, although the administration is carried on in the name of the legitimate sovereign.

Native States, not under direct Rule, but within the limits of Political Supremacy.[1]

Name.	Locality.	Area, in square miles.	Population.	Revenue.	Annual Subsidy, Tribute, or other payment.	Military Resources.[2]		
						Artillery.	Cavalry.	Infantry.
BENGAL.				Rupees.	Rupees.			
Alleo Mohun or Rajpoor Ali	Cent. In. (Malwa)	708	69,384	35,000	12,000	—	30	100
Amjherra	Do.	584	57,232	100,000	35,000	—	400	600
Bahadoorgurh	N.W. Prov. (adjacent to Delhi dist.	48	14,100	130,000	—	—	70	80
Berar (*vide* Nagpoor).								
Bhawlpore	Cis-Sutlej	20,003	600,000	1,400,000	—	—	3,127	10,048
Bhopal[3]	Cent. In. (Malwa)	6,764	663,656	2,200,000	—	117	442	2,457
Bhurtpore	Cent. In. (adjacent to city of Agra)	1,978	600,000	1,700,000	—	200	1,500	3,700
Boria (*vide* Jabooa).								
Bullubgurh	N.W. Prov. (adjacent to Delhi dist.	190	57,000	160,000	—	—	100	350
Bundlecund—								
„ Adjyghur	C.In.(Bundlecund)	310	45,000	325,000	7,750	18	200	1,200
„ Allypoora	Ditto	85	9,000	45,000	—	—	—	75
„ Banda	Ditto	—	—	—	—	69	167	207
„ Behree	Ditto	30	2,500	23,000	—	2	25	100
„ Behut	Ditto	15	2,500	15,500	—	1	10	50
„ Berounda	Ditto	275	24,000	45,000	—	1	40	200
„ Baonee	Ditto	127	18,800	100,000	—	—	50	300
„ Bhysonda	Ditto	8	2,000	9,000	—	—	11	125
„ Bijawur	Ditto	920	90,000	225,000	—	4	100	1,300
„ Bijna	Ditto	27	2,800	8,000	—	2	15	125
„ Chirkaree	Ditto	880	81,000	460,830	9,181	30	300	1,000
„ Chutterpore	Ditto	1,240	120,000	300,000	—	10	100	1,000
„ Dutteah	Ditto	850	120,000	1,000,000	—	80	1,000	5,000
„ Doorwae	Ditto	18	3,000	15,000	—	—	8	230
„ Gurowlee	Ditto	50	5,000	14,000	—	4	35	257
„ Gorihar	Ditto	76	7,500	55,000	—	3	50	225
„ Jignee	Ditto	27	2,800	15,000	—	1	19	51
„ Jusso	Ditto	180	24,000	13,000	—	1	8	60
„ Jhansi	Ditto	2,532	200,000	611,980	74,000	40	200	3,000
„ Kampta	Ditto	1	300	1,500	—	—	—	—
„ Logasee	Ditto	29	3,500	12,680	—	—	14	40
„ Mukree	Ditto	10	1,600	5,000	—	—	—	—
„ Nowagaon or Nygowan	Ditto	16	1,800	9,100	—	4	12	100
„ Nyagaon	Ditto	30	5,000	10,500	—	—	7	100
„ Oorcha or Tehree	Ditto	2,160	192,000	701,000	—	100	527	7,283
„ Punna	Ditto	688	67,500	400,000	10,000	18	250	3,000
„ Paharee or Puharee	Ditto	4	800	800	—	—	—	50
„ Puhrah	Ditto	10	1,600	8,000	—	—	4	99
„ Paldeo	Ditto	28	3,500	21,000	—	—	10	50
„ Poorwa	Ditto	12	1,800	9,500	—	—	5	40
„ Sumpthur	Ditto	175	28,000	450,000	—	45	300	4,000
„ Surehlah	Ditto	35	4,500	45,000	—	—	25	75
„ Tohree Futtepore	Ditto	36	6,000	36,830	2,650	12	20	251
„ Taraon or Turaon	Ditto	12	2,000	10,000	—	3	5	40
Burwanee	Cent. In. (Malwa)	1,380	13,800	30,000	—	—	25	50
Cashmere (Gholab Sing's Dominions)	Punjab	25,123	750,000	—	—	1,200	1,972	20,418
Cooch Behar	N.E. frontier, Bengal	1,361	136,400	132,000	66,000	—	342	108
Cossya and Garrow Hills—								
The Garrows		2,268						
Ram Rye		328						
Nustung		360						
Muriow		283						
Molyong	Ditto	110	65,205	—	—	—	—	2,282
Mahram		162						
Osimla		350						
Kyrim, and other petty Chiefs		486						

Notes.—[1] Some of these states are protected and tributary, others protected but *not* tributary; several, under subsidiary alliances, are bound to maintain a body of troops in readiness, when required, to co-operate with the British army; a few small states are protected by England, but tributary to larger states. Nepaul is not protected, tributary, or subsidiary, but the rajah is bound by treaty to abide in certain cases by the decision of the British government, and, like all the other rulers, prohibited from retaining in his service subjects of any European or American state.

[2] In some states the troops are officered by Europeans from the British army; in many there are police corps and irregular feudal forces—corresponding in some measure to our militia. In several instances there is a road police, and an organized corps for the collection of the revenue.

[3] Under the treaty of 1818 the Nabob was to furnish a contingent force of 600 cavalry and 400 infantry; but in 1824 the numbers were reduced to 259 cavalry, 522 infantry, and 48 artillery, and placed under European command. The contingent is exclusive of the Nabob's troops. There is also a feudal force, consisting of 30 artillery, 200 cavalry, and 1,000 infantry.—[*Statistical Papers relating to India, laid before Parliament*, 1853.]

Name.	Locality.	Area, in square miles.	Population.	Revenue.	Annual Subsidy, Tribute, or other payment.	Military Resources.		
						Artillery.	Cavalry.	Infantry.
BENGAL—*continued*								
Cuttack Mehals—				Rupees.	Rupees.			
„ Angool	. . . . .	—	—	—	1,550	—	5,000	
„ Autgur	. . . . .	—	—	—	6,748	—	1,500	
„ Banky	. . . . .	—	—	—	4,162	—	1,500	
„ Berumbah	. . . . .	—	—	—	1,310	—	1,500	
„ Dhenkanaul	. . . . .	—	—	—	4,780	—	7,000	
„ Hindole	. . . . .	—	—	—	516	—	250	
„ Kundiapurra	. . . . .	7,695	346,275	—	3,948	—	2,000	
„ Neelgur	. . . . .	—	—	—	3,617	—	500	
„ Nursingpore	Cuttack, in the	—	—	—	1,364	—	1,500	
„ Nyaghur	prov. of Orissa.	—	—	—	5,179	—	7,000	
„ Runpoor	. . . . .	—	—	—	1,313	—	1,500	
„ Talchur	. . . . .	—	—	—	974	—	500	
„ Tiggreah	. . . . .	—	—	—	826	—	300	
„ Autmallik	. . . . .	648	29,160	—	450	—	500	
„ Boad	. . . . .	1,377	61,965	—	750	—	2,000	
„ Duspulla	. . . . .	162	7,290	—	620	—	500	
„ Koonjerry	. . . . .	5,022	225,990	—	2,790	—	15,000	
„ Mohurbunge	. . . . .	2,025	91,125	—	1,001	—	8,000	
Deojana	North-West Provs. (near Delhi dist.)	71	6,390	—	—	—	50	150
Dewas	Cent. In. (Malwa)	256	25,088	400,400	—	—	175	500
Dhar	Do.	1,070	104,860	475,000	—	47	254	798
Dholpore	Hindostan (banks of Chumbul).	1,626	550,000	700,000	—	40	177	1,600
Furruckabad	North-West Provs. (Lower Dooab).	—	—	—	—	2	106	294
Furrucknuggur	North-West Provs (adjacent to Delhi).	22	4,400	—	—	—	—	25
Gholab Sing's Dominions, *vide* Cashmere.								
Gwalior (Scindia's Pos.)[1]	Central India	33,119	3,228,512	6,000,000	1,800,000	314	6,548	2,760
Hill States—								
Cis-Sutlej—								
Bhagul	Northern In. (Cis-Sutlej)	100	40,000	50,000	3,600	—	3,000	
Bujee or Beejee	Ditto	70	25,000	30,000	1,440	—	1,000	
Bejah	Ditto	5	3,000	4,000	180	—	200	
Bulsun	Ditto	64	5,000	6,000	1,080	—	500	
Bussahir	Ditto	3,000	150,000	150,000	15,000	—	—	300
Dhamie	Ditto	25	3,000	3,500	720	—	100	
Dhoorcatty	Ditto	5	200	400	—	—	—	—
Ghurwal	Ditto	4,500	100,000	100,000	—	—	—	—
Hindoor or Nalagarh	Ditto	233	20,000	80,000	—	—	—	300
Joobul	Ditto	330	15,000	14,130	2,520	—	—	—
Kothar	Ditto	12	4,000	7,000	1,080	—	400	
Koonyhar	Ditto	12	2,500	3,500	180	—	—	200
Keonthul	Ditto	272	26,000	33,500	—	—	2,690	
Koomharsin	Ditto	56	12,000	10,000	1,440	—	1,000	
Kuhloor	Ditto	150	32,250	110,000	—	—	—	400
Mangul	Ditto	15	1,000	1,000	72	—	50	
Muhlog	Ditto	50	13,000	10,000	1,440	—	500	
Mance Majrah	Ditto	80	16,720	60,000	—	—	—	—
Sirmoor or Nahun	Ditto	1,075	62,350	100,000	—	—	—	400
Hill States—								
Trans-Sutlej—								
Mundi	Jullunder Dooab	759	113,091	350,000	—	—	—	500
Sookeit	Ditto	174	25,926	80,000	—	—	—	300
Holcar's Pos., (*vide* Indore).								
Hyderabad (Nizam's dominions[2]	Hindostan	95,337	10,666,080	15,500,000	3,500,000[3]	—	4,521	12,369
Indore (Holcar's Pos.)	Cent. Ind. (Malwa)	8,318	815,164	2217,210	—	642	3,145	3,821[4]

Notes.—[1] The revenues of Gwalior amount to 60 lacs of rupees per annum, exclusive of the districts assigned for the payment of the contingent force (18 lacs of rupees). The contingent consists of 8,401 men, commanded by British officers The military force of the Maharajah, exclusive of the contingent, is not to exceed 9,000 men.

[2] In addition to these troops the Nizam maintains an irregular force, composed of Arabs, Sikhs, Turks, &c., amounting to 9,811 men. The State is also entitled to the services of 4,749 armed retainers, maintained by the Feudal Chiefs from revenues assigned by the Government for their support. The total military force of Hyderabad comprises five separate bodies, viz.:—1. British Subsidiary Force, 10,628. 2. Nizam's Auxiliary Force, 8,094. 3. Nizam's Irregulars, 16,890. 4. Force of Feudal Chiefs, 4,749. 5. Miscellaneous Force of Arabs, Sikhs, Turks, &c, 9,811. Total, 50,172. Under the Treaty of 1800, the Nizam's Contingent was to consist of 6,000 infantry and 9,000 cavalry; but the *Auxiliary Force*, organized under British officers, and paid by the Nizam, has been substituted for the Contingent, and consists of 8,094 cavalry, infantry, and artillery. The British subsidiary force amounts to 10,628 artillery, cavalry, and infantry.

[3] The cost of the Nizam's Auxiliary Force.

[4] This force is inclusive of the contingent of cavalry, which Holcar is bound to furnish. This prince contributes 11,000 rupees per annum towards the maintenance of the Malwa Bheelcorps, and also a further sum in aid of the United Malwa contingent.

Name.	Locality.	Area, in square miles.	Population.	Revenue.	Annual Subsidy, Tribute, or other payment.	Military Resources.		
						Artillery.	Cavalry.	Infantry.
BENGAL—*continued.*				Rupees.	Rupees.			
Jabooa	Central India	1,348	132,104	144,536	39,000	—	40	125
Borai or Boree	Cent In. (Malwa)	included in that of Jabooa.	included in that of Jabooa.	14,000	—	—	15	30
Jucknowda	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	10,000	—	—	15	25
Jhujur	North-West Provs. (adjacent to Delhi)	1,230	110,700	600,000	—	180	1,280	1,700
Jobut	Cent. In. (Malwa)	—	—	10,000	—	—	15	25
Jowra	Ditto	872	85,456	800,000	—	50	60	740
Jucknowda (*vide* Jabooa)								
Koorwace	Ditto	200	19,600	75,000	—	—	40	150
Loharoo	North-West Provs. (near Delhi.)	200	18,000	—	—	—	60	260
Macherry (*vide* Alwur, *under* Rajpoot States).								
Munneepoor	N. Eastern Frontier (Bengal).	7,584	75,840	—	—	452	—	3,158
Nagpore or Berar	Deccan	76,432	4,650,000	4,908,560	800,000	372	2,424	4,163[1]
Nepaul	Northern India	54,500	1,940,000	3,200,000	—	1,100	—	8,400[2]
Nizam (*vide* Hyderabad).								
Nursinghur (*vide* Omutwarra).								
Omutwarra—								
Rajghur	Cent. In. (Malwa)	1,348	132,104	200,000	—	10	50	150
Nursinghur	Ditto			275,000	—	20	150	350
Oude	North-West Provs	23,738	2,970,000	14,473,380	—	5,304	4,088	44,767[3]
Patowdee	North-West Provs (near Delhi dist.)	74	6,660	50,000	—	—	75	280
Rajghur (*vide* Omutwarra)								
Rajpoor Ali (*vide* Allee Mohun).								
Rajpoot States—								
Alwur or Macherry, including Tejarra.	Rajpootana	3,573	280,000	1,800,000	—	—	4,000	11,000
Banswarra	Ditto	1,440	144,000	95,000[4]	25,000	—	150	225
Bikaneer	Ditto	17,676	539,250	650,380	—	—	1,581	2,100[5]
Boondee	Ditto	2,291	229,100	500,000[6]	40,000	150	1,000	520[7]
Doongerpore	Ditto	1,000	100,000	109,000	—[8]	—	125	200[8]
Jessulmere	Ditto	12,252	74,400	84,720	—	30	754	252
Jyepore or Jyenagur	Ditto	15,251	1,891,124	4,583,950[9]	400,000	692	2,096	18,377[10]
Jhallawur	Ditto	2,200	220,000	1,500,000	80,000	500[11]	450	3,010
Joudpore	Ditto	35,672	1,783,600	1,752,520	223,000	—	2,630	5,850[12]
Kerowlee	Ditto	1,878	187,800	506,900	—	—	248	546
Kishengurh	Ditto	724	70,952	—	—	—	—	—
Kotah	Ditto	4,339	433,900	2,800,000	384,720	601	710	2,140
Odeypore or Mewar	Ditto	11,614	1,161,400	1,250,000	200,000	—	1,200	4,200[13]

Notes.—[1] The Rajah is bound by treaty to furnish 1,000 horse to serve with the British army in time of war. His military force, as here stated, is exclusive of a police corps of 2,274 men.

[2] In addition to this body of infantry there is an irregular force of 5,000 men, and a police corps amounting to 2,000 men. An accredited minister from the British Government resides at the court of Nepaul, with an escort of 94 rank and file, officered and paid by the British.

[3] The obligation of the British government, under the treaty of 1798, to maintain a force of 10,000 men in Oude, was superseded by the treaty of 1801. Under the provisions of the latter treaty, the British Government are bound to the defence of the kingdom against all enemies, but exercise their own discretion as to the requisite number of troops. The strength of the British subsidiary force amounts at the present time to 5,578 men. By the treaty of 1837, the limit on the number of troops to be maintained by the king was removed, and his majesty may employ such a military establishment as he may deem necessary for the government of his dominions—power being reserved to the British government to insist upon reduction in case of excess. A police corps of 100 horse and 460 foot is also maintained by the King of Oude for the protection of the British frontiers of Goruckpoor and Shahjehanpoor, bordering on the territory of Oude.

[4] Irrespective of the revenues of feudal grants and religious endowments.

[5] The military force is irrespective of the quotas to be furnished by the Feudal Chiefs, amounting to 1,500 horse, but inclusive of a mounted police, numbering 535 men.

[6] Irrespective of feudal estates and religious endowments.

[7] Irrespective of a police force of 2,000 men, and also of an irregular feudal force of 2,500.

[8] The tribute is not to exceed three-eighths of the annual revenue. The force is exclusive of a police force, amounting to 100 men.

[9] The revenue, as here stated, is independent of feudal jaghires and charitable endowments, producing 4,000,000 more. The amount of tribute payable by Jyepore, under the treaty of 1818, namely, 800,000 rupees, was reduced, in 1842, to 400,000 rupees.

[10] The military force here stated is exclusive of the troops maintained by the Feudatory Chiefs, amounting to 5,690 men, and exclusive of the garrisons of forts, amounting to 5,267.

[11] There is also a police force of 1,500 men in Jhallawur.

[12] This force is irrespective of the Joudpore legion, which was embodied in 1847, in lieu of the Joudpore contingent, and consists of—artillery, 31; cavalry, 254; infantry, 739; Bheel companies, 222. Total, 1,246 men, commanded by British officers. There is also a force of 2,000 men maintained by the Feudal Chiefs.

[13] Irrespective of the Kotah contingent, which consists of—cavalry, 283; artillery, 66; infantry, 799. Total, 1,148 men, commanded by British officers. There is also a police force consisting of 2,000 men.

Name.	Locality.	Area, in square miles.	Population.	Revenue.	Annual Subsidy, Tribute, or other payment.	Military Resources.		
						Artillery.	Cavalry.	Infantry.
BENGAL—*continued.*								
Rajpoot States—*continued.*				Rupees.	Rupees.			
Pertabgurh & Dowlea	Rajpootana	1,457	145,700	175,000	57,874 [1]	—	250	300
Serohee	Ditto	3,024	151,200	74,060	3-8ths of An. Rev.	—	200	600 [2]
Rampore	North-West Provs. (Bareilly).	720	320,400	1,000,000	—	60	497	1,387
Rutlam	Cent. In. (Malwa)	936	91,728	450,000	66,150	10	225	600
Saugor and Nerbudda Territories—								
Kothee	Cent. In. (Saugor and Nerbudda).	100	30,000	47,000	—	1	10	50
Myheer	Ditto	1,026	100,000	64,500	—	14	25	300
Ocheyrah	Ditto	436	120,000	66,320	—	—	—	—
Rewa and Mookundpore.	Ditto	9,827	1,200,000	2,000,000	—	29	842	7,291
Sohawul	Ditto	179	80,000	32,000	—	—	—	—
Shahgurh	Ditto	676	30,000	—	—	8	150	800
Scindia's Dominions (*vide* Gwalior).								
Seeta Mow	Cent. In. (Malwa)	208	20,384	90,000	47,250	—	130	225
Sikh Protected States— [3]								
Boorea (Dealgurh)	Cis-Sutlej	80	11,920	50,000	—	—	20	50
Chickrowlee (Kulseah)	Ditto	63	9,387	165,000	—	—	75	50
Furreedkote	Ditto	308	45,892	45,000	—	—	60	100
Jheend	Ditto	376	56,024	300,000	—	—	250	500
Mulair Kotla	Ditto	144	21,456	300,000	—	—	168	200
Mundote	Ditto	780	116,220	—	—	—	100	60
Nabha	Ditto	541	80,609	400,000	—	—	400	500
Puttiala	Ditto	4,448	662,752	—	—	—	1,500	1,500
Rai Kote	Ditto	6	894	5,500	—	—	12	20
South-West Frontier of Bengal— [4]								
Bombra	Orissa	1,224	55,980	10,000	340	—	—	—
Bonei	Ditto	1,057	47,565	6.000	200	—	—	—
Bora Samba	Ditto	622	27,990	4,000	160	—	—	—
Burgun	Ditto	399	17,955	10,000	320	—	—	—
Gangpoor	Ditto	2,493	112,185	10,000	500	—	—	—
Jushpore	Ditto	617	27,765	10,000	Included in Sirgooja.	—	—	—
Keriall or Koren, including Bhokur.	Ditto	1,512	68,040	20,000	1,095	—	—	—
Korea	Ditto	2,225	100,000	10,000	1,600	—	—	—
Nowagur or Bindra Nowagur.	Ditto	1,512	68,040	5,000	400	—	—	—
Odeypore	Ditto	2,306	133,748	15,000	Included in Sirgooja.	—	—	—
Patna	Ditto	1,158	52,110	25,000	600	—	—	—
Phooljee	Ditto	890	40,050	6,000	440	—	—	—
Rhyghur	Ditto	1,421	63,945	20,000	170	—	—	—
Sarunghur	Ditto	799	35,955	6,000	1,400	—	—	—
Singboom (States in British district of Singboom.)	—	—	—	4,000	107	—	—	—
Kursava (States in British district of Singboom.)	Ditto	Included in British dist. of Singboom.		6,000	—	—	—	—
Serickala (States in British district of Singboom.)	—	—	—	10,000	—	—	—	—
Sirgooja	Ditto	5,441	316,252	50,000	3,200	—	—	—
Sohnpoor	Ditto	1,467	66,015	60,000	6,400	—	—	—
Suctee	Ditto	268	12,060	4,000	240	—	—	—
Sikkim	Northern India	1,670	61,766	—	—	—	—	—
Tijarra (*vide* Alwur, Rajpoot States).								
Tonk, and other Dependencies of Ameer Khan, viz.— 1. Chuppra; 2. Nimbera; 3. Perawa; 4. Rampoora; 5. Seronjee.	Central India	1,864	182,672	820,000	—	—	—	—

Notes.—[1] The tribute is received by the British Government, but paid over to Holcar.

[2] These troops, as well as the force maintained by feudatories, amounting to 905 cavalry and 5,300 infantry, are employed also in revenue and police duties.

[3] The Sikh States were taken under British protection by treaty with Runjeet Sing, ruler of the Punjab, dated 25th April, 1806. All but those above mentioned have been deprived of independent authority, in consequence of failure in their allegiance during the war with the Sikhs.

[4] These States are comprised within the territory ceded to the British by the Rajah of Nagpore, under the treaty of 1826.

Name.	Locality.	Area, in square miles.	Population.	Revenue.	Annual Subsidy, Tribute, or other payment.	Military Resources.		
						Artillery.	Cavalry.	Infantry.
BENGAL—*continued.* Tonk, &c.—*continued.*				Rupees.	Rupees.			
Tipperah [1]	Eastern India, adjacent to Burmah.	7,632	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tuleram (Senaputty's Territory).	Eastern In. (Assam)	2,000	30,000	—	—	—	—	—
MADRAS.								
Cochin [2]	Coast of Malabar	1,988	288,176	486,000	240,000	—	—	—
Jeypore, and the Hill Zemindars.	Orissa	13,041	391,230	—	16,000	—	—	—
Mysore	Southern India	30,886	3,000,000	6,931,870	2,450,000	—	—	2,472
Poodoocottah (RajahTondiman's Dominions).	Southern India (Madura).	1,165	61,745	—	—	—	—	—
Travancore	Southern India	4,722	1,011,824	4,158,075	796,430	—	—	—
BOMBAY.								
Balasinore	Guzerat	258	19,092	41,548	10,000	—	8	60
Bansda	Ditto	325	24,050	47,000	7,800	—	—	77
Baroda (Dominions of the Guicowar.	Ditto	4,399	325,526	6,687,440	—	63	5,942 [3]	3,054
Cambay	Guzerat	500	37,000	300,000	60,000	—	200	1,500
Colapore, including its dependencies, viz.—	Southern Mahratta country.	3,445	500,000	550,000	—	27	450	3,848 [4]
Bhowda	—			51,662	—	—	16	468
Inchulkunjee	—			75,000	—	—	50	1,051
Khagul	—			72,760	—	—	25	672
Vishalgur	—			123,146	—	—	5	164
113 Surinjams, or minor dependencies.	—			631,628	—			
Cutch	Western India	6,764	500,536	738,423	200,000	—	—	—
Daung Rajahs	Guzerat	950	70,300	—	—	—	—	—
Dhurrumpore	Ditto (collectorate of Surat).	225	16,650	91,000	9,000	—	105	
Guzerat (Guicowar's Dominions), *vide* Baroda.								
Guzerat Petty States— [5]								
Chowrar [6]	Guzerat	225	2,500	9,000	—	—	25	—
Pahlunpore	Ditto	1,850	130,000	298,838	50,000	10	110	429
Radhunpore	Ditto	850	45,000	165,000	—	20	285	197
Baubier	Ditto	120	500	1,206	—	—	—	—
Charcut	Ditto	80	2,500	2,524	—	—	—	—
Deodar	Ditto	80	2,000	3,650	—	—	—	—
Kankrej	Ditto	—	—	12,895	—	—	—	—
Merwara	Ditto	included in Thurraud		4,230	—	—	6	1
Santulpoor	Ditto	—	—	11,346	—	—	—	—
Soegaum	Ditto	64	4,500	5,404	—	—	—	—
Therwarra	Ditto	48	800	2,363	—	—	—	—
Thurra	Ditto	—	—	6,460	—	—	24	8
Thurraud	Ditto	600	23,000	11,335	—	—	20	18
Warrye	Ditto	299	20,000	16,770	—	—	—	—
Wow	Ditto	364	10,000	7,360	—	—	15	8

Notes.—[1] This district is hilly, much covered with jungle, and very thinly inhabited.

[2] In Cochin, in consequence of the misrule of the Rajah, the affairs of the State have been conducted, since 1839, by a native minister, in communication with the British resident.

[3] This force includes a contingent of 3,000 cavalry, which acts with the British subsidiary force, but is supported at the Guicowar's expense, and paid and equipped agreeably to the suggestions of the British Government. There is also another body of troops (the Guzerat Irregular Horse), consisting of 756 men, paid by the Guicowar, but commanded by British officers, and stationed in the British district of Ahmedabad. In addition to the foregoing there is a police force, consisting of 4,000 men. The military force in Guzerat is thus composed of—1st. British subsidiary, 4,000 infantry; 2 regiments of cavalry, and 1 company of artillery. 2nd. Guicowar's Regular Troops, 6,059. 3rd. Guicowar's Contingent, 3,000 cavalry. 4th. Guzerat Irregular Horse, 756. 5th. Police Corps, 4,000.

[4] The Colapore force here specified consists of native troops, uncontrolled as to discipline; they are assembled under the orders of the political superintendent whenever required. There is, however, an efficient force (the Colapore Local Corps), commanded by British officers, and consisting of—cavalry, 303; infantry, 604; total, 907. The military force of the four Feudal Chiefs is shown under "Military Resources." They are bound to furnish a contingent for their feudal superior, consisting of—cavalry, 246; infantry, 580; total, 826. Besides the above there is a regular police corps of 674 men, and a body termed extra fighting-men, available for police duties, amounting to 3,113 men.

[5] Quotas of horse and foot are furnished by chiefs in the petty States of Guzerat to their feudal superiors, which have not been included in the military resources of each State. They amount, in the aggregate to 1,496 horse an 16,954 foot.

[6] The petty State of Chowrar is divided among a number of chieftains.

Name.	Locality.	Area, in square miles.	Population.	Revenue.	Annual Subsidy, Tribute, or other payment.	Military Resources.		
						Artillery.	Cavalry.	Infantry.
BOMBAY—*continued.*				Rupees.	Rupees.			
Guzerat Petty States—*continued.*								
Hursool (*vide* Peint).	Guzerat	19,850	1,468,900	4,501,723	1,047,396	102	3,888	8,122
Kattywar [1] Petty Chiefs	Scinde	5,000	105,000	—	—	47	727	105
Khyrpore								
Myhee Caunta [2] is distributed into Six Districts—1st. Nanee Marwar—comprising Edur, Ahmednuggur, Morassa, Hursole, Byer, Tintooe, Daunta, Malpoor, Pole, Pall, Posuna, Gudwarra, Wallasun, and Hurrole. 2nd. Behwur—comprising Gorewarra, Runassum, Mohunpoor, Surdooe, Roopal, Boroodra, Wurragaon, and Dhudulea. 3rd. Sabur Caunta—composed of Cooly possessions on the eastern bank of the Sabur Muttee, with the Rajpoot districts of Wursora, Maunsa, and Peethapore, on the western bank of that river. 4th. Kuttosun,—composed exclusively of Cooly possessions 5th. Byul, or Baweesee—comprising Wasna and Sadra. 6th. Watruck—comprising Amleyara, Mandwah, Khural, Bar Mooarah, & Satoomba.	Guzerat	3,400	150,000	500,000 [3]	138,400	—	291	630 [4]
Peint and Hursool	Collectorate of Ahmednuggur.	750	55,500	29,724	3,360	—	—	100
Rewa Caunta, comprising:								
1st. Barreea, or Deoghur Barreea.	Guzerat	870	64,380	57,651	12,000	—	43	168
2nd. Loonawarra	Ditto	500	37,000	40,000	19,200	—	50	100

Notes.—[1] The province of Kattywar is divided among a considerable number of Hindoo chiefs. Some of them are under the direct authority of the British Government; the remainder, though subject to the Guicowar, have also been placed under the control and management of the British Government, which collects the tribute and accounts for it to the Guicowar. The following Table exhibits the division of the province into talooks, or districts, with the number of chiefs, the amount of revenue and tribute, and the military resources of each:—

TALOOKAS.	Number of Chiefs in each Talooka.	Revenue.	Tribute.	Remainder.	Sebundy Force.		
					Artillery.	Cavalry.	Infantry.
		Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.			
Soruth	3	628,000	99,959	528,041	30	903	1,930
Hallar	26	973,100	322,461	650,639	25	827	1,702
Muchookanta	2	151,000	66,358	84,642	20	102	175
Babriawar	32	30,200	8,127	22,073	—	40	65
Ond Surna	23	32,923	10,307	22,616	—	2	5
Jhalawar	51	831,900	238,143	593,757	7	472	717
Gohelwar	27	725,300	146,492	578,808	—	915	1,720
Katteewar	47	855,800	121,113	734,687	20	480	895
Burda	1	200,000	34,436	165,564	—	100	400
Okamundel, &c.	4	73,500	—	73,500	—	47	513
Total	216	4,501,723	1,047,396	3,454,327	102	3,888	8,122

[2] The province of the Myhee Caunta is divided among several petty chiefs, tributary to the Guicowar. The whole province has been placed under the control and management of the British Government, which collects the Guicowar's dues, and pays over the amount to that prince.

[3] Revenue of Edur and Ahmednuggur, 234,000 rupees; of the remaining states, 266,000. Total revenue of Myhee Caunta, 500,000 rupees.

[4] The force maintained by the other chiefs of the Myhee Caunta is stated to consist of about 6.000 men

Name.	Locality.	Area, in square miles.	Population.	Revenue.	Annual Subsidy, Tribute, or other payment.	Military Resources. Artillery.	Cavalry.	Infantry.
BOMBAY—*continued.*				Rupees.	Rupees.			
Rewa Caunta—*continued*								
3rd. Mewassee Chiefs, residing on the banks of the Nerbudda and the Myhee.	Guzerat	375	27,750	—	67,613	—	—	—
4th. Odeypore (Chota) or Mohun.	Ditto	1,059	78,366	74,000	10,500	—	70	368
5th. Rajpeepla	Ditto	1,650	122,100	203,966	60,000	—	98	286
6th. Soauth	Ditto	425	31,450	20,000	7,000	—	40	100
Sattara Jaghires—								
1. Akulkote	Sattara	The area and population of these States cannot be given separately from the principality of Sattara		—	—	—	122	493
2. Bhore	Ditto					—	20	908
3. Juth	Ditto					—	10	202
4. Ounde	Ditto					—	25	255
5. Phultun	Ditto					—	15	175
Wyhee	Ditto					—	—	—
Sawunt Warree	South Concan	800	120,000	200,000	—	—	—	611
Sinde (*vide* Khyrpore).								
Southern Mahratta Jaghires—								
Hablee	Southern Mahratta country.	3,700	410,700	10,024	61,720	—	14	75
Jhumkundee				270,246		—	102	785
Koonwar				167,392		—	43	682
The two chiefs of Meeruj				275,343		—	87	1,053
Moodhole				94,645		—	35	420
Nurgoond				51,609		—	103	643
Sanglee				468,044		—	575	3,900
Savanore				29,670		—	25	431
Shedbal				123,599		—	68	212
Sucheen	Guzerat	300	22,200	89,000	—	—	—	18
Wusravee (Bheel Chiefs)	Ditto (southern boundary of Rajpeepla.	450	33,300	—	—	—	—	—
ABSTRACT— *Native States.*								
Bengal	—	607,949	44,255,517	84,151,786	7,995,471	12,593	54,671	287,309
Madras	—	51,802	4,752,975	4,158,075	796,430	—	—	2,472
Bombay	—	57,375	4,393,400	18,670,820	1,862,990	369	13,632	27,872
		717,126	53,401,892	106,980,681	10,654,891	12,962	68,303	317,653 [1]

Note.—It will be seen from the above that the military resources of the native princes of India comprise a force of 398,918 men. Where no distinction has been made in the official records between the cavalry and infantry of a native state, the whole armed force has been included in this statement under the head of infantry. In reference to this enormous force it is proper to observe, that considerable portions of the regular troops of native States are described in the official returns as fitted rather for police purposes than as available for regular military duties. Where the military force of a native prince is not under the command of European officers, it rarely happens that there exists any regular system of payment; and, under such circumstances, a native army is invariably found to be badly organised and inefficient. The figures above given do not include either the police corps or the quotas of troops which the military chiefs are bound to furnish to their feudal superior. [1] Including officers attached to native regiments.

Abstract of Population, Area of British and other European States, and Army of British Government in India, exclusive of H. M. European Cavalrp and Infantry, comprising 30,000 men.

ABSTRACT OF POPULATION.

—	Area.	Population.
British States—	Sq. Miles.	
Bengal	325,652	47,958,320
North-Western Provinces	85,571	23,800,549
Madras	135,680	22,301,697
Bombay	120,065	11,109,067
Eastern Straits Settlements	1,575	202,540
	668,543	105,169,633
Foreign States—		
French (Pondicherry, Mahe, &c.)	188	171,217
Portuguese (Goa, Diu, Demaun.)	800	not known.
Total	988	171,217

ARMY OF BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN INDIA.

Description.	European.	Company's Troops. Natives.	Total.
Engineers.	321	2,248	2,569
Artillery	7,436	9,004	16,440
Cavalry	469	30,851	34,984
Infantry	9,648	193,942	229,406
Medical	1,111	652	1,763
Warrant Officers	243	—	243
Veterans	700	3,424	4,124
Total	19,928	240,121	289,529

The Contingent Troops of the Native States commanded by British officers, and available, under treaties, to the British Government, amount to about 32,000 men, viz.:—Hyderabad (Nizam's) Auxiliary Force, 8,094; Gwalior (Scindia's) Contingent, 8,401; Kotah Contingent, 1,148; Mysore Horse, 4,000; Guzerat (Guicowar's) Contingent, 3,756; Bhopal Contingent, 829; Malwa United Contingent, 1,617; Malwa Bheel Corps, 648; Joudpore Legion, 1,246; Meywar Bheel Corps, 1,054; Colapore Local Horse, 907; Sawunt Warree Local Corps, 611. Total, 32,311. Holkar and the Rajah of Nagpore are bound by treaty to furnish contingents, the former of 3,000, and the latter of 1,000 horse.

The relation between the Anglo-Indian government and native states, is thus described:

"The states with which subsidiary alliances have been contracted are ten in number:—Cochin; Cutch; Guzerat (territory of the Guicowar); Gwalior (possessions of Scindia); Hyderabad (territory of the Nizam); Indore (territory of Holcar); Mysore; Nagpore, or Berar; Oude; Travancore. In some of these states, enumerated in the above list, the charge for the maintenance of the subsidiary force has been commuted by various cessions of territory at the undermentioned dates, viz.:—*Guzerat* (Guicowar), ceded districts in Guzerat, in 1805; and Ahmedabad farm, &c., in 1817: *Gwalior** (Scindia), Upper Dooab, Delhi territory, &c., 1803: *Hyderabad*, (Nizam), Northern circars, 1766; Guntoor, 1788; districts acquired from Tippoo, 1800; *Indore* (Holcar), Candeish and other districts, 1818; *Oude*, Benares, 1775; Goruckpore, Lower Dooab, Bareilly, &c., 1801. The Rajah of Nagpore, or Berar, in addition to the cession of territory on the Nerbudda and parts adjacent, pays to the British government an annual subsidy of £80,000. The four remaining subsidiary states pay annual subsidy, as under:—Cochin, £24,000; Cutch, £20,000; Mysore, £245,000; Travancore, £79,643. The British government has reserved to itself the right, in the event of misrule, of assuming the management of the country in the states of Cochin,† Mysore,‡ Nagpore,§ Oude,§ Travancore.‖ The other subsidiary states—Cutch, Guzerat, Gwalior, Hyderabad, Indore, are not subject to control in their internal administration; yet so oppressive in some instances have been the rule of the chiefs, and, in others, so lawless the habits of the people, that the interference of the British government has been occasionally rendered absolutely necessary, in some of the above *subsidiary*, as well as in several of the *protected* states. Indeed, a clear necessity must be held to confer the right of such interference in all cases, as the prevalence of anarchy and misrule in any district must be fraught with danger to all around it; while its long continuance would lead to the dissolution of the state itself where it prevailed, and, consequently, interference would become essential to the effective exercise of that protection which the British government has engaged to afford. Besides the native states having subsidiary treaties, there are about two hundred¶ others which acknowledge the supremacy of the British government, and which, by treaty or other engagement, are entitled to its protection. The rulers of these states are of various creeds, as shown in the following list:—Mussulman; Hindoo, or orthodox Brahmins; Mahratta, Boondela, Rajpoot, Jaut, Sikh—all professing Hindooism, with some modifications; Bheel. In some of the petty states included in the above enumeration, the chiefs are not absolutely independent, even as to matters of ordinary internal administration. In several states on the south-west frontier of Bengal (Sirgooja, and other districts), civil justice is administered by the chiefs, subject to an appeal to the British agent, while in criminal matters their jurisdiction is still more strictly limited.** Somewhat similar is the position of the southern Mahratta jaghiredars, who are required to refer all serious criminal matters for British adjudication. In two of the protected states, Colapore and Sawunt Warree,†† the administration has been assumed by the British government, and carried on in the names of the native rulers, who are in the position of stipendiaries. In respect to Colapore, the retransfer of the government to the minor chief is made dependent upon the opinion which may be entertained by the British government of his character, disposition, and capacity to govern. In Sawunt Warree, the heir apparent, having forfeited his rights, the country, upon the death of the present chief, will be at the disposal of the paramount authority. In some other states, as those in Kattywar, the Myhee and Rewa Cauntas, and others which are tributary to the Guicowar, or ruler of Guzerat, arrangements have been made, under which the Guicowar abstains from all interference, and the British government undertakes the management of the country, guaranteeing the Guicowar's tribute. In carrying out such arrangements, the British government has conferred important benefits upon the country by abolishing infanticide, suttee, slave-dealing, and the marauding system, termed bharwuttee,‡‡ as well as by the introduction of a criminal court for the trial of the more serious offences, through the agency of the British resident; the native chiefs of the several states within the jurisdiction of the court acting as assessors. From 1829, when the practice of suttee was abolished throughout the British dominions, the British government have laboured to procure its abolition in the native states of India, and to a great extent succeeded. This success has been attained without either actual or threatened coercion, resort to such means having been deemed indiscreet; but by vigilant watchfulness for appropriate opportunities and perseverance in well-timed suggestions, the desired object has been effected in almost every native state where the rite was practised."—(Thornton's *Official Report*, 1853.)

* "By the treaty of 1817, funds were set apart for the payment of a contingent to be furnished by Scindia, and commanded by British officers. These provisions were modified by treaty in April, 1820, and by a new arrangement in 1836. By the treaty of Gwalior, concluded in 1844, certain districts were assigned to the British government for the maintenance of an increased force, to be commanded by British officers, and stationed within Scindia's territories."

† "In Cochin, in consequence of the mismanagement of the rajah, the affairs of the state have been conducted, since 1839, by a native minister in communication with the British resident."

‡ "In respect to Mysore, the administration was assumed by the British government in 1834, in consequence of the misrule of the rajah. The claim of the rajah to be reinstated was deemed inadmissible in 1847, on the ground of his incompetency to govern."

§ "Oude and Nagpore remain under the government of their respective rulers."

‖ "In 1805, the entire management of the state of Travancore was assumed by the British; but in the year 1813, the minor rajah, upon attaining his sixteenth year, was admitted to the full enjoyment of his rights."

¶ "This number does not include the petty rajahs in the Cossya and Garrow Hills, those of the Cuttack Mehals, or the chiefs in the province of Kattywar. The addition of these would more than double the number given in the text."

** "The power of passing sentence not involving the loss of life is exercised by them; but where the punishment is severe, it is under the control of the British agent, while sentence of death can only be passed by him in cases regularly brought before his tribunal; and each infliction of punishment must be included in a monthly report to the government."

†† "These two states were long convulsed by internal disorders, which at length burst into a general rebellion."

‡‡ "Resort to indiscriminate plunder, with a view to extort the favourable settlement of a dispute with a feudal superior."

CHAPTER IV.

RELIGION—CHRISTIAN MISSIONS—EDUCATION—THE PRESS—AND CRIME.

INDIA exemplifies the truth of the assertion,* that religion is inseparable from the nature of man: the savage and the sage alike frame some system of theological belief,—some mode of communicating with the Deity,—some link of spiritual connexion between the created and the Creator;† but every attempt to invest humanity with the attributes of Divinity has ended in the deification of stocks and stones,‡—in the concoction of monstrous frauds, and in the practice of the grossest sensuality, which corrupt alike the souls and the bodies of the worshippers.

In Hindoostan the principle of a universal religion is illustrated in every conceivable form, from abstract Monotheism to complex Pantheism,—from the worship of the sun, as the representative of celestial power, to the rudely-carved image which a Brahmin is supposed to endue with sentient existence,—from the sacrificial offering of fruit and flowers, to the immolation of human victims: here, also, we see this natural feeling taken advantage of by artful men to construct Brahminical and Buddhistical rituals, which, embracing every stage of life, and involving monotonous routine, completely subjugate the mass to a dominant priesthood, who claim peculiar sanctity, and use their assumed prerogatives for the retention of the mass of their fellow-beings in a state of moral degradation and of intellectual darkness.

Yet, amidst this corruption and blindness, some rays of truth are still acknowledged—such as a supreme First Cause,§ with his triune attributes of omnipotence, omniscience, omnipresence;|| creation, preservation, destruction; the immortality of the soul, individual responsibility, atonement for sin, resurrection to judgment, heaven and hell; and a belief in unseen beings pervading space, and seeking to obtain a directing influence over probationary creatures for good or for evil.¶ But these cardinal points are mingled with pernicious doctrines, supersti-

* *See* Preface to second edition of my *Analysis of the Bible with reference to the Social Duty of Man.*

† From the highest to the lowest link in the chain which connects in one genus every variety of the human race, all believe in a spiritual power that is superior to man,—in an invisible world, and in a resurrection after death: this is manifested by dread of an unseen good or evil deity,—by a persuasion of the existence of fairies or ghosts,—by the sepulture of the body,—and by placing in the grave things deemed necessary in another stage of existence.

‡ The Rev. William Arthur, in his admirable work, *A Mission to Mysoor*, refers to the arguments he was in the habit of having with Brahmins, and says—"They frequently took strong ground in favour of idolatry, urging that the human mind is so unstable, that it cannot be fixed on any spiritual object without some appeal to the senses; that, therefore, to worship by mere mental effort, without external aid, is impossible; but that, by placing an image before the eye, they can fix the mind on it, and say, '*Thou art God;*' and by this means form a conception, and then worship." It was probably this idea that unhappily induced the early Christian church to admit images, pictures, and representations of holy men, into places of public worship; though it is not so easy to account for the introduction of Maryolatry. The necessity of engaging the usually wandering mind by some visual object is, I believe, the plea used by Romanists and Greeks for the frequent elevation of the crucifix; and it is quite possible that many pious persons deem its presence essential: the danger is not in the crucifix, or the figure of the Redeemer thereon, but in the representation degenerating into formalism. On the other hand, it is to be feared that many professing protestants have few ideas of vital Christianity, and consider its solemn duties fulfilled by an hebdomadal public worship.

§ Thus acknowledged in one of the Hindoo prayers:—"We bow to Him whose glory is the perpetual theme of every speech;—Him first, Him last,—the Supreme Lord of the boundless world;—who is primeval Light, who is without His like,—indivisible and infinite,—the origin of all existing things, movable or stationary."

|| The Hindoo expression means *all-pervasive.*

¶ The Hindoos believe the Deity to be in everything, and they typify Him in accordance with their imaginations. *Brahm* or *Brihm* is supposed to have had three incarnations, viz., Brahma, the *Creator;* Vishnu, the *Preserver;* Siva, the *Destroyer*.—who have become incarnate at different times and in various forms, for many objects. To these are added innumerable inferior gods, presiding over earth, air, and water, and whatever may be therein. Temples and shrines are erected to a multitude of deities, to whom homage or worship is tendered, and tribute or offerings made. The Pagan deities, in every country and in all ages, have more or less an affinity to each other; they refer, generally, to the powers of nature, and to the wants or civilising appliances of man; but they all merge into, or centre in, one Supreme Being: thus there was an intimate relation between the Greek and Indian mythology. The Brahminical and the Magian faith had many points of union: the sun was the ostensible representation of Divine power; the fire-altar of both may be traced to that of the Hebrews; and the idolatry of the calf, cow, or bull, have all a common origin. Ferishta states that, during the era of Roostum, when Soorya, a Hindoo, reigned over Hindoostan, a Brahmin persuaded the king "to set up idols; and from that period the Hindoos became idolaters, before which they, like the Persians, worshipped the sun and stars."—(Vol. i., p. 68.) The Mythrae religion at one time existed in all the countries between the Bosphorus and the Indus; vestiges are still seen at Persepolis, at Bamian, and in various parts of India. In all Pagan systems there is a vagueness with reference to the Deity; for it is only through the Saviour that God can be known. With regard to the soul, it is thus negatively described by the author of the great Hindoo work, entitled *Mahabarat*:—"Some regard the soul as a wonder; others hear of it with astonishment; but no one knoweth it: the weapon divideth it not, the fire burneth it not, the water corrupteth it not, the wind dryeth it not away; for it is indivisible, inconsumable, incorruptible: it is eternal, universal, permanent, immovable; it is invisible, inconceivable, and unalterable." The shastras, or "sacred" books, contain also many remarkable and even sublime passages; but their character

tious observances, cruel rites, and carnal indulgences; hence the pure, merciful, and loving* character of God is unknown, the innately sinful nature of man imperfectly understood, the positive necessity of a Redeemer unappreciated, and the urgent want of a Sanctifier unfelt.

It is not therefore surprising, that in the yearnings of the spirit for a higher, holier enjoyment than this world can afford, that sincere devotees in India, as in other countries and in every age, devoid of the light of Christianity, deem suicide a virtue;† torture of the body a substitute for penance of the soul;‡ ablution sufficient for purification; solitude the only mode of avoiding temptation; offerings to idols an atonement for sin; pilgrimages to saintly shrines a means of obtaining peace or rest; the maintenance of perpetual fire the highest privilege; contemplation of God the nearest approximation to communion; and human sacrifice a propitiation of Divine wrath.§

With such creeds and such worship, perpetuated for centuries, the votaries, both priests and laymen, must necessarily be sunk to a depth of degradation from whence no mere human efforts can elevate them, and which the untiring perseverance of Christianity, with the guidance of the Spirit, can only hope to meliorate in the existing generation.

Among the numerous creeds which pervade India, the most prominent are Hindooism, or worshippers of Brahm;|| Buddhists, devoted to Buddh;¶ Parsees, disciples of Zoroaster;** Moslems,†† followers of

is well summed up by the Rev. William Arthur, who has attentively studied the subject. This Christian writer says —"Taking those books as a whole, no works of our most shameless authors are so unblushing or so deleterious: the *Sama Veda* treats drunkenness as a celestial pastime; all the gods are represented as playing at will with truth, honour, chastity, natural affection, and every virtue, running for sport into the vilest excesses, and consecrating by their example all hateful deeds. Falsehood, if with a pious motive, has a direct sanction. Menu declares that 'a giver of false evidence from a pious motive, even though he know the truth, shall not lose a seat in heaven: such evidence men call divine speech.' Vishnu has often preserved the gods by the most wicked impostures. Lies flow familiarly from divine lips, and thus lose all disrepute in mortal eyes. The amours of the gods are so detailed as to corrupt all who read and admire them; while they argue, on the part of the writers, a horrible familiarity with every variety of debauch. In the lofty poetry of the sacred books are musically sung expressions of a coarseness that would be spurned from the vilest ballad. Part of the retinue of every temple consists of priestesses, who are the only educated women in the country, and whose profession it is to corrupt the public morals. In some of the temples, excesses are at certain times openly committed which would be concealed even in our lowest dens of vice."—(Arthur's *Mission to Mysoor*, p. 489. London: Hamilton, Paternoster-row.) Such is the system; and this is but a faint shadowing of its fearful wickedness, against which Christianity has to contend. Simple aboriginal tribes have an indefinite notion of an Almighty superintending providence. Thus the Todawar of the Neilgherries, on first seeing the sun daily, or a lamp, uses the following prayer, with his face turned to the sky:—"Oh! thou the Creator of this and of all worlds—the greatest of the great, who art with us as well in these mountains as in the wilderness,—who keepest the wreaths that adorn our heads from fading, and who guardest the foot from the thorn—God among a hundred—may we be prosperous." They believe that the soul, after death, goes to the *Om-nor* (large country), about which they have scarcely an idea; they sacrifice living animals, and burn them on a rude altar: the dead are buried in a dark, secluded valley. A blood sacrifice is deemed essential by all these tribes, to procure remission from sin. The relative antiquity of Brahminism and Buddhism,—their common origin and separation,—their points of unity or dissonance,—and the various other forms of religion in India, are subjects beyond my limits in this work.

* The only love that I can find recognised in reference to the Deity, is similar to that acknowledged by the Greeks: hence Sir William Jones thus apostrophises the Hindoo Cameo or Kama Deva (Cupid):—

"Where'er thy seat, whate'er thy name,
Earth, sea, and sky, thy reign proclaim:
Wreathy smiles and rosy treasures,
Are thy purest, sweetest pleasures;
All animals to thee their tribute bring,
And hail thee universal king!"

I quote from memory this beautiful version of Indian stanzas.

† *See* section on crime for the number of suicides committed annually at Madras.

‡ The self-inflicted torture which Hindoo fanatics undergo, with a view to the remission of sin, and to obtain the favour of their deity, is revolting; but it indicates strong feelings on the subject. Among them may be mentioned:—standing for years on the legs, which become swollen and putrefying masses of corruption; keeping an arm erect until the muscles of the *humerus* are attenuated and the joint anchylosed (fixed in the socket); lying on a bed of spikes until the smooth skin is converted into a series of indurated nodules; turning the head over the shoulders, and gazing at the sky, so that, when fixed in that posture, the twist of the gullet prevents aught but liquids passing into the stomach; crawling like reptiles, or rolling as a hedgehog along the earth for years; swinging before a slow fire, or hanging with the head downwards, suspended over fierce flames; piercing the tongue with spits; inserting an iron rod in the eye-socket, from which a lamp is hung; burying up to the neck in the ground; clenching the fist until the nails grow through the back of the hand; fasting for forty or the greatest practicable number of days; gazing at the sun with four fires around, until blindness ensues. These are some of the practices of the Yogis or Sanyases, and other devotees.

§ The Ganges is considered sacred by the orthodox Hindoos, and its waters everywhere, from their source in the Himalaya to their exit in the Bay of Bengal, are regarded with peculiar sanctity. It is supposed that, at the moment of dissolution, a person placed therein will have all his transgressions obliterated. Should a Hindoo be far distant, the Brahmins enjoin that he should think intensely of the Ganges at the hour of death, and he will not fail of his reward. To die within sight of the stream is pronounced to be holy; to die besmeared with its mud, and partly immersed in the river, holier still; even to be drowned in it by accident, is supposed to secure eternal happiness. Until the close of the 18th century, the Brahmins, taking advantage of this superstitious idea, persuaded tens of thousands of Hindoos to assemble in January annually on the island of Gunga Saugor, at the sea mouth of the Ganges, to perform obsequies for the good of their deceased ancestors, and to induce many hundred children to be cast living into the torrent by their parents, as a means of atonement for the sin of their souls. Lord Wellesley abolished this wickedness.—(*Baptist Mission*, vol. i., p. 111.) Among some aboriginal tribes, a child is not unfrequently slain when the agricultural season is commencing, and the fields sprinkled with the blood of the innocent, to propitiate the earth god, in the expectation of procuring thereby an abundant harvest.

|| For a description of Hindooism, *see* Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, in 7 vols. 8vo; Ward's *Mythology of the Hindoos*, 4 vols. 4to; Moor's *Hindoo Pantheon*; Coleman's *Mythology of the Hindoos*; Vans Kennedy's *Researches*; various volumes of the Asiatic Society; the *Asiatic Journal* of London; and the *Journal Asiatique* of Paris.

¶ For Buddhism, *see* the works of Upham and Hardy.

** *See* the *Zendavesta*, or code of Zoroaster.

†† *See* Sale's *Koran*, and Taylor's *Mohammedanism*.

Mohammed; Seiks, attached to Nanik;* Gonds, Koles, Bheels, Sonthals, Puharees, and other aboriginal tribes, distinct from all the preceding; Jews (white and black), Syriac, Armenian, and Latin Christians; representatives of the churches of England, Denmark, and Germany; Scotch Presbyterian, Baptist, Wesleyan, Congregational, and North American missions.† Each persuasion or sect would require one or more volumes for elucidation: all that is practicable, is a very brief description of the rise and progress of protestant missions in Hindoostan.

Christianity prevailed to some extent in India from an early date; but we have no certain knowledge of its introduction under the denomination of Syriac, or any other church.‡

The Portuguese, soon after their arrival, attempted the conversion of the Hindoos, with whom they were brought in contact, to the Romish form of Christianity, by jesuitism and the inquisition; and necessarily failed, as they did in China and in Japan. The Dutch, engrossed with commerce, made little or no attempt to extend the Calvinistic creed; the French were equally indifferent; but the King of Denmark, in the spirit of Lutheranism, encouraged, in 1706, the Tranquebar missionaries in their meritorious efforts to preach the gospel of Christ to the natives in the vernacular tongue; and for more than a century many devoted men, including Ziegenbalg, Schwartz, Gericke, Schultze, and others, laboured patiently in the south of India for the extension of the Divine mission of truth and peace; but failed, by permitting the intermingling of heathen customs with the purity of life which admits of no such toleration. The British church§ and government for many years made no response to appeals on behalf of Christianity. The latter was not merely negative or apathetic; it became positive and active, in resistance to the landing of missionaries in the territories under its control; and when, at the close of the 18th century, the Danish and other continental churches had almost retired in despair from the field, and the Baptists (under the leadership of Carey and Thomas) sought to occupy some of the abandoned ground, they and their able coadjutors, Marshman and Ward, were compelled to seek an asylum at the Danish settlement of Serampore, on the banks of the Hooghly, 15 m. above Calcutta.||

* This reformer, at the beginning of the 16th century, attempted to construct in the Punjab a pure and peaceful system of religion out of the best elements of Hindooism and Mohammedanism: his followers (the Seiks) became devastating conquerors; and infanticide and other abominable crimes still fearfully prevail among this warlike race.

† *See* Hough's valuable *History of Christianity in India*, 4 vols. 8vo, 1839; Cox's *History of Baptist Missions*, 2 vols.; Pearson's *Lives of Dr. Claudius Buchanan* (2 vols.) and of *Schwartz*, 2 vols. 8vo; Arthur's graphic *Mission to the Mysoor*, 1 vol.; Duff on *India Missions*, Hoole's *Missions to South of India*, Pegg's *Orissa*, 1 vol.; *Memoir of W. Carey*, *Life of Judson*, and other interesting missionary works.

‡ Thomas Herbert, author of *Some Yeares Travels into divers parts of Asia and Afrique* (published in London in 1638, and who began his voyaging in 1626), speaks of there being Christians in many places; and refers especially to several maritime towns in Malabar. He says—"The Christians in these parts differ in some things from us, and from the Papacie yet retaine many principles of the orthodox and catholic doctrine: their churches are low, and but poorly furnished; their vassalage will reach no further, whether from their subjection or that (so the temples of their bodies bee replenisht with vertue) the excellency of buildings conferre not holinesse I know not: neat they are, sweetly kept; matted, without seats, and instead of images have some select and usefull texts of holy writ obviously writ or painted. They assemble and haste to church each Lord's day with great alacrity: at their entering they shut their eyes, and contemplate the holiness of the place, the exercise they come about, and their own unworthinesse: as they kneele they look towards the altar or table near which the bishop or priest is seated, whom they salute with a low and humble reverence, who returns his blessing by the uplifting of his hands and eyes: at a set houre they begin prayers, above two houres seldom continuing: first they have a short generall confession, which they follow the priest in, and assent in an unanim amen: then follows an exposition of some part or text of holy Scripture, during which their attention, dejected lookes, and silence, is admirable; they sing an hymne," &c. Herbert then proceeds to observe that they have the Old and New Testaments; they baptize commonly at the fortieth day, if the parents do not sooner desire it; they observe two days' strict preparation for the holy communion, eating no flesh, and having no revelry; in the church they confess their sins and demerits with great reluctance: after the arrival of the Portuguese they shaved their heads. The clergy marry but once, the laity twice; no divorce, save for adultery. Lent begins in spring, is strictly observed for forty days; they "affect justice, peace, truth, humility, obedience," &c. When dead, the bodies are placed in the grave looking west towards Jerusalem, and they "believe no purgatory." St Thomas is their acknowledged tutelar saint and patron.—(Lib. iii., on East Indian Christians, p. 304-'5.)

§ The E. I. Cy's. charter of 1698 directed ministers of religion to be placed in each "garrison and superior factory," and a "decent and convenient place to be set apart for divine service only:" the ministers were to learn the Portuguese and the native languages, "the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that shall be the servants or slaves of the said company, or of their agents, in the protestant religion." By the charter of 1698, the company were required to employ a chaplain on board of every ship of 500 tons' burthen. This regulation was evaded by hiring vessels, nominally rated at 499 tons, but which were in reality, by building measurement, 600 to 650 tons.—(Milburn, i., p. lvi.) Some clergymen of the Church of England were sent out to India from time to time; but with a few exceptions (whose honoured deeds are recorded by Hough in his *History of Christianity in India*), such men as Dr. Claudius Buchanan, Dr. Kerr, David Brown, Corrie, and Henry Martyn, had not many imitators: they "performed duty" on the sabbath; looked after money and other matters during the week; and, at the termination of their routine official life, returned to Europe with fortunes ranging from £20,000 to £50,000 each. Kiernander, the Danish missionary, mentions, in 1793, three of these misnamed ministers of the gospel (Blanshard, Owen, and Johnston), then about to return to England with fortunes of 500,000, 350,000, and 200,000 rupees each; which (Mr. Kaye observes) shows, according to their period of service, "an annual average saving of £2,500."—(*Hist. of Admn. of E. I. Cy.*, p. 630.)

|| During its early career the E. I. Cy. paid some attention to religion, and a church was built at Madras; but as commerce and politics soon absorbed all attention, the ministrations of religion were forgotten, and not inaptly typified by the fate of the church erected at Calcutta by pious merchants and seamen, who were freemasons, about the year 1716, when the E. I. Cy. allowed the young merchants £50 a-year "for their pains in reading prayers and a sermon on a Sunday." In October, 1737, a destructive hurricane, accompanied by a violent earthquake, swept over Bengal, and among damages, it is recorded that "the high and magnificent steeple of the English church sunk into the ground without breaking."—(*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1738.) Christianity certainly about this time sank out of sight in India, without being broken or destroyed, and it is now rising into pre-

The Marquis Wellesley gave encouragement to devout missionaries of every Christian persuasion;* but during the administrations of Lord Minto and of the Marquis of Hastings, there was direct opposition to the ministers of the Cross, who were obliged to proceed from England to the United States, and sail in an American vessel to their destination. Some were prohibited landing on British ground, others were obliged to re-embark; ships were refused a port entrance if they had a missionary on board, as they were deemed more dangerous than the plague or the invasion of a French army: and the governor of Serampore, when desired by the Calcutta authorities to expel Drs. Carey, Marshman, and others, nobly replied,—they might compel him to pull down the flag of the Danish king, but he would not refuse a refuge and a home to those whose sole object was the temporal and spiritual welfare of their fellow-beings. Despite the most powerful official discountenance, the missionary cause ultimately triumphed. The Church of England became an effective auxiliary. Calcutta, in 1814, was made the see of a bishop, under Dr. Middleton; and his amiable successor (Heber) removed many prejudices, and paved the way for a general recognition of the necessity and duty of affording to the people of India the means of becoming acquainted with the precepts of Christianity. The thin edge of the wedge being thus fairly inserted in the stronghold of idolatry, the force of truth drove it home: point by point, step by step, the government were fairly beaten from positions which became untenable. It was tardily admitted that some missionaries were good men, and did not intend or desire to overthrow the dominion of England in the East; next it was soon acknowledged that they had a direct and immediate interest in upholding the authorities, as the most effectual security for the prosecution of their pious labours. Soon after the government ceased to dismiss civil and military servants because they had become Christians; then came the public avowal, that all the Europeans in India had not left their religion at the Cape of Good Hope, on their passage from England, to be resumed on their return; but that they still retained a spark of the living faith, and ought no longer to be ashamed to celebrate its rites.† When

eminence by the aid of that very E. I. Cy. who, a century ago, were so indifferent, and half a century since, so hostile to its introduction or discussion in Hindoostan. In 1805, the Rev. Dr. Claudius Buchanan, government chaplain at Calcutta, issued a *Memoir on the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India, both as a means of perpetuating the Christian Religion among our own Countrymen, and as a foundation for the ultimate Civilisation of the Natives*. The memoir was dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury; and the appendix comprised a variety of instructive matter on the superstitions of the Hindoos. The work was in fact a forcible appeal to the Christians of Britain for the evangelisation of India, and was exceedingly well received by the bishops of London (Porteous), Llandaff (Watson), Durham, Exeter, St. David's, and other eminent divines. In India the memoir caused great excitement among that portion of the government who "viewed with sensitive alarm, for the security of our empire in the East, the circulation of the Word of God."—(Hough, iv., 179.) Contrasts were drawn between Hindooism and Christianity, to the prejudice of the latter, by Europeans who still professed that faith; and in November, 1807, Dr. Buchanan memorialised the governor-general (Lord Minto), on the change of policy from that which the Marquis Wellesley had pursued. Among the points complained of were—*First*, withdrawing the patronage of government from the translation of the Scriptures into the Oriental languages; *secondly*, attempting to suppress the translations; *thirdly*, suppressing the encomium of the Court of Directors of the E. I. Cy. on the character and proceedings of the venerable missionary Schwartz; and *fourthly*, restraining the Protestant missionaries in Bengal from the exercise of their functions, and establishing an *imprimatur* for theological works. Sermons which Dr. Buchanan had delivered on the Christian prophecies, he was desired by the chief secretary to transmit to government for its inspection, which he properly declined to do. In 1813 several missionaries from different societies were ordered to quit India without delay; one in particular (Mr. Johns), was told if he did not take his passage *immediately*, he would be forcibly carried on board ship. Two members of the American board of missions, on arriving at Bombay, were ordered away by Sir E. Nepean, and directed to proceed to England; they left in a coasting vessel, landed at Cochin on their way to Ceylon, and were sent back to Bombay as prisoners. Sir E. Nepean was a religious man, and ultimately obtained permission for the missionaries to remain.

* The opposition of the home authorities to the college of Fort William, which was founded by the Marquis Wellesley, had reference chiefly to the religious design of the noble founder. Dr. Claudius Buchanan pointed out that it was a mistake to consider the sole object was merely to "instruct the company's writers." Lord Wellesley's idea, as Dr. Buchanan correctly states, was "to enlighten the Oriental world, to give science, religion, and pure morals to Asia, and to confirm in it the British power and dominion." The Doctor adds—"Had the college of Fort William been cherished at home with the same ardour with which it was opposed, it might, in the period of ten years, have produced translations of the Scriptures into all the languages from the borders of the Caspian to the Sea of Japan."—(Pearson's *Life of Dr. C. Buchanan*, i., 374.)

† The Rev. M. Thomason, father of the late excellent lieutenant-governor of the N. W. Provinces, was dismissed from the governor-general's (Earl Moira) camp, in June, 1814, because he remonstrated against "the desecration of the sabbath, and other improprieties of conduct."—(Hough, iv., 383.) At Madras, a collector (civil servant of high standing) was removed from the service for distributing tracts on Christianity among the natives. In Bombay, the state of Christianity at the commencement of the present century was indeed very low; immorality was general. Governor Duncan, a kind and benevolent man, rarely attended divine service; and the late lamented Sir Charles Forbes told me, that though educated in the sabbatical strictness of the Scotch kirk, the effect of evil example on youth carried him with the stream, and that Sunday was the weekly meeting of the "Bobbery hunt" (a chase on horseback of jackals or pariah dogs), and its concomitant, drinking and other excesses. Henry Martyn, when visiting Bombay in 1811, on his way to Shiraz, speaking of the Europeans, says—"I am here amongst men who are indeed aliens to the commonwealth of Israel, and without God in the world. I hear many of those amongst whom I live bring idle objections against religion such as I have answered a hundred times." At the cantonments and revenue stations, marriages and baptisms were usually performed by military and civil servants. Many English officers never saw a church or minister of the gospel for years. Earnest representations for the erection of even small chapels were disregarded by the government, and the young cadets soon sank into drinking, debauchery, and vice. In 1807 not a Bible was to be found in the shops at Madras—it was not a saleable article; religious books were at a similar discount: the first purchasable Bible arrived in 1809. The observation of thoughtful old natives, for many years, on the English was—"Christian Man—*Devil* Man." If Charles Grant, who laboured so earnestly and effectively half a century for the introduction of Christian principles into India, were now alive, he would perceive that the above reproach

this vantage-ground was gained, other triumphs necessarily followed.* The Scriptures, which the British and Foreign Bible Society, and also the Baptists, had been engaged in translating and printing, were now openly distributed. "Toleration" was no longer conceded only to Hindooism and other idolatries; it was extended to Christianity: and the principle was urged boldly, that the state should renounce all interference in the shameful orgies of Juggurnaut and other Pagan abominations;—that the car of this idol and its obscene priests should cease to be annually decorated with scarlet cloth and tinsel, specially provided by the E. I. Cy.; and that the troops, English and Mohammedan, should no longer have their feelings outraged by being compelled to do honour to disgusting rites which were a mockery to the true and living God.†

The demoniac practice of *suttee* (widow-burning), was formidably assaulted by the missionaries and other good men. To sanction the crime of suicide was admitted to be repugnant to the character of a professing Christian government, which had already forcibly suppressed infanticide; and notwithstanding many forebodings of danger, and considerable opposition by the enemies of missionaries,‡ self-murder was, on Dec. 4, 1829, during the administration of Lord William Bentinck, suppressed throughout British India, by a prohibitory edict of the supreme government; under which all persons aiding and abetting *suttee* were liable to the penalty inflicted for culpable homicide. There was not the slightest opposition to this ordinance throughout India.§ Widow-burning, however, still continues in several provinces which are not under our immediate government.

Many other advantages accrued from the course of Christian polity now fairly begun;—the government ceased to hold slaves, and passed a decree mitigating some of the evils of the system; churches were erected at the principal civil and military stations; and chaplains were appointed for the celebration of public worship at European stations.|| In 1831, bishoprics were founded at Madras and Bombay.

to his countrymen was removed, and there would be found many co-operators in the evangelising work.

* Up to 1851 the operations of the society, as regards India, were:—Sanscrit gospels and acts, 8,200; Hindoostanee Testament (*Roman*), 31,000; Urdu Persian portions of Old Testament, Urdu Persian gospels and acts, 82,000. *Northern and Central India.*—Bengallee portions of Old Testament, Bengallee and English St. Matthew and St. John, Bengallee Testament (*Roman*), Bengallee, with English Testament (*Roman*), 130,842; Uriya Bible, 16,000; Hinduwee Old Testament, 4,000; Harrottee Testament, 1,000; Bikaneera Testament, 1,000; Moultan Testament, 1,000; Punjabee Testament, 7,000; Cashmerian Testament, 1,000; Nepaulese Testament, 1,000; Sindhee St. Matthew, 500. *Southern India*—Telinga Testament, 33,000; Canarese Bible, 10,000; Tamul Bible, 105,000; Malayalim New Testament, Malayalim Old Testament, 32,065; Tulu Testament, 400; Kunkuna Testament, 2,000; Mahratta Testament, 30,000; Guzerattee Testament, 20,100; Cutchee St. Matthew, 500.

† In August, 1836, the Bishop of Madras, the clergy of every denomination, several civil and military servants, merchants, &c., addressed a memorial to the governor of Madras, the summary of which prayed, that in accordance with the instructions laid down by the Court of Directors, 28th February, 1833, guaranteeing toleration, but affording no encouragement to Mohammedan or heathen rites—"That it be not hereafter required of any Christian servant of the state, civil or military, of any grade, to make an offering, or to be present at, or to take part in, any idolatrous or Mohammedan act of worship or religious festival. That the firing of salutes, the employment of military bands, and of the government troops in honour of idolatrous or Mohammedan processions or ceremonies, and all similar observances which infringe upon liberty of conscience, and directly 'promote the growth and popularity of the debasing superstitions of the country,' be discontinued. That such parts of Regulation VII. of 1817, as identify the government with Mohammedanism and heathenism, be rescinded, and every class of persons left, as the honourable Court of Directors have enjoined, entirely to themselves, to follow their religious duties according to the dictates of their consciences." The governor (Sir Frederick Adam) administered to the bishop and to the memorialists a sharp rebuke, saying, he did not concur in their sentiments, which he viewed with "the deepest pain and concern," as they manifested the "zeal of over-heated minds," and that the "communication" (worded in a guarded and Christian spirit) "was fraught with danger to the peace of the country, and destructive of the harmony which should prevail amongst all classes of the community."—(Parl. Papers—Commons, No. 357; 1st June, 1837; p. 5.) The E. I. Cy. and her Majesty's government thought differently: the prayer of the memorialists was ultimately granted; and the peace of India and the harmony of its people was never for a moment disturbed. But previous to the final concession. Lieutenant-general Sir T. Maitland resigned the command of the Madras army rather than be a participator in offering honours to idols by sending the troops to assist at the Hindoo celebrations. Colonel Jacob, an old artillery officer, stated before the House of Commons' committee, 4th August, 1853, when referring to the attendance of British troops at idolatrous ceremonies—"I was myself in that position at Baroda, on the occasion of the Dusserah festival, when we were waiting for six hours in the sun at the beck and bidding of the Brahmins, who announced the fortunate hour, as they apprehended, for the Guicowar to go and sacrifice a fowl to the Dusserah. The whole of the force was under arms, and the British resident attended on the same elephant with the prince. Upon the Brahmins cutting off the head of the fowl, the signal was given, and I had to fire a salute." This Christian officer adds—"Within our own presidency, under the British flag, there can be no sort of excuse whatever for forcing British officers to take part in an heathen or idolatrous procession or worship, such as the cocoa-nut offerings, annually at Surat, by the governor's agent. At Madras, when I was there some years ago, the government sanction was directly given to idolatrous practices by presenting offerings of broadcloth to the Brahmins, for them to pray to the idol deity to save the Carnatic from invasion."—(Parl. Papers—Commons; 6th August, 1853; p. 151.)

‡ The Brahmins, who had originated *suttee* to prevent their widows remarrying, declared it was a religious rite, and on this ground several English functionaries objected to its forcible suppression; but the doctrine laid down by Menu, the great Hindoo lawgiver, does not sustain the assertion. The texts referring to the subject run thus:—"A faithful wife, who wishes to attain in heaven the mansion of her husband, must do nothing unkind to him be he living or dead. Let her emaciate her body by living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots, and fruits; but let her not, when her husband is deceased, even pronounce the name of another man. Let her continue until death forgiving all injuries, performing harsh duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure, and cheerfully practising the incomparable rules of virtue which have been followed by such women as have been devoted to one only husband."

§ I was happily enabled to be of some use in preparing the public mind for this great event by writing articles on the subject, and addressing them, when translated into different languages, to the Hindoo population.

|| Until recently the spirit under which the Anglo-Indian government was administered, was the protection and encouragement of Brahminism and Mohammedanism, and the disavowal of any connection with Christianity. Thus, as

Gradually the state, so far as is alleged to be compatible with pledged faith, ceased to interfere in the temporal concerns of idolatrous shrines; the forfeiture of property by Hindoos who had become converts to Christianity, was no longer recognised as the law; native Christians became equally eligible with their fellow-citizens to public offices. Finally, several of the highest functionaries have openly avowed, that the best means for effecting an improvement in even the physical condition of the people, is by the diffusion of Christianity; and that the mainstay for the security of British dominion in India, is the inculcation and practice of its divine precepts. Such are the glorious results of nearly half a century* spent in peaceful but unceasing efforts on behalf of truth; and I now proceed to show the means in operation for continuing the great work which has been so signally blessed in its course. The following data show the state of the Church of England establishment,† and that of the principal protestant missions in India, at the present period:—

Tabular View of the Church Missionary Society's Operations—1855.

Principal Stations.	Churches, Preaching-places, &c.	Ordained Missionaries: Europeans.	Ordained Missionaries: East Indian and Native.	Lay Teachers, &c.: European, Male and Female.	Lay Teachers, &c.: East Indian and Country-born.	Lay Teachers, &c.: Natives: Catechists & Readers.	Lay Teachers, &c.: Natives: School Teachers.	Lay Teachers, &c.: Total.	Grand Total of Labourers.	Native Christians.	Communicants.	Seminaries and Schools.	Scholars: Male.	Scholars: Female.	Scholars: Total.	Printing Establishments.
BOMBAY & W. INDIA	‡															
Bombay	—	5	1	2	2	1	11	16	22	64	12	22	1,354	236	1,590	—
Nasik	—	3	—	—	—	2	—	2	5	78	17	5	177	16	193	—
Junir and Malligaum	—	1	2	—	—	1	—	1	4	45	19	4	179	—	179	—
Sinde mission	—	3	1	1	—	—	—	1	5	14	4	2	34	—	34	—
CALCUTTA & N. INDIA	‡															
Calcutta	—	4	—	1	1	13	26	41	45	716	181	15	1,220	59	1,279	—
Burdwan district	—	2	—	—	1	3	21	25	27	206	51	9	586	50	636	—
Krishaghurh dist.	—	9	—	3	—	31	95	129	138	5,069	465	62	3,558	508	4,066	—
Bhagulpoor	—	1	—	—	1	3	5	9	10	105	29	4	160	150	310	—
Benares	—	5	—	1	1	5	31	38	43	321	91	3	589	—	589	—
Jaunpoor	—	1	—	1	—	2	19	22	23	22	9	5	467	32	499	—
Gorruckpoor	—	3	—	—	—	5	14	19	22	217	30	3	100	117	217	—
Jubbulpoor	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	2	2	—	—	1	—	6	6	—
Agra	—	4	—	2	3	7	24	36	40	544	173	11	538	67	605	—
Meerut	—	3	—	1	—	6	7	14	17	247	99	7	226	17	243	—
Himalaya	—	2	—	—	—	2	9	11	13	21	11	7	111	15	126	—
Punjab mission	—	3	1	—	—	3	3	6	10	50	20	2	45	7	52	—
Peshawur	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
MADRAS & S. INDIA																
Madras	4	2	3	2	3	4	20	29	34	606	199	12	279	297	576	—
Tinnevelly dist.	353	14	7	7	4	187	378	576	597	27,920	3,565	327	5,131	3,020	8,151	1
Travancore district	25	9	2	2	—	36	95	133	144	5,007	1,242	83	1,802	442	2,244	1
Teluga mission	2	3	1	—	2	1	24	27	31	131	14	5	76	143	219	—
Totals	384	79	18	25	18	312	783	1,138	1,235	41,373	6,231	589	16,632	5,182	2,1814	2

‡ No returns.

stated by the Rev. J. Lechman, in his evidence before parliament (8th August, 1853), "the government have maintained for thirty years an institution for the instruction of its Mohammedan subjects in their creed, but has not maintained any college or school for the exclusive instruction of its Christian subjects."

* The Rev. W. Mullens thus sums up the progress of missions during the present century:—"Within a few years stations were established in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, and began to push outward into all the presidencies of Hindoostan. The beginnings were slow but sure. One society, then another—one missionary and then another, landed on the coast, and took up their posts on the great battle-field of idolatry. The London Missionary Society sent missionaries to Chinsurah, to Travancore, to Madras, Vizagapatam, Bellary, and to Surat. The American board, after some opposition from the government, occupied Bombay. The Church Missionary Society entered first on the old missions at Madras, Tranquebar, and Palamcottah; but soon began an altogether new field among the Syrian Christians in West Travancore. They planted a station at Agra, far in the north-west, and maintained the agency which Corrie had employed at Chunar. A native preacher began the work at Meerut, while two missionaries were stationed in Calcutta. The Baptist Missionary Society soon occupied Jessore, Chittagong, Dinagepore, and other places. The Wesleyans speedily obtained a footing in Mysoor; and to them succeeded the missionaries of the American board. North, south, east, and west, the Church of Christ was pushing forth its men and means into the land with vigour and earnestness of purpose." There is much wanting for India a *Medical Missionary Society*, similar in its working to the institution (composed of Americans and British) under this title which is now accomplishing so much good in China.

† There is a large Roman catholic establishment consisting of bishops, vicars-general, and inferior clergy, not only at Goa and Pondicherry, but also at the British stations: their number is alleged to have been, in 1853, about 303, of whom 200 were Europeans; and of these forty are British. The Roman catholic community throughout India is estimated at 690,000, exclusive of about 16,000 soldiers.

Statement showing the Number and Expense of the Ecclesiastical Establishments under each Presidency, in the Year 1832–'33, *and in* 1851–'2.

1832–'33.

BENGAL :—	S. Rupees.
1 Bishop	43,103
1 Archdeacon	17,241
2 Senior Chaplains	26,724
35 Chaplains	317,606
2 ditto (at Straits settlements)	18,372
1 Officiating ditto	2,871
Visitation and travelling allowances, establishment, and contingencies	54,908
Total church establishment	480,825
Scotch Kirk—	
2 Chaplains	22,414
Roman Catholic—	
Allowance to priests at Straits settlements	5,254
Total Bengal	508,493
MADRAS :—	Ms. Rupees.
1 Archdeacon	19,091
2 Senior Chaplains	26,160
21 Chaplains, at 7,875 rupees each	165,375
Travelling allowances, establishment, and contingencies	32,576
Total church establishment	243,202
Scotch Kirk—	
2 Chaplains	19,635
Establishment	1,050
Total Scotch Kirk	20,685
Roman Catholic—	
Allowance to priests	5,744
Total Madras { Ms. Rs.	269,631
{ Sco. Rs.	252,889
BOMBAY :—	By. Rupees.
1 Archdeacon	17,778
2 Senior Chaplains	28,560
13 Chaplains	104,000
Travelling allowances, establishment, and contingencies	36,647
Total church establishment	186,985
Scotch Kirk—	
2 Chaplains	20,382
Establishment, &c.	1,389
Total Scotch Kirk	21,771
Roman Catholic—	
Allowance to priests	4,440
Total Bombay { By. Rs.	213,196
{ Sco. Rs.	202,158
Grand Total . . . . Ss. Rupees	963,540
or £ stg.	96,354

1851–'52.

BENGAL :—	Cos. Rupees.
1 Bishop	45,977
1 Archdeacon (also a Chaplain)	3,200
2 Senior Chaplains	27,912
19 Chaplains, at 9,600 francs each	1,82,400
40 Assistant Chaplains, at 6,000 francs each	2,40,000
2 ditto ditto at 9,600 " " (stational in Straits settlements)	19,200
Visitation and travelling allowances, establishment, & contingencies in 1849–'50	47,761
Total church establishment	5,66,450
Scotch Kirk—	
2 Chaplains	23,112
Establishment	576
Total Scotch Kirk	23,688
Roman Catholic—	
Allowance to priests	21,840
Total Bengal Rs.	6,11,978
MADRAS :—	
1 Bishop	25,600
1 Archdeacon (also a Chaplain)	3,200
2 Senior Chaplains	26,160
9 Chaplains, at 8,400 rupees each	75,600
18 Assistant Chaplains, at 6,000 rupees each	1,08,000
Visitation and travelling allowances, establishment, and contingencies	50,460
Total church establishment	289,020
Scotch Kirk—	
2 Chaplains	19,635
Establishment	1,323
Total Scotch Kirk	20,958
Roman Catholic—	
Allowance to priests	10,320
Total Madras Rs.	3,20,298
BOMBAY :—	
1 Bishop	25,600
1 Archdeacon (also a Chaplain)	3,200
2 Senior Chaplains	26,160
5 Chaplains, at 8,400 rupees each	42,000
16 Assistant Chaplains, at 6,000 rupees each	96,000
Visitation and travelling allowances, establishment, and contingencies	30,127
Total church establishment	223,087
Scotch Kirk—	
2 Chaplains	20,160
Establishment	948
Total Scotch Kirk	21,144
Roman Catholic—	
Allowance to priests	22,800
Total Bombay Rs.	2,67,031
Grand Total . . . . . Cos. Rs.	11,99,307
or £	112,435

Abstract.

Years.	Church Establishments.		Scotch Kirk.		Roman Catholic.	Total.
	No. of Persons.	£	No. of Persons.	£	£	£
1832–'33	82	88,623	6	6,246	1,485	96,354
1851–'52	118	101,114	6	6,168	5,153	112,435

Tabular View of the Wesleyan Missions—1855.——*The * indicates that there are no returns obtainable.*

Principal Stations.	Chapels.	Preaching places.	Missionaries & Assistants.	Subordinate paid Agents.		Unpaid Agents.		Accredited Church Members.	On trial for Membership.	Sabbath Schools.	Sabbath Scholars, both sexes.	Day-Schools.	Day Scholars of both sexes.	Scholars, deducting for those who attend both Sabbath and Week-day Schools.			Attendants on Public Worship.	Printing Establishments
				Catechists &c.	Day-School Teachers.	Sabbath School Teachers.	Local Preachers							Males.	Females.	Total.		
Madras	4	3	4	*	*	*	*	189	—	3	205	4	250	170	80	250	*	—
Negapatam	2	6	2	*	*	*	*	14	—	—	—	3	104	104	—	104	*	—
Trichinopoly	3	4.	2	*	*	*	*	39	6	—	—	1	165	95	70	165	*	—
Bangalore	2	—	4	2	13	4	4	143	6	1	64	2	682	*	*	682	210	1
Mysoor	1	—	2	—	3	—	—	6	2	—	—	1	150	*	*	150	34	—
Goobbee and Toornkoor	1	—	—	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	211	*	*	211	20	—
Coonghul	1	1	1	—	2	—	—	17	—	—	—	2	93	*	*	93	10	—
Total	14	14	15	3	21	4	4	408	14	4	269	14	1,655	*	*	1,655	*	1

Statistics of Mission Churches, connected with the Baptist Missionary Society—1855.

Years		Name of Stations.	Paid Teachers.	Unpaid Teachers.	Increase during the year.			Decrease during the year.			Total Members.		Candidates.	Attendance at Public Worship.	Day-Schools.		Sabbath Schools.	
					Baptized.	Restored.	Received by Dismission.	Died.	Dismissed, etc.	Exclud.	Europeans.	Natives.			Number.	Attendance.	Number.	Attendance.
1808	Calcutta.	Circular Road	—	—	2	—	7	1	—	—	102	—	—	—	—	—	—	65
1809	Calcutta.	Lal Bazaar	—	—	1	—	2	2	6	—	120	—	—	—	2	100	—	50
1818	Calcutta.	Haurah	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17	—	—	2	100	—	50
1822	Calcutta.	Colingah, South	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	73	—	—	—	—	—	—
1839	Calcutta.	Intally, South Rd.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	24	—	—	3	126	—	—
1824	Calcutta.	Narsigdarchoke	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	20	—	—
1850	Calcutta.	Bishtopore	—	—	1	4	—	—	1	3	—	43	—	—	—	—	—	—
1829	Calcutta.	Khari	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	39	—	—	1	40	—	—
1830	Calcutta.	Lakhyantipore	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	67	—	—	1	37	—	—
—	Calcutta.	Dum Dum	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1842	Calcutta.	Malayapur	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	—	—	1	40	—	—
1799	Bengal.	Serampore	—	—	15	3	3	3	6	5	—	134	—	—	3	600	—	—
1804	Bengal.	Cutwa	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	25	4	—	1	12	1	7
1804	Bengal.	Jessore	6	—	—	6	3	3	—	9	7	161	20	—	5	267	—	—
1805	Bengal.	Dinajpore	4	—	3	2	—	1	—	—	—	20	3	—	2	120	1	10
1816	Bengal.	Dacca	5	—	15	1	3	2	1	1	9	58	9	122	5	40	2	20
1818	Bengal.	Sewry	5	2	1	—	1	—	5	—	4	34	—	50	4	150	2	12
1828	Bengal.	Barisal	10	—	25	9	—	4	7	8	4	241	12	740	11	239	3	110
1812	Bengal.	Chittagong	—	4	4	—	—	4	22	4	—	40	4	35	2	20	1	12
1816	N. India.	Monghir	6	—	4	—	—	1	—	1	46	28	4	106	3	125	2	21
1817	N. India.	Benares	22	2	5	—	6	1	2	2	8	19	1	30	4	461	1	6
1834	N. India.	Agra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	150	2	32
—	N. India.	Native church	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15	—	—	—	—	—	—
1842	N. India.	Muttra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	62	—	—
1849	N. India.	Chitoura	—	—	8	—	—	—	1	—	—	45	—	—	5	140	2	48
1851	N. India.	Cawnpoor	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1853		Bombay—Poona	1	—	—	—	1	—	5	—	7	2	—	312	—	—	—	—

Statistics of the London Missionary Society's Stations—1855.

Commenced.	Stations.	Missionaries (in addition to nearly 300 Native Agents.)	Worshippers.*	Communicants.	Schools.	Scholars.	Printing Presses.
	NORTHERN INDIA :—						
1816	Calcutta	7	800	210	6	1,089	—
1824	Berampore	2	96	30	3	144	—
1819	Benares	4	59	20	7	524	—
1838	Mirzapoor	3	97	14	8	531	1
1850	Almorah	1	—	—	4	144	—
1845	Mahi Kantha (near Baroda)	2	120	20	1	30	—
	PENINSULAR INDIA :—						
1805	Madras	3	400	110	15	1,404	—
1852	Tripassore	1	—	40	9	300	—
1805	Vizagapatam	3	100	40	2	256	1
1852	Vizianajarum (including Chicacole)	2	—	22	6	296	—
1822	Cuddapah	2	700	60	18	450	—
1820	Belgaum	1	180	33	9	410	—
1810	Bellary	4	154	55	11	351	1
1820	Bangalore	5	—	84	12	587	—
1827	Salem	1	287	44	7	213	—
1836	Coimbatoor	2	300	45	14	854	—
	SOUTH TRAVANCORE :—						
1819	Nagercoil	4	8,247	601	93	3,856	1
1829	Neyoor	1	2,768	39	44	1,209	1
1838	Pareychaley	1	1,335	98	61	1,891	—
1838	Trevandrum (including Quilon)	1	1,514	82	17	586	—

* The numbers in this column represent the nominal converts; but do not include the heathen, whose numbers, by reason of the irregularity of their attendance on the public services, cannot be reported.

In the beginning of 1852, the number of native Christian churches in India (including Ceylon), was 331; of recorded members (communicants), 18,401; and of worshipping Christians, 112,191: number of missionaries (including forty-eight ordained natives), was 443, together with 698 native catechists belonging to twenty-two missionary societies, who have established 1,347 vernacular day-schools, 93 boarding, 347 day-schools for girls, 120 girls' boarding-schools, 126 superior English schools, throughout the country (*see* Mission returns.) There are eight Bible societies in India, which published, in 1850, no less than 130,000 copies of the Bible, or selections from it, in thirteen languages, and distributed 185,400 copies. There are also fifteen tract societies engaged in supplying works for native Christians—short tracts, or expositions of Bible truth, and school-books for missionary schools. The entire Bible has been translated into ten languages, the New Testament into five others, and separate gospels into four other languages; besides numerous works of Christians;—thirty, forty, and even seventy tracts, suitable for Hindoos and Mussulmen, have been prepared in the vernacular. The missionaries maintain twenty-five printing establishments. The cost of all these operations, for 1851, was £190,000, of which £33,540 was contributed by European Christians in India itself.†

This is but a very small beginning of the great work to be accomplished by philanthropists of all classes; the *Urgent Claims of India for more Christian Missions*‡ has been forcibly set forth by Mr. Muir, of the Bengal civil service: he shows that some of the fairest portions of India have no missionary; that others are supplied in the proportion of one to one million people;—a "long range of fertile, populous countries as much neglected as if they were districts of Japan."—(p. 12.) Formerly the Hindoos would not listen to the missionaries; now they attend to hear, discuss, and dispute: and, what is still better, they *buy* the books issued from the mission presses, in large quantities.§ Undoubtedly there is a great change coming over the Indian population, especially of the educated class: the little leaven is fomenting the vast mass. Idolatry cannot long stand before truth, when presented in the manner in which its Divine Founder explained it to His disciples; but the unbeliever must be born again before he can *see* God,—he must be born of water and of the Spirit before he can dwell with Him. The Hindoo is as yet only born of the earth—earthy, with every corruption of our nature in its pristine strength; he is also surrounded and entangled by the meshes of a Satanic system, from which he cannot extricate himself. It seems to be a part of the Divine scheme for man's redemption, to make his fellow-man an instrument in the work of regeneration; for thus both the giver and receiver of good are blessed. Hence, to human eyes, the operation appears slow. But we cannot penetrate the designs of Omnipotence. We cannot tell why millions of Hindoos have been left steeped in the mire of idolatry for ages, and that they should now be raised from darkness into light by a handful of men from the remote isles of the western world; all this, and much more, is a mystery: but may not this singular communion between England and India be as much for the benefit of the former as for that of the latter? May not Britain need, nearly as much as Hindoostan, not only the quickening influence which is able to save and make wise, but also the renovation of the flickering flame of celestial

† *Results of Missionary Labour in India*, by Rev. W. Mullens; reprinted from *Calcutta Review*, October, 1851. London: Dalton, Cockspur-street

‡ Published by Dalton, Cockspur-street, London.

§ These are not solely religious tracts. For instance, at the Wesleyan press in Bangalore, *Robinson Crusoe* has been printed in the vernacular language, with woodcuts; it has an extensive sale.

life, which, until the last few years, burnt dim and fitful here, and needed kindling into a bright and cheering light,—a light whose expanding, vivifying rays may, ere long, spread to the darkest and remotest corners of our globe? Be this as it may, the Anglo-Indian Christian mission is now fairly commenced; a wide and encouraging prospect is open for its meritorious labours. In a mere worldly point of view, an extension of operations is of the utmost importance. Every Hindoo or Moslem converted to the gospel of peace, is an additional security for the permanence of British power. Mere secular men ought therefore to aid this great cause. The day is past in England for attempting to rule a nation by brute force, as if men were beasts of burthen or irreclaimable maniacs. Kindness, consideration, and reasoning, are the instruments of conversion which the missionaries employ, and they are happily in accordance with the dictates and policy of government. There is therefore, in a new sense, a union between church and state in India, devoid of patronage or pecuniary relations, but based on the principle that what is good for the spiritual, must be equally good for the temporal interests of the people.

EDUCATION.—Under both the Hindoo and Moslem governments, the education of the people was, at various times, deemed a matter of public importance; many of the temples now devoted to idolatry and paphian rites, were originally schools and colleges for instruction, endowed with lands for this purpose, and conducted somewhat after the manner of the monastic institutions of Europe: but in both regions the teaching of the young fell into desuetude. The setting apart of a body of men as more sacred than their fellow-mortals,—investing them with peculiar privileges,—furnishing them in abundance with not only the necessaries, but also the luxuries of life, for which they were not required to labour,—enjoining celibacy,—and placing them under an ecclesiastical, instead of a civil law applicable to all,—was as pernicious to the scholastic system of Hindoos and Mohammedans as it was to that of the Latins: the funds allocated for the temples and mosques became appropriated solely to the use of a lazy, sensual priesthood; the minds as well as the morals of the people were neglected; and but for the village schools, sustained by each little agricultural community, and the town seminaries, supported by paying pupils, the people of Hindoostan would not even have had the primary elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic, which we found to prevail pretty general among the better classes of the community.

For a considerable period, the Anglo-Indian authorities gave no thought to the subject. In 1781, a Mohammedan madrissa (college) was established at Calcutta, under the patronage of Warren Hastings; and in 1792 a Sanscrit college was founded at Benares by Jonathan Duncan; but the main idea in connexion with these institutions—with the Hindoo college at Calcutta, founded in 1816; colleges at Agra and Delhi, in 1827; and a few seminaries in various provincial towns—was the propagation of *Oriental* literature, and the inculcation of the Hindoo and the Mohammedan religion. The extension of the English language, and of the arts and sciences, of which it might become the medium, was an innovation; and as such, dreaded by those whose opinions then ruled. A watchmaker at Calcutta, David Hare, about 1823-'4, established a British school there: he saw that the efficacy of Lord Wellesley's policy in founding the college at Fort William, as a means of incorporating the English on the Asiatic stock, was sound, and that no material improvement could take place in the mass of the people by endeavouring to communicate knowledge through twenty different tongues instead of by one, which would form a common medium of intercourse for all. The thought began to be "ventilated"—some advocating the English, some the vernacular, some both. The latter was partially adopted, as a compromise between the two former systems: but it ultimately gave way;* and now sound-thinking Indian statesmen are convinced that the foundation of education ought to be the English, whatever may be the vernacular; so that in due time it may become the ordinary dialect of about 200,000,000 in Hindoostan.

In 1813, attention was directed to the necessity of something being done towards the education of the people; and under the then charter act it was decreed that a lac of rupees (£10,000) should be annually appropriated out of the revenue of India for the "revival and improvement of literature."† It was a small sum for such an object: yet it remained unemployed for ten years; and then the accumulated funds were appropriated to the Hindoo college‡ at Calcutta, which was placed under the superintendence of government, and to such other Oriental seminaries as a Committee of Public Instruction (appointed in 1823) might recommend.

The Court of Directors early foresaw the inefficiency of mere Oriental literature as a means of improving the people. In a despatch to India, written in 1821, the Court warned the local governments thus:—"In teaching mere Hindoo or Mohammedan learning, you bind yourselves to teach a great deal of what is frivolous, not a little of what is purely mischievous, and a small remainder indeed in which utility is in any way concerned." Bishop Heber also justly remarked—"The Mussulman literature very nearly resembles what the literature of Europe was before the time of Copernicus, Galileo, and Bacon. The Mussulmans take their logic from Aristotle, filtered through many successive translations and commentaries; and their metaphysical system is professedly derived from Plato. Both Mohammedans and Hindoos have the same natural philosophy, which is also that of Aristotle in zoology and botany, and Ptolemy in astronomy, for which the Hindoos have forsaken their more ancient notions of the seven seas and the six earths." The Court of Directors had to contend against the prejudices of distinguished Englishmen, who clung pertinaciously to the idea of educating the people in the Oriental tongues. Thus, in a despatch of September 29th, 1830, the Court says—"We think it highly advisable to enable and encourage a large number of natives to acquire a thorough knowledge of English, being convinced that the high tone and better spirit of European literature can produce their full effect only on those who become familiar with them in the original lan-

* The Right Honourable T. B. Macaulay deserves credit for the efforts he made in favour of the extension of the English language in India.

† Parl. Papers on India, submitted by E. I. Cy. in 1853.

‡ Of the course of education in this institution, that accurate observer the late Rammohun Ray, said—"It can only load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of no practical use; the pupils will acquire what was known 2,000 years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtleties." In fact, its pupils became deists and atheists.

guage. While, too, we agree that the higher branches of science may be more advantageously studied in the languages of Europe, than in translations into the Oriental tongues, it is also to be considered, that the fittest persons for translating English scientific books, or for putting their substance into a shape adapted to Asiatic students, are natives who have studied profoundly in the original works."—(Despatch, September 29th, 1830.)

These sound views were not immediately adopted by the Indian government, who absurdly persevered for several years attempting to instruct the people who attended the public seminaries by translating English literature into Sanscrit and Arabic—the one not spoken, and the other a foreign language in India. Before a Hindoo could study the best masters in English, he must waste precious time in becoming an Oriental scholar: in effect, it would be paralleled if boys in the national schools of Britain were required to learn Latin and Greek, and then study English literature from translations into these languages. The pedantry and inutility of such a system was at length exposed; and, with broader views of statesmanship, there came a recognition of the necessity of making English the classical and predominant language.

On the 7th of March, 1835, the government abandoned the Oriental scheme of education, and the comprehensive and adaptative tongue of the ruling power was gradually substituted by attaching English classes to the Hindoo and Mohammedan colleges which had been established in different cities; to these were added scholarships, with stipends attainable after a satisfactory examination, and terminable at a central college to which the school was subordinate. In October, 1844, government passed a resolution, promising preference of selection for public employment to students of distinguished ability. Model schools have been adopted in several districts; suitable books prepared; an organised system of inspection maintained;* and Christian instruction thus extended:—

Missionary Schools in Continental India.

Stations.	Male.						Female.			
	Vernacular Day-Schools.		Boarding-Schools.		English Schools.		Day-Schools.		Boarding-Schools.	
	Schools.	Boys.	Schools.	Boys.	Schools.	Boys.	Schools.	Girls.	Schools.	Girls.
Bengal, Orissa, and Assam	127	6,369	21	761	22	6,054	26	690	28	836
N. W. Provinces . . .	55	3,078	10	209	16	1,207	8	213	11	208
Madras Presidency . .	852	61,366	32	754	44	4,156	222	6,929	41	1,101
Bombay Presidency . .	65	3,848	4	64	9	984	28	1,087	6	129
Total	1,099	74,661	67	1,788	91	12,401	284	8,919	86	2,274

In the parliamentary discussions relative to India, in 1852-'3, the subject of educating the people by a general system, was fully recognised as one of the most important duties of government; and accordingly, in July, 1854, an admirable despatch was forwarded to Bengal by the home authorities.† In this document the Court of Directors declare that "no subject has a stronger claim to attention than education;" and that it is "one of our most sacred duties, to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge, and which India may, under Providence, derive from her connexion with England. For although British influence has already, in many remarkable instances, been applied with great energy and success to uproot demoralising practices, and even crimes of a deeper dye, which for ages had prevailed among the natives of India, the good results of those efforts must, in order to be permanent, possess the further sanction of a general sympathy in the native mind, which the advance of education alone can secure. We have, moreover, always looked upon the encouragement of education as peculiarly important, because 'calculated 'not only to produce a higher degree of intellectual fitness, but to raise the moral character of those who partake of its advantages, and so to supply you with servants to whose probity you may with increased confidence commit offices of trust' in India, where the well-being of the people is so intimately connected with the truthfulness and ability of officers of every grade in all departments of the state. Nor, while the character of England is deeply concerned in the success of our efforts for the promotion of education, are her material interests altogether unaffected by the advance of European knowledge in India: this knowledge will teach the natives of India the marvellous results of the employment of labour and capital, rouse them to emulate us in the development of the vast resources of their country, guide them in their efforts, and gradually, but certainly, confer upon them all the advantages which accompany the healthy increase of wealth and commerce; and, at the same time, secure to us a larger and more certain supply of many articles necessary for our manufactures and extensively consumed by all classes of our population, as well as an almost inexhaustible demand for the produce of British labour."

These are noble sentiments, worthy of England, and of incalculable benefit to India. With this preamble, the Court of Directors proceed to state the main object thus:—"We emphatically declare that the education which we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy, and literature of Europe; in short, of European knowledge."

Pecuniary aid is to be given to vernacular and Anglo-vernacular schools. The study of law, medi-

* In September, 1845, I attended an annual examination of the Poona schools, and was agreeably surprised by the intelligence and proficiency of the pupils.

† It is understood that the preliminary draft of this valuable State Paper was drawn up by Sir Charles Wood, then president of the India Board.

cine,* and civil engineering to be encouraged; and all the higher branches of sound education. The expenditure for these great designs will be large, and can only gradually be employed: at present it amounts to about £150,000 a-year, which, it is to be hoped, will ere long be largely augmented.†

Number of Government Educational Institutions, of Teachers and of Pupils therein, with the total Expense thereof, and the Number and Value of Scholarships in each Presidency, in the Year 1852–'53.

Presidency.	Nature of Institution.	Institutions.	Teachers	Pupils.	Expense.	Scholarships. Number.	Scholarships. Value.
					£		£
Bengal	English and native tuition	109	336	9,116	51,000	152	3,137
	Vernacular tuition	36	36	1,904	1,192	—	—
	Grants in aid to charitable and other scholastic institutions	—	—	—	6,306	—	—
N. W. Provinces	English and native tuition	7	125	1,835	14,577	284	2,814
	Vernacular	8	—	—	5,437	—	—
Madras	English and native tuition	3	21	448	3,789	—	—
	Vernacular	—	—	—	766	—	—
Bombay	English and native tuition	15	64	2,492	17,143	84	5,880
	Vernacular	235	190	12,384			
	Total — English and native tuition	134	546	13,891	—	520	11,831
	Total — Vernacular	279	226	14,288	—	—	—
	Grand Total	413	772	28,179	100,210	520	11,831

Note.—The above return is founded on the information received for the year 1852–'53; but as the state of education in India is at present one of transition, it is probable that considerable alteration has taken place. By the despatch to the government of India, dated the 19th July (No. 49 of 1854), a plan for the general extension of education was laid down, and when the instructions therein contained shall begin to be carried out, the changes made will be of a wide and sweeping character. For the reasons already assigned it is impossible to afford any precise information on the subject of Vernacular Schools. It is known, however, that these schools are increasing in number and improving in character. In October, 1849, sanction was given by the home authorities for the establishment of one government vernacular school in each of eight tehsildarries, or revenue divisions of the North-West Provinces, to afford a model to the native village schoolmasters. The experiment proved highly successful; the number of village indigenous schools, within the eight tehsildarries, having increased in three years, from 2,014 to 3,469; and that of the scholars therein, from 17,169 to 36,884. The plan has now been extended to the whole of the North-Western Provinces, and also to portions of Bengal and the Punjab. The expense of the measure is estimated at £60,000 per annum.

Under the present system there is an educational department at each presidency, with an official of talent, largely remunerated, at its head; qualified district inspectors report periodically on the colleges and schools supported and managed by government, and statistical returns are to be annually sent, with the reports, to England. Universities are to be established, under charter, in different parts of India, and to be managed by senates, consisting of the chancellor, vice-chancellor, and fellows of each; periodical examinations to be held in the different branches of art and science, and degrees conferred, unconnected with religious belief, on qualified persons who may be educated at the university college, or at affiliated institutions conducted by all denominations, whether Christians, Hindoos, Mohammedans, Parsees, Seiks, Buddhists, Jains, or any other religious persuasion, if found to afford the requisite

* In 1829, I laid before Lord Wm. Bentinck, then governor-general, a plan for establishing a medical and surgical college at Calcutta, and pointed out the great benefits which would accrue from such an institution. I also offered to deliver gratuitously a course of lectures on anatomy, for which there was an abundance of "subjects," the Ganges being the place of sepulture for many million Hindoos whose bodies daily floated in thousands past Calcutta. Lord Wm. Bentinck warmly commended my proposition; but subsequently informed me that he found such a decided opposition to it in the council that it would be hopeless to get the sanction of those who feared every innovation, and deemed that the Hindoos would never attend a dissecting-room. In a few years after my plan was effectively carried out by others, and it has produced the most beneficial results. Hindoos even come to England to study and qualify themselves for the position of surgeon in the service of government. I know of no branch of science so urgently needed for the people of India as that of medicine and chirurgery; and it is to be hoped that public hospitals and lecturers will be established in the large cities for the benefit of the native population. The *Friend of India* thus alludes to the good done by the establishment of medical institutions in Malwa:—"In 1847, throughout the great provinces over which the authority of the resident at Indore extends, there was not, we believe, one single dispensary. There are now nine, all supported by funds derived from sources independent of the British government, and all frequented by the people with an eagerness not always manifested in our older provinces. The nine are stationed at Indore, Oojein, Rutlan, Manpoor, Dhar, Dewas, Sillanah, and Bhopawur, the central station having two. From these establishments no less than 20,223 new patients have received medical relief, of whom about a third, or 6,465, were women and children. The number of females, in itself a sixth of the whole, deserves especial remark. No less than 2,468 surgical operations were performed; a number which appears enormous, unless very slight cases are included. When it is remembered that a few years since this vast amount of human suffering must have been unrelieved, or relieved only by the superstitious quackery of the Vedic doctors, the good which has been accomplished by Mr. Hamilton, and the energetic residency surgeon, will be readily appreciated. The whole expenses of these establishments amount to 16,032 rupees; and the receipts, chiefly from native chiefs and princes, have been a little above that sum. There appears to be no probability of any falling off; and in spite of their hereditary apathy, the neighbouring chiefs appear to be desirous of imitating a system which, under their own eyes, produces so excellent an effect."

† The reorganisation of village schools would bring instruction home to the mass of the people: they might be made industrial institutions, and combine agriculture with rustic mechanics.

course of study, and subject to the inspection, periodically, of government inspectors.

A people who have been subject, for several centuries, to a rigid political despotism, and sunk for ages in a gross system of idolatry, which, while it involved a slavish subjection to a dominant caste, encouraged the development and exercise of every sensual passion, must necessarily have both intellectual and moral faculties darkened to a degree almost surpassing belief. If it be a hopeless task to regenerate a human being, of whose originally small glimmering of soul scarcely a scintilla is left, and whose frame, diseased by debauchery, is returning to its original mire, how much more difficult must it be to raise a hundred million from the inert state in which the mass now vegetate through existence! Far easier is the task of elevating the New-Zealander or Kaffir; nay, the efforts making for the civilising of Bheels, Gonds, Mairs, Sonthals, and other aborigines in India, may be attended with earlier success than can be expected from the Hindoo, whose mind is still under the dominion of a Gooroo, or Brahmin. It is only, therefore, by great and long-sustained exertions on the part of government, aided by *all* its servants, that the literary, moral, and industrial education of the people of India can be accomplished.*

THE PRESS.—The rise and progress in India of this potent engine of civilisation requires to be briefly noted. During the administration of Warren Hastings, the first English newspaper was established at Calcutta: it was styled *Hickey's Gazette*, and is described as a low, scurrilous, immoral publication; it soon died a natural death. In 1814, the *Government Gazette* was the only publication extant. With the increase of Anglo-Indian residents the number of newspapers augmented, and their character improved. In 1820 there were three weekly journals and one monthly periodical in Calcutta. In 1830, the number of daily, weekly, monthly, and annual periodicals issuing from the Bengal press was thirty-three. In 1834 the numbers stood thus:—*Daily*, political newspapers, four; commercial advertisers, four. *Tri-weekly*, political, two; commercial, one. *Weekly*, political, four; commercial, four. *Monthly*, general, six. *Quarterly*, reviews and Army List, four. *Annuals* and almanacs, five. In the N. W. Provinces, Agra, Delhi, Cawnpoor, and Meerut, had each an English newspaper.

At Madras there were *nine*, and at Bombay *ten* English newspapers and other periodicals; there was no stamp or advertisement duty, but postage was levied on the transmission of journals through the post-office. A registration of the name and residence of proprietors, and a lodgment of a copy with government of each issue of a publication, were required. Until Sir Charles Metcalfe, when acting governor-general in August, 1835, declared the press of India free, and its conductors subject only to the civil law, and trial by jury for libel, the government exercised a vigilant censorship, and could at any moment destroy an obnoxious journal by the deportation of its conductors to Europe (as was done in the case of the late Mr. Silk Buckingham); but since 1835, the newspaper press of India has been as free as that of England.

The native periodical press is of recent formation. During Hindoo and Moslem sway, no such thing as a newspaper with freedom of discussion existed.† Even in 1820 there were no journals in the vernacular: a few subsequently arose.‡ In 1834 there were fifteen newspapers published weekly in Bengal, some in Bengallee, others in Persian, and some with translations into English. At the same period there was in Madras one native newspaper published in Hindoostanee and in English; and in Bombay, four—in the Guzerattee, Mahratta, and Persian languages.

With the establishment of these journals, English and native, there came into operation several printing-presses for the publication of books, pamphlets, &c., which were of essential service to the spread of education and literature.

The latest data before me (1853) of the newspapers and periodicals in the English language at each presidency, show:—*Calcutta*—Daily, seven;§ bi-weekly, three; weekly, eleven; bi-monthly, five; monthly, eight; quarterly, nine; yearly, eight. This is a larger issue of periodical literature than Edinburgh, Dublin, or any city in the United Kingdom

* Government do not seem to have as yet given any attention to the highly important subject of female education. The character of the men of any country may be readily inferred by the intellectual progress and moral teaching of the women. The barbarous system of the Mohammedans is to keep the fair sex as mere sensual toys or household drudges: this cruel policy has, in some places, been adopted by the Hindoos from their Moslem conquerors; but it belongs not to their social ethics, as Menu enjoins reverence and respect; and there have been several distinguished female sovereigns and personages in Hindoostan. A London institution for promoting the education of the women of India is now in full operation, under the direction of a ladies' committee, who send out carefully-trained schoolmistresses, and superintend the working of the society at home and abroad. If the day have not arrived when girls' schools can be formed by government in India as well as in England, then to such a body as "the Society for promoting Female Education in the East," the work of educating the women of India might be temporarily entrusted by the state.

† There were *Ukhbars*, or Court Circulars, containing such scraps of official news, or *gup*, as the ruling power permitted to be made known.

‡ In 1829, in conjunction with Rammohun Roy, Dwarkanaut Tagore, Prussuna Comar Tagore, and other Hindoo gentlemen, I established in Calcutta a weekly journal, and printed it, under my own roof, in English, Bengallee, and Hindoostanee (Persian) characters, in parallel columns, with a hope of improving the tone of the native mind, and preparing it for a temperate discussion of public affairs. This journal was acknowledged to have been eminently instrumental in aiding Lord Wm. Bentinck in the abolition of *suttee*, by appeals to the humane feelings of Hindoo husbands, fathers, and brothers. When widow-burning was suppressed, attention was directed to other prevailing pernicious practices, such as duelling among Europeans, and flagellation in the army. Some very mild comments on a court-martial sentence, dated 20th July, 1829, of "*one thousand lashes on the bare back* of gunner Wm. Comerford, of the 1st company 5th battalion of Bengal artillery" (whose wife had been seduced by the captain of his company, and the seducer's life threatened by the aggrieved husband), led to the condemnation by the government of India of the journal, and its ultimate destruction, with the large property embarked therein. It is now unnecessary to advert to the injury sustained; the circumstance is mentioned as a fragment of history. The sacrifice was made for great objects, and it is seldom one is privileged to witness the beneficial results by the attainment of the end in view.

§ *Englishman, Hurkarn* (*Messenger*), *Citizen, Morning Chronicle, Evening Mail, Commercial and Shipping Gazette, Exchange Gazette.* The *Englishman* and *Hurkarn*, for instance, are of the size of the London *Times* without its supplement.

but London can exhibit. *Bombay*—Daily, three;* bi-weekly, two; weekly, five; bi-monthly, four; monthly, three; quarterly, one; half-yearly, one; annually, two; and occasionally (transactions of scientific societies), four. *Madras*—Daily and weekly, nine; bi-monthly, two; monthly, eight; quarterly, three; annual, six. Throughout different parts of India there are also English newspapers, journals, &c., viz., at Agra, four; Delhi, four; Simla, one; Lahore, one; Serampoor (*Friend of India*), one; Rangoon, one; Bangalore (bi-weekly *Herald*), one; Poona, one; Kurachee (Sinde), two. Of the native press I can find no complete returns: in Bengal it has largely increased;† as also at Bombay, where there are two daily newspapers in Guzerattee; five bi-weekly, four weekly (Marathi, Guzerattee and Persian), one bi-monthly (Marathi and English), one monthly (in Portuguese.)

The activity of printing may be judged by the number of establishments in full operation at Bombay, viz., English, seven; Guzerattee, eleven; Marathi, four; Persian, four; lithographic presses, five. In the N. W. Provinces, the number of native presses in operation during the year 1853, was forty; and the number of native newspapers issued therefrom, thirty-seven: some of these, though containing current news, supply information useful for schools, on subjects connected with geography, zoology, history (chiefly modern), education, popular errors, translations from Shakspeare, influence of the moon on animal and vegetable creation, and various scientific matters. The official report to government (19th No. of Selections) on the subject of these native presses, states—"Of the forty presses at work, five were established within the year, and four discontinued during the same period; in the same manner, five new newspapers were issued, and five old ones discontinued. The books published at the presses were 195, and the approximate number of copies of the same struck off for general use, 103,615. Two of the principal presses, viz., Gobind Pughonath's at Benares, and the Moostufaee press at Delhi, have not furnished us with the number of copies they have published of each work issued by them: for these, therefore, the lowest average, viz., 200 to each work, has been taken; but it may confidently be assumed that a far greater number of copies were struck off, more especially as the last-named press is noted for its success in the publication and sale of books." The report adverts commendingly to several of the newspapers, viz., the *Koh-i-Noor*, at Lahore; the *Noor-ool-Absar*, at Agra; the *Quiran-oos-Sadyn*, at Delhi; the *Soodhakeer*, at Benares, "which ranks very high among the native journals of these provinces." One newspaper deserves special note, owing to its patronage and source:—"Another well-conducted periodical is the *Malwa Ukhbar*, under the patronage of the Maharajah Holkar and Sir R. N. C. Hamilton, and published at Indore. The paper is edited by one of the teachers of the Indore school, and contains intelligence relative to the native neighbouring states, which have been personally visited by the editor, and with the condition and general affairs of which he would appear to be thoroughly conversant." It is to be regretted that there are no government reports on the state of the native press in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. Very little foresight is needed to perceive the vast importance, political, social, and moral, which this rapid extension of printing is calculated to produce on the native mind throughout the length and breadth of Hindoostan: for weal or for woe our government is now committed to the principle of free discussion on every topic which the discursive faculties of the Asiatic may choose to examine. Some publications of a decidedly deistical and even atheistical character

* *Times*, *Gazette*, and *Courier*, each nearly equal in size to the Calcutta newspapers.

† The *Baptist Mission Press* is distinguished in Bengal above all others for the accuracy and excellency of its work; it does a large amount of business, the profits of which are all devoted to the mission. By the aid of this active society, the Scriptures have in whole or in part been translated into, and printed in, forty-four Asiatic languages, which may be thus enumerated:—

Statistics of Translations (in the Languages of India) of the Holy Scriptures.

Languages or Dialects.	No. of Copies.	
	Wholly.	In Part.
Afghan	—	3,000
Armenian	—	2,790
Assamese	—	6,509
Battak (number not known.)		
Beloochee ditto.		
Bengallee	3,500	341,655‡ / 67,060§
Bhogulcundi	—	1,000
Bhikaneera	—	1,000
Bhutneera	—	1,000
Bruj	—	6,000
Burmese	—	16,500
Cashmere	—	3,000
Chinese	6,400	9,100
Cingalese (about)	5,000	5,000
Guzerattee	—	1,000
Gurwhali or Shreenagur	—	1,000
Haroti	—	1,000
Hindi	—	76,000
Hindoostanee or Urdu	—	132,033
Javanese (about)	—	3,000
Jumbu	—	1,000
Juyapura (number not known.)		
Kanoj	—	1,000
Khassi	—	500
Kumaon	—	1,000
Kunkunu	—	2,000
Kusoli (number not known.)		
Kurnata	—	1,000
Mahratta	—	11,465
Malay	—	1,500
Marwari	—	1,000
Mugudh	—	1,000
Multani	—	1,000
Munipura	—	1,000
Nepaulese	—	1,000
Oodeypoor (number not known.)		
Oojin	—	1,000
Oriya	—	14,000
Palpa	—	1,000
Persian	—	37,500
Sanscrit	—	71,580
Sikhi	—	5,000
Sindhi (number not known.)		
Telinga or Teloogoo	—	1,000
Total number of Vols.	14,900	833,180

‡ New Testament. § Old Testament.

(Parl. Papers—Commons; 6th August, 1853; p. 165.)

The London Missionary Society have translated the whole Bible into two languages—the Canarese and Teloogoo; aided that of the Oordoo, Guzerattee, Bengallee, Tamul, and Maliyalim. Of £63,963 annual income, £26,136 is expended in India. The *Church Missionary Society* spends in India £45,000 per annum, and has eighty-eight ordained clergymen engaged in its glorious work. *The excellent Moravians are "breaking ground" in the Himalaya, and the Scotch church are effectively occupying Western India.*

have already appeared.* Paine's *Age of Reason* and Volney's *Ruins of Empires*, not long since found a more ready sale than any other imported books; for, in the transition state from Paganism to Christianism, the gulf of infidelity must, it is to be feared, be passed with ruin to many souls.†

The pure Hindoo mind, generally speaking, resembles very much that of the ancient Greek: it is logical, yet fond of romance—acute in perception, but wanting in profundity; delighting in subtleties, and eager for disputation; more vain than proud,—prone to exaggeration,—given to fine sentiments rather than to noble actions,‡—with a keener relish for the beautiful than the true,—physically brave, but morally pusillanimous,—superstitious, impulsive, ardent in love, bitter in hatred,—of vivid thoughts, bright imaginings, and lofty aspirations. With such a people, whose natural character has been subdued by centuries of despotism, great results may be produced by example and precept. If left unguided, the bias of fallen man must lead to evil; but with the powerful engine of the printing-press, government may exercise a permanent influence for good. There is no time to be lost: the school inspectors, European and native, now being appointed over every district, may become efficient instruments for the guidance of the native press in the inculcation of truth, the discussion of political economy, and the diffusion of virtuous principles.

CRIME.—For want of regular returns and a uniform system, it is not possible at present to show the extent of crime among the population generally; the nature of offences peculiar to the Hindoos or to the Mohammedans; the increase or decrease for several years; or the ratio that it bears to the number of inhabitants: such statistics would be very valuable, and might be obtained. Some returns prepared for the judicial department of the Madras government, furnishes useful details for the year 1850. It appears, that among a population of 22,281,527, there were in one year 167,063 alleged cases of assault,§ 2,308 of cattle-stealing, 9,135 of theft, and 5,424 of various other offences: total, 183,930 cases of crime, for which summonses were granted by the district magistrates. The *village* police cases included 11,087 charged with petty assault, and 1,585 of petty theft.

The offences against the person in the Madras Presidency, show that the Hindoo is not the peaceable person that he is generally represented.‖ The murders in 1850 were 275; homicide, 87; wounding with intent to kill, 25; assault with wounding, 412; rape, 75: total, 864. The offences against property in the same year, were:—Robbery, with aggravating circumstances, 486; robbery, without ditto, 828; housebreaking, 5,959; theft, 2,350; cattle-stealing, killing, or wounding, 922; arson, 377; embezzlement and fraud, 205: total, 11,127. Forgery, 86;¶ perjury or subornation, 11; various, 1,742: total, 1,839. This is a heavy catalogue of *known* crime, which, it is to be feared, forms but a small proportion of the amount actually perpetrated.

The crime of murder varies in different districts:—Malabar, 32 cases; Canara, 30; Cuddapah, 24; Salem, 23; Bellary, 20; in Gangam, Rajahmundry, N. Arcot, Coimbatoor, Madura, and Tinnevelly, the number of cases ranged from 12 to 16. The number of persons charged, in 1850, with abuse of authority as police-officers (principally peons, or constables and village police servants), was 1,410, which indicates grievous maladministration among the lowest officials.** In proportion to the population of the whole presidency, the number of persons summoned for petty offences was one in eighty-three inhabitants, and the crimes and misdemeanours one in 1,000.

* I obtained in 1845, at Bombay, one atheistical book, written by a Parsee, in reply to the Scotch missionaries, which was of such a blasphemous character that I burnt the work to prevent its falling into the hands of any young person in England.

† One of the ablest newspapers published in India, termed the *Calcutta Inquirer*, was edited by a Hindoo named Khrishna Mohun Bannajee, a man of brilliant abilities, perfectly well acquainted with the English language, which he wielded with great power against the government as a thorough "radical:" his infidelity was for a time complete. About the year 1834 he became acquainted with the missionaries; his scepticism was shaken, and he soon embraced Christianity—ceased to oppose government, "sounded the alarm to his countrymen and the authorities on the danger of imparting a merely intellectual education, as inevitably leading a large mass of the population into hostility to the British rule; and declared his entire conviction, both politically and morally, that the government would do well not to exclude Christianity from their schools."—(*See* valuable evidence of Colonel Jacob, of the artillery, before parliament, 4th August, 1853.) While in India, I invited the presence of many young Hindoo gentlemen to my chambers in the evening, and usually had large *soirees:* they quoted Shakspeare, Byron, and other popular works with remarkable memory, but almost invariably scoffed at the Bible and all religion; they had kicked away the crutches of Hindooism, and received no substitute; hence they stumbled through dark and fearful regions of atheism.

‡ There are many exceptions to this, especially in Rajpoot annals; and the devotion of the Hindoo sepoy to his European officer, has often been exhibited in the sacrifice of life to save that of his commander; but heroism is not, in the present age, the characteristic of the mass of the people.

§ Of this number but 46,381 were punished. The disproportion of persons punished to those summoned is a great evil. In Rajahmundry, for instance, 1,422 out of 14,571, or nine per cent. Thus ninety-one out of every hundred persons brought before the magistrates are acknowledged to be innocent: this indicates a very bad state of society.

‖ Murder and attempts to kill are awfully prevalent in every part of India: the nature of the assault varies with the character of the people, and is more manifest among the hot-blooded Mussulmen than the cooler Hindoos; the former slaying, the latter poisoning. Disputes regarding women are often the cause, and a blood feud is transmitted from father to son. Abstinence from animal food does not seem to indispose the vegetarian from taking the life of his fellow-man.

¶ Forgery, perjury, and coining, were deemed trivial offences under Pagan and Moslem rule. Coining base money was turned to advantage by local functionaries, who levied a tax from the coiners.

** The native police throughout India (excepting the Punjab) is notoriously inefficient and corrupt. There can now be no doubt that tortures of the most atrocious and indecent character have been, and are still inflicted, for the purpose of extorting confession from alleged criminals, and still more with a view to obtain money from the suspected or the accused. This, in a great degree, accounts for the large number of persons summoned or apprehended. In Bengal, *dacoity*, or gang-robbery, is nearly as bad as in the days of Warren Hastings. No branch of our Indian administration demands reform more than the police; and perhaps in no department is it more difficult, owing to the unprincipled and profligate class of the community from whom the police are selected. The remedy elsewhere suggested—of erecting municipalities, and leaving the matter in the hands of corporations dependent on the ratepayers, appears to afford the best means of obtaining an honest and vigilant police.

The number of suicides and accidental deaths reported to the magistracy in 1850, within the limits of the Madras Presidency, is very remarkable:—

Cause of Death.	Men.	Women.	Children	Total.
Suicides:—				
Drowning	195*	536	13	744
Hanging	171	72	—	243
Poison	4	25	1	30
Various	28	10	—	38
Total	398	643	14	1,055
Accidental deaths:—				
Drowning in wells	573†	913	662	2,148
Do. in tanks or rivers	468†	270	521	1,259
By burning	48	29	47	124
„ lightning	99	27	16	142
„ sunstroke	15	9	1	25
„ wild beasts	85	21	13	119
„ landslips, &c.	67	26	35	128
Various	497	87	64	648
Total	1,852	1,382	1,359	4,593
General Total	2,250	2,025	1,373	5,648

The recklessness of life which this table exhibits is awful; upwards of a thousand suicides‡ and 4,500 *alleged* accidental deaths, constitute only those known to or reported by the police; and probably many of those are murders.

BOMBAY, 1850.—The returns of crime for this presidency vary in form, and are not so full as those of Madras, neither do they appear to be so accurately prepared. Number of persons apprehended for crime by the *district* police, 60,673; by the *village* ditto, 2,398 = 63,071. But here, as at Madras, and owing most probably to the same sause—a corrupt police—the number apprehended or summoned is no actual test of crime. For instance, of 60,673 persons apprehended, 17,765 were discharged without trial, and 16,564 acquitted after investigation.§ The following official specification of crime for two years, throughout the Bombay Presidency, will confirm the remark made under Madras, as to the immoral state of the population:—

Crime throughout the Bombay Presidency in 1850, *contrasted with* 1849.

Offences.	1849.	1850.
Adultery‖	213	201
Assault with homicide	15	26
Ditto, with wounding or other violence	503	499
Ditto, simple	13,564	14,022
Arson	677	570
Child-stealing¶	20	27
Forgery, or counterfeiting the coin	95	103
Homicide	33	39
Murder	165	146
Perjury	155	167
Rape	69	84
Receiving stolen goods	374	421
Gang-robbery, with murder	18	13
Ditto with violence	221	204
Ditto unaggravated	56	81
Robbery, including burglary and cattle-stealing, with murder	13	9
Robbery, including burglary and cattle-stealing, with violence	2,087	2,211
Robbery, including burglary and cattle-stealing, unaggravated	3,667	4,334
Theft, with murder, including that of children for the sake of ornaments	11	14
Theft, simple	7,276	8,406
Treason, rebellion, and riot	5	1[illegible]
Thuggee	—	1
Miscellaneous Offences, viz.:—		
Abuse of authority	25	69
Abusive language	9,342	9,481
Abortion, procuring and attempting, or assistant at ditto	70	76
Attempt at theft or robbery	639	783
Breach of contract	67	84
Breach of religious law	153	124
Breaking or destroying boundaries	30	60
Bribery, and attempt at ditto	120	192
Conspiracy	130	112
Concealment of robbery or theft	17	19
Concealment of murder	7	3
Dhurna	5	8
Embezzlement	53	83
Escape from custody, and attempts and connivance at ditto	49	71
Fraud	3[illegible]2	277
Failure to furnish security	62	30
Infraction of police rules	999	729
Jhansa	431	509
Neglect of duty and disobedience of orders	916	950
Return from banishment or transportation	30	36
Suicide, attempts at	27	22
Traga, and attempts at	73	103
Uttering base coin and using false weights	159	263
Not included in the above	2,408	2,301
Total	45,351	47,982

* In the year 1849—men, 328; women, 527.

† In 1849.

‡ In India, as in China, suicide very frequently results from the use of opium and other intoxicating drugs, the constant use of which (as an aphrodisiac in the first instance) tends to the prostration of all vigour of mind or body, and ultimately to self-murder, as a relief from the torment experienced. Unhappily, our Indian government, for the sake of obtaining a revenue, have encouraged not only the growth of opium for exportation, but also for private use. The late Henry St. George Tucker, a respected and able chairman of the E. I. Cy., recorded in 1829 his sentiments on this point. "The supreme government of India have condescended to supply the retail shops with opium for domestic consumption. I believe that no one act of our government has appeared in the eyes of respectable natives, both Mohammedan and Hindoo, more questionable; nothing, I suspect, has tended so much to lower us in their regard. Was it becoming in a great government to establish shops for the retail sale of the drug? Is it desirable that we should bring it to the very door of the lower orders, who might never otherwise have found the article within their reach, and who are now tempted to adopt a habit alike injurious to health and to good morals."—(*Memorials of Indian Government; Selections from the Papers of Henry St. George Tucker*, p. 154. Edited by J. W. Kaye: London, 1853.)

§ In Madras, out of 183,930 persons summoned or apprehended for alleged criminal offences, only 54,067 were punished.

‖ This is a prevalent crime in India. The Punjab commissioners report that "the men of the Punjab regard adultery with a vindictiveness only to be appeased by the death or mutilation of the parties; yet in no country are instances of female depravity and conjugal infidelity more frequent." The natives hate any system of law which will not give such redress as their vengeance may demand, and murder the aggressor when in their power to do so.

¶ Child-stealing was extensively practised under the native rule; and, despite our vigilance, is still practised in every part of India. While slavery existed and was encouraged, [illegible]re was of course a premium offered for the abductio[illegible] infants from their parents. In the Punjab, for instance, "children of both sexes, especially females, were openly bought and sold."—(Report, p. 44.) There the crime is now punished with ten or fifteen years' imprisonment.

The supposed number of offenders for the year is 96,591, of whom 78,366 only were apprehended. Of the prisoners tried, no more than 8,123 could read and write; the number tried for second offences was 2,503. The punishments are thus shown of 4,222 prisoners who were in the gaols on 31st December, 1850:—Imprisonment for life, with labour in irons, 131; ditto, without irons, 65; imprisonment, ten to fourteen years, 270; ditto, seven to ten years, 495; ditto, less than seven years, 2,762; ditto, without labour, 499. The number of deaths in prison throughout the year was 318: the average mortality being about six per cent. The sentences of death by the Sudder Foujdaree Adawlut, or highest criminal court, was only 13, which marks a very limited extent of capital punishment. Fines seem to be the most usual mode of dealing with offenders: of 26,352 sentenced by district police, 22,679 were mulct in money, or imprisoned in default of payment, 2,482 confined without labour, and 1,191 placed in the stocks; of 4,792 sentenced by magistrates, 2,535 were fined, 46 flogged and discharged, and the remainder imprisoned for various terms under a year. The session judges' sentences on 1,258 tried before them, comprised 151 fined, and the others imprisoned for various terms of one to five years.

The returns for Bombay,* as well as Madras, note that petty crime prevails most in those districts where there is heavy taxation, failure of crops, general distress, and want of remunerative employment; also assaults with wounding† where the men still go abroad on all occasions armed. Where the inhabitants are employed in constructing tanks, wells, and other public works, crime has diminished. The sums reported lost by robbery throughout the presidency, in 1850, is not large, viz., rupees, 558,345 = £55,854; and recovered by the police—rupees, 150,560; lost by arson—rupees, 24,034.

North-West Provinces.—The details of crime for 1849,‡ in this large section of India, are very meagre. The number of persons apprehended during the year was 82,957; and, with the addition of 1,435 prisoners under examination 1st January, 1849, and 1,071 received by transfer, total disposed of, 85,463: of these only 45,863 (barely more than one-half) were convicted, and 32,842 were acquitted; the remainder died (51), escaped (65), were transferred, &c. No statement of crimes or of suicides, and no trustworthy returns from Bengal appear among the papers laid before parliament; but the following significant expression by the governor-general (Dalhousie), when examining the "Report of the Punjab," will, to some extent, show the state of the country. His lordship says—"I will boldly affirm, that life and property are now, and have for some time been, more secure within the bounds of the Punjab, which we have only held for four years, than they are in the province of Bengal, which has been ours for very nearly a century."§ According to a police report, it is stated that in 1854, out of a population estimated at 35,000,000, spread over 31 districts, 84,536 persons were arrested for 82,925 separate charges: one person accused in every 414 inhabitants—less than a fourth per cent. The convictions are quoted at 48,127, or one-seventh per cent. on the population. Value of property stolen during the year—rupees, 600,000; amount recovered—rupees, 74,111, or nine per cent. A military police, like that of Ireland, would be useful.

Persons apprehended, convicted, acquitted, and committed for Trial, in each Presidency, from 1850—'52.

Classification of Criminal Cases.	Bengal.			N. W. Provinces.			Madras.			Bombay.		
	1850.	1851.	1852.	1850.	1851.	1852.	1850.	1851.	1852.	1850.	1851‖	1852‖
Pending on 1st of Jan.	2,634	2,496	2,865	1,356	1,627	1,505	1,984	3,624	3,298	1,068	—	—
Received by transfer	440	529	441	758	947	1,010	—	—	—	—	—	—
Apprehended during the year	107,967	107,718	104,474	83,059	82,112	94,747	202,506	192,609	194,514	78,588	—	—
Total	111,041	110,743	107,780	85,173	84,586	97,262	204,490	196,233	197,812	79,656	—	—
Convicted	63,407	61,583	63,316	46,170	46,012	55,904	57,684	51,463	52,300	33,865	—	—
Acquitted	40,092	40,799	35,864	32,580	32,283	34,677	78,929	78,255	78,018	20,882	—	—
Discharged without trial	—	—	—	—	—	—	64,107	63,144	63,544	22,864	—	—
Committed	3,962	4,080	4,417	4,300	4,079	4,369	—	—	—	—	—	—
Died	93	134	184	59	67						—	—
Escaped	503	540	614	32	45	764	146	73	86	960	—	—
Transferred	490	734	632	505	597						—	—
Pending, in gaol	765	994	913	707	749	1,548	3,624	3,298	3,864	1,085	—	—
" on bail	1,729	1,879	1,840	820	754						—	—
Total	111,041	110,743	107,780	85,173	84,586	97,262	204,490	196,233	197,812	79,656	—	—

‖ Returns not yet received.

Punjab.—It is refreshing to turn from the crime and inefficient police of Southern India to the condition of the Punjab Proper, where, previous to the assumption of British sovereignty (29th March, 1849), crime and deeds of violence were rife. Under the sway of Runjeet Sing, the penal code was unwritten. There were but two penalties—mutilation and fine: capital punishment was rare; imprisonment almost unknown; mutilation reserved for seduction and adultery—sometimes inflicted for violent theft and robbery; but for every offence from petty larceny to murder, impunity was purchased by money. From one to ten thousand rupees was the price of human life; occasionally a noted murderer or

* Within the last two years, military officers have been made assistant magistrates, and placed in charge of the police. The result has been satisfactory: the policemen have been brought under discipline, and rendered effective.

† In the Punjab Proper, a complete disarming of the population recently took place with the happiest results; 119,796 weapons of various kinds were seized or surrendered to the police.

‡ Dated Agra, 13th September, 1850.

§ Minute by Governor-general, 9th May, 1853.

robber was enlisted, on high pay, as a cavalier or a foot soldier; if he were a notorious villain, he was made an officer. When a district became disturbed, Runjeet Sing left the matter to his lieutenants, and did not object to the Draconian code of General Avitabile,* in which hanging was the penalty for every crime, small or great.

Considering that 60,000 men were let loose over the Punjab after the surrender of the Seik power, and that the neighbourhood contained hosts of lawless mountaineers, on a frontier line of 500 miles, apt at all times to make forays, and prey on the more civilised and wealthy communities of the plains, the organisation of an efficient police became a matter of the first consideration. A territory extending over an area of 10,000 miles, between the Beas and Indus, peopled by several million warlike Seiks and fanatic Mussulmen,—by Rajpoots, Patans, Jats, and Goojurs,—by devotees and renegades of every faith in India,—required a preventive police with military organisation, and a detective force under civil control: the former consists of six regiments of foot (5,400 men), and twenty-seven troops of horse (2,700), regularly armed and equipped, and commanded by four British officers as police captains. The infantry guard the gaols, treasuries, frontier posts, and city gates, furnish escorts for the transit of treasure, and other civil duties; the cavalry are posted in small or larger numbers as a mounted patrol along the grand lines of road. Both horse and foot are ready at a moment's notice to aid the civil police, the infantry to crush resistance, the cavalry to expedite pursuit.

The civil police supported by the state (and independent of the city watchmen and rural constabulary paid by the people), consists of 6,900 men of all grades, divided over 228 jurisdictions, in each of which a police-officer is stationed, with one or two deputies and policemen. Each *tehsildar* (native collector of land revenue) is invested with defined police powers within his circle, with authority to overawe the police when corrupt, to animate them when negligent, and to aid the police-officers by infusing honour and vigour into the men. Unknown and suspicious characters are prevented prowling about; curfew penalties are imposed on those found wandering outside the villages between sunset and sunrise; parties not registered as public workmen or camp followers, and found within cantonments, are punished; armed travellers must deposit their arms at the police-station nearest to the pass, and receive them back on their return; all large bodies of men are watched; wayfaring men who put up at the village inns, must report themselves to the village chief; and any inn or hotel proved to have sheltered enemies to the public peace, is destroyed. The city watch and village police form an important link between the executive and the people.

The rural detectives here, as in other parts of India, form admirable trackers; among the middle and lower parts of the Dooabs, amid the wild tract of forest and brushwood, there is a scattered population, who hitherto subsisted chiefly by stealing thousands of cattle, which once carried thither, never emerged thence with life. Roads have been cut through these haunts, and the professional trackers will follow a thief with stolen cattle for fifty to one hundred miles, although the ground may be overgrown with grass, or too hard to be susceptible of footmarks. *Dacoity*, during the first year of our administration, attained an alarming height; gangs of armed and mounted robbers scoured the roads at night, and attacked the houses of native grandees by day, after the fashion of the bush-rangers, as described in my volume on Van Diemen's Land. These gangs have been dispersed, hunted down by men braver than themselves, and the leaders have suffered death or been outlawed: those who escaped have been chased into perpetual exile among the fastnesses of Bikaneer and Raj'hasthan, or the wilds of the Great Desert. Now the Punjab is as free from *dacoity* as any part of Upper India. *Thuggee*, which was practised by a low class of Seiks, who, however, had not "the supple sagacity, insidious perseverance, religious faith, dark superstition, sacred ceremonies, peculiar dialect, and mysterious bond of union which distinguished their Hindoo brethren," has been suppressed, and an organised body of ferocious and desperate murderers destroyed. Finally, in no part of India is there more perfect peace than in the Punjab.† The returns show a moderate amount of crime,‡ especially when the recent habits of the population be considered. The ratio, in proportion to the population of the Lahore district, as compared with other parts of Western India, is thus stated:—

Districts.		Persons apprehended.	Persons convicted.	Detected criminals, one to	Convicted criminals, one to
Lahore division .	1849–'50	9,009	5,144	274·41	480·32
Do. do . .	1850–'51	9,998	5,423	247·13	455·61
Delhi district . . .	1849	2,179	1,653	140 68	186·66
Agra do. . . .	"	4,070	2,313	203·3	358·6
Allahabad district . .	"	3,476	1,424	204·33	498 78
Benares do. . .	"	3,620	1,776	204·81	423 10

Under the native laws, punishments for crime were exceedingly cruel; but except in extraordinary cases of treason or sacrilege, the poor were alone the sufferers, as the administration of justice was corrupt to the core. Torture was applied to both principals and witnesses, and by the gaolers also, to extort money from the prisoners. Flogging, mutilation, decapitation, drowning, burying alive, casting to wild beasts, and disembowelling, constituted the successive grades of sentences for those who were unable to buy off the infliction.

Under our rule capital punishments are restricted to murder; all other heinous offences are visited with transportation to Sincapoor or other places across the sea, with imprisonment and hard labour, on the roads or at public works, either for life or for a term of years.

* At Peshawur, where Avitabile (a Neapolitan) was supreme, the code was blood for blood, especially if the murdered man was a Seik; but "his object was the sacrifice of a victim rather than the punishment of guilt."—(Report of Commission, 1851; p. 41.)

† General Report on Administration of Punjab, p. 39.

‡ Infanticide unhappily prevails extensively in the Punjab. In Rajpootana it has existed for years; but here the Rajpoots are free from that crime which is committed chiefly by the Bedees or priestly class among the Seiks, who consider their order sacred, and that if their daughters lived and married, the fathers would be degraded: the children are consequently doomed to an early death. Other tribes also commit this unnatural and foul crime, viz., "some of the Mussulmen sects, and some subdivisions of the Khastree caste." The British officials, at the suggestion of some excellent missionaries, have had a public meeting of the chiefs, who have agreed to co-operate in the abolition of this unnatural crime. The purchase of slave girls is also decreasing.

CHAPTER V.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT—JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION—MILITARY POWER—AND PROTECTED STATES AND PENSIONARIES.

THE earliest knowledge we possess of India, inclines me to think that the country was divided into several forms of government, some as military monarchies, others as aristocratic oligarchies,* and many with republican† or democratic institutions; but all, more or less, combined the hereditary element in their constitutions, and were required, on great occasions, to unite for mutual defence against a foreign foe. Individual freedom was prized by the people; and when overcome by an enemy, many fled into the deserts and jungles, preferring solitude to subjugation.

The village or municipal system of India, which has outlived all dynasties and changes, combines the hereditary with the democratic: the potail or mayor, in virtue of his birth, would succeed his father; but if unfit for his position, the commonalty might elect their chief. Among the Hindoos there is a strong tendency to office-succession in the same family—not so much in reference to feudality or clanship, as to the transmission of property from one generation to another, in an unbroken line, for a long series of years; a feeling tenaciously held by some races of mankind, and especially by several of Asiatic origin. This idea would doubtless tend to mould the form of government.‡

As a general rule, it may be stated that the *Hindoo* polity was monarchical, with some republican principles, a territorial feudal aristocracy, and hereditary rights and privileges; the Mohammedan rule (acquired by the sword) was styled imperial, and upheld by despotic sway; no aristocracy but that of office or service was tolerated; no local institutions were encouraged; everything became, as far as possible, centralised; and all persons and property were at the mercy of the emperor, whose position, though to some extent hereditary, was only so after the manner of the Cæsars; for the large standing army at Delhi (as at Rome) could make or unmake the chief ruler.§ After the marauding Moslem hordes from Tartary and Afghanistan had consolidated their conquests, the empire was divided into soubahs‖ or provinces, such as Bengal, Bahar, Oude, Malwa, Lahore, &c., over each of which there was a creature of the court, with the style and position of viceroy; most of whom, on the break-up of the Mogul dynasty, declared themselves sovereigns in their respective localities, although they preserved the formality of obtaining the investiture of office from the nominal emperor at Delhi.

When the English appeared in India, they followed the example set by the Arabs and Portuguese,—erected factories at places convenient for trade, and gradually turned them into forts for the protection of their goods and the security of their lives, during the lawless state which ensued consequent on the breaking up of the imperial government at Delhi.

Until 1707, the affairs of the factory of Calcutta were under the superintendence of Fort St. George or Madras: in that year a presidency was formed for Bengal, consisting of a president or governor, aided by a council of varying number—of

* At the city of Nysa, during the Alexandrine period, the chief authority resided in a senate of 300 members. When the Portuguese first saw the Rajpoots, they described them as living under aristocratic republics.—(Barros—*Asia*, iv., p. 545.) The reader desirous of investigating the fragmentary information and legendary lore derived from the Puranas, Maharabat, Cashmerian annals, and other documents relative to the Hindoos, up to the period of the marauding invasions of the Mohammedans in the 11th century of the Christian era, will find abundant scope for inquiry in the works of Sir W. Jones, Colebrook, Wilkins, Wilson, Deguignes, Tod, Bentley, Heeren, Bird, Wilford, Moore, Elphinstone, Dow, Stewart, Masson, and other writers, who have praiseworthily devoted themselves to antiquarian researches connected with the history of the East. A summary of the scanty facts thus obtained would lead to no useful result, as scarcely two authors agree in their general conclusions, excepting in so far that about the period above-named India was divided into many separate states, with numerous tributary or independent rajahs or feudal chiefs.

† This word is used in reference to the prevailing idea of its signification. I do not myself think that any form of republic, whether carried on by an oligarchy or by a democracy, can long exist except under *Christian* polity, when each member of the commonwealth not only governs himself, but subjugates or directs his passions and desires for the promotion of the public weal. In proportion to the fulfilment of this duty, and so far as it accords with the Divine law, in such proportion will be the duration, prosperity, and happiness of a state, whatever may be the designation given to its form of government.

‡ Mr. George Campbell, B.C.S., in the first chapter of his useful work (*Modern India*, 1852), shows the difficulty of arriving at any definite conclusion as to the early form of government among the Hindoos. He thinks the Rajpoots conquered the greater part of India, and although democratic or feudal at home, they were absolute sovereigns abroad, and that under their sway, previous to the arrival of the Mohammedans, India "enjoyed prosperity and wealth."—(p. 12.)

§ At the beginning of the 18th century, the emperor had 30,000 cavalry and 400,000 infantry in constant pay. Merit, not birth, gave precedence, and largesses were frequently distributed.—(*Gemelli.*)

‖ *See* p. 117 for the soubahs of the empire, and their administration at the period of Akber's death in 1605. Peter Heylin, in his *Cosmographie*, 2nd edition, London, 1657, p. 883, says that India was then, according to the latest observations, divided into forty-seven kingdoms, "whereof some few have still their own national kings, the rest all subject to the power of the Great Mogul." By joining many lesser territories, he arranged the whole of India within the Ganges into twelve divisions, viz.—1. *Dulsinda* (W. of the Indus); 2. *Pengab* (E. of the Indus, more inclining towards the S.); 3. *Mandao*, lying between the Pengab on the N., Agra on the S., Delhi on the E., and the Indus on the W.; chief city, Mandao; well fortified, and said to be 30 m. in circumference: also Mooltan and other cities; 4. *Delhi* or Delin; 5. *Agra*, including Gwalior; 6. *Sanga*, on the E. of Agra, and S.W. of Cambaia; 7. *Cambaia*, S. of Dulsinda and part of Mandao, lying on both sides of the Indus, and containing Guzerat, &c.; 8. *Deccan*; 9. *Canara;* 10. *Malabar;* 11. *Narsinga* (N. of Travancore and S. of Orixa); 9. *Orixa* or *Oristan;* 10. *Botanter*, the petty kingdoms N.E. of the Ganges river; 11. *Patanaw* (Patna); 12. *Bengala*. The *extra Gangetic* territories were divided into Brama or Barma (Burmah), Chav-Chin China, Cambaia, Jangoma or Laos, Siam, and Pegu.

nine to twelve members of the civil class,—chosen according to seniority, and generally head factors, who held their lucrative situations at the will of the governor. In 1758 the government was remodelled by order of the directors of the E. I. Cy.: instead of one governor, *four* were nominated, each to hold office three months, and follow in rotation; these quarterly governors to be aided by a council of ten members. This extraordinary scheme was set aside by the four newly-appointed governors themselves: they saw it was not possible to work out such an absurdity, and they invited Clive to accept the undivided office of president; which was done.

In 1765, another form was devised by the home authorities, to remove existing disturbances in the executive, viz., a governor and four councillors, called a select committee. Before this body arrived, the disturbances had ceased to exist; but the governor and committee assumed the whole civil and military authority. In 1769, a new plan was devised, with a view to check the corruption, and procure the funds which the E. I. Cy. expected from India; a Board of Commissioners was to supervise the proceedings of the governor and council, and to exercise abroad almost the entire power which the Court of Directors were authorised to employ at home. The ship in which the supervisors embarked was never heard of after leaving port, and the plan was abandoned.

The Crown began, in 1772, to take an interest in the administration of India, which up to this period had been exclusively vested in the E. I. Cy. In 1773, parliament passed a "Regulating Act," under which, as previously stated (p. 313), a supreme government was established at Calcutta, Warren Hastings was appointed governor-general, and several changes were made defining the constitution of the company, as regarded both Courts of Directors and proprietors, and the powers to be vested in the subordinate governments at Madras and Bombay.* In 1781, another act (21 Geo. III., c. 95) was passed, referring to the exclusive privileges of the company, which had hitherto been considered perpetual, but which were now fixed for a period of ten years, at the end of which the company was entitled to a three years' notice of the intention to resume the conceded privileges; and another step was taken to abridge the power of the company, or, at least, to associate it with that of the Crown. By a clause in the Charter Act of 1781, copies of all letters and orders relating to the civil or military government of India, were to be delivered to one of her Majesty's secretaries of state; and all documents relating to the revenues, to be forwarded to the lords of the treasury; and "the court should be bound by such instructions as they might receive from her Majesty, through one of the secretaries of state, as far as related to the conduct and transactions of the company and their servants with the country powers of India, as well as to the levying war and the making peace." Henceforth the company ceased to be solely responsible for the good government of the territories entrusted to its care. Censure for omission or commission ought to be applied to the double government.

In 1783, a committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire and to consider how the British possessions in the East could be best governed. In the succeeding year, Mr. Fox introduced his celebrated "India Bill," which was very adverse to the company,† "on the assumption that they had betrayed their trust, mismanaged their affairs, oppressed the natives of the country, and brought themselves to the verge of bankruptcy."‡ By the bill, it was proposed to place the territorial government, for four years, in the hands of seven directors, to be nominated by parliament; the commercial affairs (then of great magnitude) to be confided to nine "assistant directors," elected by proprietors of E. I. stock, but to act under the instructions of the seven nominated directors, who could remove the nine assistants. The company strongly protested against the bill; the measure became one of violent party feeling; the king wanted to be rid of Fox as his Majesty's prime minister, and called the youthful Pitt to his aid, who denounced the measure, which, however, was carried through the Commons on the 8th of December, 1783, by a majority of two to one; but was rejected, after several debates, by the House of Lords on the 17th of December, by a majority of nineteen.§ The ministry, also, was thrown out; Pitt succeeded Fox, and early in 1784, moved for leave to introduce a bill for the better government and management of the affairs of the E. I. Cy.: leave was refused by the Commons; parliament was dissolved; a new house, on the 6th of July, adopted the views of the minister; an act (24 Geo. III., c. 25) was passed constituting the Board of Control, or India Board of Commissioners, consisting of certain members of the privy council, including two of the secretaries of state and the chancellor of the exchequer for the time being; the first-named person, in the letters patent, to be styled the President. A secret committee (chairman, deputy chairman, and senior director) was formed out of the Court of Directors, through whom the Board of Control could communicate on all state matters of importance which it might not be deemed advisable to divulge to the Court, and who were to be compelled, if necessary, by *mandamus* from the Court of Queen's Bench, to transmit the orders of the Board to India. A secretariat and staff were organised for the Board, before whom were to be laid drafts of all despatches for inspection and revision; and if the Court failed, within fourteen days, to prepare despatches on any subject required by the Board, it was empowered to transmit the orders to India, without the concurrence of the Court. On this basis, subject to some alterations of detail in the renewed Charter Act of 1813, the government of India was administered, with slight modifications, until 1833, when the commercial character of the company ceased, the functions of the Court became entirely territorial and political, and subject still more to the supervision of

* The president and council, at each of these stations, were also henceforth prohibited commencing hostilities, or declaring or making war against any Indian princes or powers, or negotiating or concluding any treaty of peace, or other treaty, without the consent or approbation of the governor-general in council being first obtained, except in such cases of imminent necessity as would render it dangerous to postpone hostilities or treaties until the orders from the governor-general in council might arrive, or unless special orders be sent from the E. I. Cy. in England.

† In the caricatures of the day, Fox was represented as a carrier, with the India House on his back, with which he was proceeding along Leadenhall-street towards Westminster.

‡ Kaye's *History of the Administration of the E. I. Cy.*, p. 126.

§ Government, under the leadership of the Duke of Portland, had fifty-seven peers present, and nineteen proxies; the opponents, seventy-five present, and twenty proxies.

the Crown by the nomination of a fourth member of the council of India (Mr. T. B. Macaulay), who was also to be a law commissioner for the revision and codification of the Indian laws. Agra and the N. W. Provinces were formed into a lieutenant-governorship, under the immediate supervision of the governor-general. In every matter, the authorities in the East were subordinate to the Court of twenty-four Directors, elected by the shareholders of the E. I. Cy., and to the India Board or Board of Control, whose authority was made more absolute at each parliamentary interference.

In 1853 (20th of August), on the termination of the twenty years' tenure of power* granted in 1833 to the E. I. Cy., a new act of parliament was passed, "to provide for the government of India." Under this enactment, the usual lease of India for several years to the E. I. Cy. was abolished, and the company became tenants at will, in trust for her Majesty, her heirs and successors, as a supervising authority in England; subject in all things to the Board of Control as representative of the Crown, whenever that Board might choose to exercise paramount power in the government of Indian affairs. By this act, the number of directors chosen by the proprietary† was reduced from twenty-four to fifteen; and the Crown was empowered to appoint six directors—the first three immediately, the second three as casual vacancies occurred,—all to have previously served officially in India for at least ten years. The Court of Directors, "under the direction and control of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India," were empowered to appoint a separate governor, or lieutenant-governor, for Bengal, and thus release the governor-general from much detail (which has since been done.) Every appointment by the Court of Directors of ordinary members of council at each presidency, now requires the sign-manual and counter-signature of the president of the India Board.‡ A *Legislative Council* has been constituted, for making laws and regulations; the council to consist of one member from each presidency or lieutenant-governorship for the time being, of not less than ten years' official service in India. The chief justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature, one other judge of the Queen's courts, and two other persons of ten years' standing in the service of the company, to be selected by the governor-general, whose assent is requisite to the validity of all laws. The discussions of this council are carried on in public, with reporters of the press in attendance, as in the English House of Commons. Under this act, the patronage of appointment to the civil and medical service of India, which had heretofore been vested in the Court of Directors, ceased, and the nominations henceforth were thrown open to public competition under certain regulations, and examiners ordered by the Crown. The patronage of military and naval officers and chaplains still remains with the Directory, who, in lieu of the advantages derivable from civil appointments, receive—chairman and deputy, £1,000 each; directors, £500 each, yearly.§ Such, in substance, are the leading features of the act of 1853: it makes no mention of the trading charter of the company, which is in abeyance; and it leaves parliament at liberty to decree, from time to time, whatever changes may be deemed advisable in the administration of Indian affairs at home or abroad. The nomination of the governor-general, governors, commander-in-chief of the army, and other high functionaries, remains, as before, a matter of arrangement between the Board and the Directory; the former with a controlling power. The Court claims the right of recalling a governor-general, as it did in the case of Lord Ellenborough: but there can be no doubt that the ministers of the Crown tacitly consented, for certain reasons, to that stretch of prerogative, which is unnoticed in the act of 1853.

* *See* p. 1, for changes in 1833.

† The number of proprietors of E. I. stock in April, 1852, entitled to vote in the election of directors by the possession of £1,000 stock, was 1,765; number having two votes, 311; three votes, 60; four votes, 42: total number of votes, 2,322. Number of voters in service of the company—civil service, 93: military, 160 = 253. Of twelve chairmen of the Court of Directors, between 1834 and 1852, all but three had served ten years in India; one had never been in the East; and two had commanded company's ships. Viewed as a whole, the Court of Directors, since the commencement of the present century, has contained many able men perfectly conversant with the affairs of India, and deeply interested in its welfare. At the present period, the Court possesses a high range of talent among fifteen members, all acquainted locally with India,—whose public character is identified with its good government and prosperity.

‡ The India Board consists of a president, who ranks as a secretary of state—salary, £5,000; parliamentary secretary, £1,500; permanent ditto, £1,500; assistant ditto, £1,200; five senior clerks, £900 to £1,150; six assistant ditto, £500 to £800; twelve junior ditto, £150 to £550; librarian, £400; and other officials. The secretariat establishment of the E. I. Cy. is large and well paid; but a government like that of India, where every transaction of the most trivial character is recorded in writing, and all correspondence and despatches, which are very voluminous, are transmitted in duplicate or triplicate, necessitates a large executive. The heads of departments are gentlemen of known talent and great experience; especially the secretary, Sir James Cosmo Melvill, who, by his administrative ability, information, and tact, is entitled to rank among the most eminent men of his age. Edward Thornton, the historian of India; Professor Horace Hayman Wilson, the celebrated Orientalist; Mr. John Mill, son of the great historian (celebrated himself as an *economist* writer); Professor Forbes Royle, and Mr. Peacock, are among the *employés* at Leadenhall-street.

§ The patronage of the Court of Directors, previous to the act of 1852-'3, was undoubtedly large. I am also bound to add, that with a few exceptions, it was equitably distributed. From 1790 to 1835, the number of writerships (in civil service appointments) ranged from 20 to 25 a year; and from 1835 to 1851, the number at the disposal of the directors (exclusive of 40 at the nomination of the president of the India Board) was 546, or, per cent., 30. The cadetships for the army, and assistant surgeonries and chaplains, were also very numerous between 1796 and 1837: the total was 9,446; averaging 224 per ann. From 1835 to 1851, the number of cadets appointed (including 347 by the India Board president), was 4,916, or 289 per ann. Into the distribution of this patronage we have some insight, which is creditable to the distributors. Between 1813 and 1833, the number of cadets appointed was 5,092; of these, 409 were given to sons of military officers in the royal military, and 124 to those in the naval service; 224 to sons of company's civil servants; 491 to ditto in company's military servants; 40 to ditto of company's maritime service; 390 to sons of clergymen; and 1,119 to orphans and sons of widows. In the parliamentary returns of 1852-'3, the information is not so precise: of 546 writerships at the disposal of the directors, 164 were given to the sons of civil officers, and 96 to those of military = 260. Of 4,569 cadetships within the same date—342 to civil, and 1,100 to military officers of the company = 1,442.—(*See* Thornton's *Statistics* Kaye's *Administration of E. I. Cy.—Indian Progress*.)

It is not within my province or limits to criticise the changes that have been made, to say whether too much or too little has been done; time alone can now determine the wisdom of the policy adopted. The government of India is termed an "enlightened despotism." At Madras and Bombay, the governors are each aided by a council of three members, holding high office; the lieutenant-governors of Bengal and of Agra stand alone. The Supreme Council of India, with whom all power resides, consists of three or four members, of whom the commander-in-chief of the Anglo-Indian army is generally one: the other members are civil servants of the highest standing.

Each governmental department—such as foreign, home, financial, military—has a secretary of state, who is in fact its head, and responsible only to the governor-general, or, in the subordinate governments, to their respective administrators. There is, however, no uniformity: in some places there are departmental boards; in others, a single civil or military officer is entrusted with all power. The patronage of the governor-general is immense; for although seniority is the general rule, the exceptions are very numerous.

The administration of Indian affairs may be considered as in a transition state; the natives must, sooner or later, be admitted to a share in the executive and legislature of their country.* In Jamaica and the West India colonies, I recently saw negroes, of pure African blood, sitting as "honourable members of her Majesty's council," and as representatives of white and black men in the legislative assemblies. Shall we deny to educated and trustworthy Hindoo, Mohammedan, Parsee, and other native gentlemen, those rights which are conceded in other parts of the empire to Africans who, a few years since, were slaves in the lowest stage of servitude?†

I do think the time is arriving (if it have not already come), when intelligent men, of every creed and colour, pecuniarily independent, of good moral character, and whose loyalty to the British government is unquestioned, should sit in a general Legislative Assembly for all India. They might be selected —as in other transmarine dependencies—by the Crown, nominated for life (*quam diu se bene gesserint*), and enjoy some honorary rank or privilege: this would prepare the way for a representative assembly and freer form of government.‡ In addition to this general council, municipal bodies might be formed in all the large cities, for cleansing, lighting, and police, erecting and supporting hospitals, and other useful institutions, and superintending generally the peace and welfare of the several communities. A general act might be passed, empowering the formation of these corporations in all cities having at least 10,000 inhabitants: the people would thus become familiarised to self-government, by managing their own local affairs; and the Hindoos would recognise, in an improved form, one of their most ancient and cherished institutions, and look to the re-establishment of the *punchayet*, or trial by jury, as an indispensable adjunct for the administration of justice. In a sanitary point of view,—in the suppression of crime,—in providing for the poor, infirm, and diseased,—and in organising the elements of civil life and social concord, the formation of municipalities throughout India would be attended with the most beneficial results.

For executive purposes, British India is divided into districts, each of which, on an average,§ contains the annexed area and population, and yields a land revenue as estimated:—

Presidency.	Area sq. m	Population.	Land Rev.
			£
Bengal . . .	3,200	1,000,000	103,000
N. W. Provinces	2,300	730,000	130,000
Madras	6 500	800,000	165,000
Bombay . . .	4,200	600,000	160,000

Each of these districts in N.W. Provinces, Madras, and Bombay, is under the charge of *one* European official, styled "Magistrate and Collector." In Bengal Proper, the magistracy and collectorship are held by separate persons. These *covenanted* officers are of the highest class, and consist of those who go out as "writers" (the old designation.) The prize of these high appointments is now obtained by undergoing a public examination in languages and elementary branches of knowledge. The range of emoluments varies from £600 to £3,000 a-year and upwards; if the lieutenant-governorship or governor-

* Of late years, the number of natives of India employed in the civil administration of the country, has been largely increased. The following official return shows the augmentation in twenty years:—

Positions held.—Revenue and Judicial—Principal Sudder Aumeens (native judges of three grades, who dispense civil justice)—1828, 64. Sudder Aumeens—1828, 157; 1849, 81. Moonsiffs—1828, 86; 1849, 494. Deputy magistrates—1849, 11. Deputy and assistant collectors—1849, 86. Sub-collectors' assistants—1849, 27. Abkaree superintendents—1849, 75. Tehseeldars—1828, 356; 1849, 276. Sherishtedars—1828, 367; 1849, 155. Mamlutdars—1828, 9; 1849, 110. Dufterdars—1828, 2; 1849, 19. Camavisdars—1828, 57. Adawluttees—1849, 5. Meer Moonshees—1849, 1. *Educational*—1828, 14; 1849, 479. *Various*—1828, 119; 1849, 990. Total, 1828, 1,197; 1849, 2,813. (Indo-Britons or Eurasians—as persons of mixed colour are designated—not included in these numbers.) Before 1828 there were only two grades of native judges, viz., the Sudder Aumeens and Moonsiffs. The office of Principal Sudder Aumeen was instituted in 1837, that of deputy collector in 1833, and that of deputy magistrate in 1843. In 1827, no native of India employed in the judicial or revenue department in Bengal received more than 250 rupees per mensem, or £300 per annum. The allowances now received are as follow, at 2*s*. the company's rupee. One receives £1,560; 8 receive £840 to £960; 12—£720 to £840; 68—£600 to £720; 69—£480 to £600; 58—£360 to £480; 277—£240 to £360; 1,173—£120 to £240; 1,147—£24 to £120 per annum. Since 1849, the number employed has been largely increased.

† Europeans and natives employed in India. BENGAL (in May, 1830, and 1850.)—*Judicial branch*—Europeans, 114 and 218; native, 11,161 and 22,800. Salaries, &c, 2,100,052 and 3,225,625 rupees per annum. *Revenue ditto*—Europeans, 112 and 204; natives, 3,447 and 6,806. Salaries, 651,962 and 1,601,810 rupees. *Customs*—Europeans, 82 and 146: natives, 1,652 and 271. Salaries, 290,490 and 340,835 rupees. *Salt*—Europeans, 41 and 32; natives, 8,569 and 4,786. *Opium*—Europeans, 15 and 42; natives, 1,638 and 2,066. Salaries, 157,433 and 378,620 rupees. Various other departments—Political, educational, &c.—Europeans, 375 and 573; natives, 16,247 and 32,076. Salaries, 2,642,437 and 4,932,356 rupees. *Commercial*—Europeans, 33 and 9; natives, 2,026 and 39. Salaries, 261,666 and 22,438 rupees. PUNJAB, (1850.)—Europeans, 185; natives, 10,986. Salaries, 1,619,546 rupees per annum.

‡ Natives of Ceylon sit in the Legislative Council there.

§ *Modern India*; by George Campbell, B.C.S.: London, 1852, p. 239.

ship of a presidency be obtained.* The *uncovenanted* consist of Europeans, or Eurasians (gentlemen of colour born in India), who hold subordinate positions, and cannot rise into the covenanted class: their emoluments are good, but scarcely equal to their deserts. The number and position of this class are being augmented and improved; and many soldier-officers now find active employment in magisterial and other civil duties.

The number of covenanted or of uncovenanted civil servants at each presidency in 1831 and 1851, the number on the retired and on the active list, and on furlough respectively, is thus officially stated in June, 1852:—

Civil Servants.	Bengal.†	Madras	Bombay ‡
1834.			
Covenanted:—			
Active list (including those on furlough)	506	225	152
On furlough	63	32	29
Retired as annuitants (other retirements not known)	37	26	10
Uncovenanted.—			
Active list	1,019	430	108
On furlough	None.	None.	None.
Retired (pensioners)	102	116	25§
1851.			
Covenanted —			
Active list (as above)	498	188	126
On furlough	45	27	16
Retired as annuitants (other retirements not known)	135	96	49
Uncovenanted.—			
Active list	2,014	838	120
On furlough	None	None	None
Retired (pensioners)	78	113	4§
Who have served ten years.—			
1834.			
Covenanted.—			
Retired (those only who are annuitants being shown on the books)	37	26	10
On furlough	43	24	19
Uncovenanted.—			
Retired (pensioners only being shown on the books)	102	116	25‖
On furlough	None.	None.	None
1851.			
Covenanted:—			
Retired (as above)	135	96	49
On furlough	26	16	13
Uncovenanted —			
Retired (as above)	78	113	4‖
On furlough	None	None	None.

The duties of the European civil servants in India, are thus described by the E. I. Cy. in their statements laid before parliament in 1852-'53:—

"Civil servants are prepared for the higher offices in Bengal by previous instruction in this country. At Haileybury the basis of education is European literature and science (classics and mathematics), to which is added, the study of the general principles of law, together with political economy, history, and the rudiments of the Oriental languages.

"At the college of Calcutta the studies of the civilian are resumed, and directed to the mastery of the vernacular languages, the acquisition of the principles of Mohammedan and Hindoo law, and a familiarity with the regulations and the legislative acts of the Indian government; the object of the two institutions being to combine the education of an English gentleman with the qualifications of the native law officer.

"Upon passing his college examination, the civilian commences his career in the public service as assistant to a collector and magistrate. He is thus engaged alternately in the judicial and the revenue line. In his magisterial capacity, he takes the deposition of witnesses, and prepares cases for the decision of his superior; or he hears and determines, subject to revision, cases specially made over to him by the magistrate. His power of punishment extends to two months' imprisonment, a period which, when he is entrusted with special powers by the government, is enlarged to twelve months. As assistant in the revenue department, he decides petty claims relating to arrears or exactions of rent.

"After this apprenticeship of several years, the assistant is regarded as a candidate for promotion. He is then subjected to a further examination, with the view of testing his knowledge of the languages and the laws of the country; and his promotion is made dependent on the success with which he passes the test. That the examination is severe and searching, may be gathered from the fact, that of twenty civilians who came up in 1852, seven only were passed. A successful candidate is then deemed qualified for the office of collector or magistrate.

"As magistrate, he directs the police operations of his district, and takes cognizance of all criminal matters. The law provides for his dealing with certain classes of offences, but limits his power of punishment to three years' imprisonment. Parties charged with graver crimes are committed by him to take their trial before the sessions court.¶ In certain cases the magistrate may inflict corporal punishment, not exceeding a few stripes, and no other punishment is then superadded. Appeals from his sentences, or from those of his assistant, when vested with special powers, lie to the sessions judge.

"As collector, he has charge of the district treasury. He superintends the collection of the government rental; puts in execution coercive measures against defaulters; sells estates for arrears of revenue and manages those escheated or bought by government. He superintends the partition of estates, and regulates the distribution of the government assessment among the several subdivisions. He also exercises judicial powers in settling, by summary

* Governors of Madras and Bombay, and Lieutenant-governor of Bengal, £10,000 a-year each, and an official residence, &c.; members of council, £8,000 per annum; secretary of government of Bengal, £3,600 per annnm. Such are a few of the prizes now thrown open to public competition throughout the British empire.

† Including Agra, the newly-acquired Cis and Trans Sutlej territory, and the Punjab.

‡ Including Sinde.

§ Exclusive of the pensioners on "Warden's Official Fund," which cannot be shown, as the accounts received from India do not distinguish Europeans from natives.

‖ Exclusive of pensioners on "Warden's Official Fund."

¶ "British subjects guilty of felony or other grave offences, are committed for trial before the Queen's Court. In cases of assault and trespass, they are subject to the jurisdiction of the magistrate (European or native), which extends to the imposition of a fine of 509 rupees, and to imprisonment for two months if not paid. An appeal from the decision of the magistrate lies to the sessions judge, and the case, if so appealed, is not liable to be removed to the Queen's Court by a writ of *certiorari*. Further, Europeans, by being rendered subject to penal recognizances for the maintenance of the peace, are virtually amenable to the jurisdiction of the mofussil police."

process, disputes among the agricultural community regarding rents.

"After further experience, the civilian is promoted to the judicial chair.

"The civil judge presides over the civil courts in his district, and supervises the dispensation of justice by his native functionaries. It is competent to him to withdraw suits from the courts below, and to try them himself.* He hears appeals from the decisions of his principal native judge, when the matter in dispute does not exceed the value of £500; but he may transfer appeals from the decisions of the other subordinate courts to the file of the principal native judge.

"In the sessions court the judge is required to try all persons committed for heinous offences by the magistrates. He has not the power of life and death, but his jurisdiction extends to sixteen years' imprisonment.† All capital cases, after trial, must be referred for the disposal of the Nizamut Adawlut; as also those cases in which the sessions judge dissents from the opinion of his Mohammedan law officer. Persons not professing the Mohammedan faith are not to be tried under the provisions of the Mohammedan law, but under the regulations, the judge being assisted by a *punchayet* or assessors, or a jury, but having power to overrule their opinion. The sessions judge holds a monthly gaol delivery, though in fact he may be said to be constantly sitting. He sits in appeal from sentences passed by the magistrates and their assistants.

"The Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, the highest of the company's courts, is composed of the judges selected from the civil and sessions judges. It has ceased to exercise any original jurisdiction. It is the court of final appeal in the presidency, and controls all the subordinate civil tribunals. Besides regular appeals from the original decisions of the European zillah judge, and in certain cases from those of the Principal Sudder Aumeen, the court is competent to admit second or special appeals from decisions of the courts below on regular appeals. The grounds for special appeal are when the judgments shall appear inconsistent with law or the practice or usage of the courts. The power thus given to the Sudder Court of hearing special appeals extends their means of supervision, and brings judicially before them the proceedings and decisions of all classes of judicial officers, and affords opportunity for correcting errors and insuring consistency, it being one of their duties to regulate the practice and proceedings of the lower courts. Moreover, each judicial officer is required by law to record his decisions and the reasons for them in his own vernacular tongue; and this affords the Sudder Court extended means of judging correctly of the individual qualifications of their subordinates. The Sudder Court sits daily except during the Dusserah and the Mohurrum,‡ when all civil proceedings are suspended. In the trial of appeals, the proceedings of the lower tribunals are read before one or more judges. A single judge is competent to confirm a decree. Two of three sitting together must concur for its reversal, whether the appeal be regular or special. Decisions of the court in suits exceeding in value £1,000, may be carried by appeal before the Queen in council. Monthly reports are received of the state of business from every district, and an annual report is made to government of the administration of civil justice, both in the Sudder Court and in its subordinate courts.

"*The Nizamut Adawlut.*—The judges of the Sudder Dewanny are the judges also of this court. The Nizamut has cognizance in all matters relating to criminal justice and the police of the country; but it exercises no original jurisdiction. Appeals from the sessions judges lie to this court, but it cannot enhance the amount of punishment, nor reverse an acquittal. The sentences of this court are final. In cases of murder and other crimes requiring greater punishment than sixteen years' imprisonment (which is the limit of the sessions judges' power), all the proceedings of the trial are referred for the orders of the Nizamut. The Mohammedan law officer of this court (unless the *futwa* be dispensed with) first records his judgment, and all the documents are then submitted to the judges of the Nizamut. If the case be not capital, it is decided by the sentence of a single judge. Sentences of death require the concurrence of two judges.§ Trials before the sessions judge for crimes punishable by a limited period of imprisonment, are also referred, as already intimated, for the disposal of the Nizamut, in cases where the sessions judge differs from the opinion of the Mohammedan law officer. As in civil matters, monthly abstracts of all trials are laid before the judges of the court sitting together, when the proceedings of the sessions judges are reviewed. In sentences of acquittal which may be disapproved, though the Nizamut cannot interfere so as to affect the sentence, the judge is admonished.

"*Revenue Commissioners and Board of Revenue.*

* "In the trial of civil suits, original or appeal, it is competent to the European judge to avail himself of the assistance of natives in one of the three following modes.—1st. By a *punchayet*, who conduct their inquiries on points submitted to them apart from the court, and make their report to the judge. 2nd. By assessors, who sit with the judge, make observations, examine witnesses, and offer opinions and suggestions. 3rd. By a jury, who attend during the trial, and after consultation deliver in their verdict. But under all the modes of procedure described in the three clauses, the decision is vested solely and exclusively in the judge."

† "The great length of the terms of imprisonment in India is one of the vestiges of a barbarous law, or rather a consequence of its abolition. In 1793, the punishment of mutilation was abolished, and it was then ordained that if a prisoner be sentenced by the *futwa* of the Mohammedan law officer to lose two limbs, he should in lieu thereof be imprisoned for fourteen years, and if sentenced to lose one limb, to seven years. Under a later law, it is competent to the judge to impose two years' additional imprisonment in lieu of corporal punishment. A reduction in the terms of imprisonment has been repeatedly urged upon the government of India by the home authorities."

‡ "The Dusserah is a Hindoo festival continuing for ten days, which are appropriated to religious ceremonies. The Mohurrum is a fast kept by Mohammedans in commemoration of the death of Hossein and Hassein, the two sons of Ali by his cousin Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed."

§ "If the judges of the Nizamut concur in the verdict of the lower court, and the prisoner be considered deserving of a higher degree of punishment than could be awarded by the sessions judge, he may be sentenced to suffer death, or to undergo imprisonment for twenty-one years; but if sentenced to imprisonment for life, then transportation for life, either to the penal settlements of Singapore, Penang, or Malacca, the Tenasserim provinces, Arracan, or Aden, would be substituted; but no native of India can be transported to New South Wales or the adjacent islands."

—In Bengal and the North-Western Provinces there are revenue commissioners, a class of officers superior to collectors, each of whom has authority extending over a division comprising several collectorates; his duty being that of watching the proceedings of the collectors therein, and ascertaining that in every respect they are regular and consistent with just principles of administration.

"All matters relating to the settlement, collection, and administration of the revenue, ultimately fall under the superintendence and control of a Board of Revenue, which exercises a general supervision over the proceedings of commissioners and collectors. Some arrangements, not dissimilar, exist for the like purposes under the other presidencies. Appointments to the Revenue Board, and also to the office of revenue commissioner, are made by selection from civil servants employed in the revenue department."

The average period of service of the Bengal civil servants is stated to be—Judges, Sudder Court, Calcutta, 34; members of Board of Revenue, 30; secretaries to supreme government, 25; magistrates and collectors, 18 to 26; magistrates, 7 to 19 years; other grades varying in proportion.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.—Within the limits of the cities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, there are supreme courts of judicature, vested with all the powers of the courts at Westminster, and presided over by chief and puisne judges nominated from the British bar. In these courts, trial by jury takes place; in civil and criminal cases, the law administered is in conformity with that of England, and there is a regular "bar" and solicitors. Beyond the limits of the three principal cities there are "company's courts," viz., at each presidency a supreme civil and a supreme criminal court; the former being one of appeal from numerous zillah or district courts, of which there are in Bengal, 32; in the N. W. Provinces, 21; in Madras, 20; in Bombay, 8. The European judges who preside in the company's courts are not educated for the "bar." There is no jury to assist in deciding on the facts of a case; the law is a compound of Hindoo, Mohammedan, and English principles, and a decision rests with the varying feelings and prejudices of the judge. This great defect will, it is expected, be corrected.

Civil justice is now almost wholly dispensed by native judges, styled Principal Sudder Aumeens, Sudder Aumeens, and Moonsiffs. The first-named are divided, in Bengal, into two classes, who receive each £720 and £480 per annum. Sudder Aumeens receive £300, and Moonsiffs £100 to £200 per annum.* Their functions are thus officially described:—"The jurisdiction of the two lower grades is limited to suits in which the matter in dispute does not exceed a certain value, the limit being of course higher in regard to the upper of these two grades than to the inferior. To the jurisdiction of the highest native judge there is no such limit. To these different classes of native judges is entrusted the original cognizance of all civil suits; and no person, whether British or native, is exempt from their jurisdiction.

"The first grade of native judges (Principal Sudder Aumeens) may sit in appeal from the decrees of the two inferior courts; and as the law, except in special cases, allows but one trial and one appeal, the power of final decision in by far the larger number of suits rests with native judges.†

"Further, suits wherein the amount in dispute exceeds £500 may be tried either by the Principal Sudder Aumeen or by the European zillah judge, if he so please. But in either case an appeal lies only to the highest company's court, the Sudder Adawlut.‡ Here then the native judge exercises the same extent of jurisdiction as the European functionary. Native and British qualification and integrity are placed on the same level. The suits now entrusted to a head native judge were confided, before the passing of Act No. 25 of 1837, to no officer below a European provincial judge.

"The number of appeals affords evidence of the feeling of the people in respect to the administration of the law. The number affirmed and reversed is evidence of the qualifications, intellectual and moral, of the native functionaries as estimated by their superiors. The proportion of appeals to original decisions in the suits disposed of in the N. W. Provinces, for seven years, is about fifteen per cent.; the proportion of decisions reversed in the original suits is little more than four per cent., as shown in the following table:—

Years.	Original Suits decided on Merits.		Appeal Suits.		Reversals.	Proportion of Reverses to Original Suits.
	By Zillah Judges.	By Native Judges	By Europ. Judges	By Native Judges		
1843	31	39,181	4,505	3,083	2,301	5¾ per cent.
1844	17	40,213	4,397	2,902	2,020	5 "
1845	10	40,579	3,980	2,809	1,895	4½ "
1846	3	41,775	3,900	2,392	1,676	4 "
1847	8	43,169	3,608	2,559	1,673	3¾ "
1848	11	41,340	3,977	2,916	1,736	4 "
1849	20	44,933	3,802	3,674	2,042	4½ "

* Mr. Edward Thornton, in reference to these salaries, says—"If the value of money be estimated by the wages of labour in the two countries, it would appear that its worth is about seven times greater in India than in England. The rate of wages issued to 2,000 men employed on the Calcutta and Bombay mail-road is three rupees, or 6s. per month each; and assuming the rate of wages in England at 10s. per week, £24 in India is equal to £168 in England."

† "A. sues B. for a debt of £10. The suit is instituted in the Moonsiff's court, and conducted by a vakeel or pleader. The pleadings and motions may be submitted in writing, the pleader merely examining the witnesses, or he may have recourse also to oral pleading. The judge is required by law to record his decision, and the reasons for it, upon the face of his decree. The dissatisfied party may appeal from the decision to the European judge of the district, who either hears the appeal himself, or refers it to his Principal Sudder Aumeen. The decision in either case is final, except upon a point of law, when a special appeal lies to the Court of Sudder Adawlut; thus the subordinate courts' proceedings are brought under supervision."

‡ "The course of proceeding in such cases is as follows:—C. sues D. for £1,000. The suit must be instituted in the court of the head native judge; and if not withdrawn by the European judge of the district, it is tried by the native judge. The appeal in either case lies to the Sudder Adawlut, from whose decision, however, there is an appeal to the Queen in council, in all cases where the value in dispute amounts to £1,000."

"By a more recent enactment, natives of India are eligible to the office of deputy magistrate. They are competent in that capacity to exercise the powers of the European covenanted assistant, and even under orders of the local government, the full powers of magistrate. When entrusted with the latter, their power of punishment extends to three years' imprisonment, and they are also competent, in cases of assault and trespass committed by Europeans on natives, to inflict a fine to the extent of 500 rupees, and to imprison for the period of two months, if the fine be not paid. Natives are frequently invested with full powers of magistrates.

"Native deputy collectors are subordinate to the European collectors, but they are competent to transact any of the duties of the collector. Their proceedings are recorded in their own names, and on their own responsibility.

"The selection and promotion of native judicial functionaries are regulated as follows:—Vakeels or pleaders, before obtaining diplomas, must have passed an examination before a committee, consisting of the European revenue commissioner, the European judge of the district, the Principal Sudder Aumeen, the principal of the college or other educational establishment at the station, and such other officers as may be appointed by the government.

"The examination may be presumed to be of stringent character, from the following results:—In 1852, at Agra, twenty-seven candidates presented themselves for examination,—*none* passed. At Bareilly, forty-eight candidates, of whom *two* passed. At Benares, seventy-two, of whom *four* passed. The Moonsiffs (the lowest grade of native judges) are selected from the vakeels, and appointed by the Court of Sudder Adawlut. The Sudder Aumeens are selected from the Moonsiff class by the Sudder Adawlut, and appointed by the government. The Principal Sudder Aumeens are selected from the class of Sudder Aumeens, and appointed by the government. The service is one of gradation, but not of seniority, the superior ranks being filled up by the most efficient men of the inferior."*

A reform is needed in this important section of our civil government of India. By the Charter Act of 1833–'4, it was intended to remedy the defect; and it was mainly with this object that a distinguished person (T. B. Macaulay) was then nominated fourth member of the council of India. Indian law commissioners (T. B. Macaulay, Macleod, Anderson, and Millett) were subsequently appointed, and in June, 1835, laid before the governor-general a draft penal code to be applied to all India; and in October, 1847, it was finally printed for distribution, examination, and discussion at home and abroad. The code contains twenty-six chapters, with notes on each, occupies 124 folio pages, and is undoubtedly a philosophical production. The principal sections refer to *offences against*, or in relation to, the state, army and navy, public tranquillity, government servants, justice, revenue, coin, weights and measures, public health, safety and convenience, religion and caste, the press, offences against the human body, property and property marks, documents, illegal pursuit of legal rights, criminal breach of service contracts, marriage, defamation, criminal intimidation, insult and annoyance, abetment and punishment.† This code has been much criticised; but nothing has been done towards carrying it into effect, or amending its provisions.

Anglo-Indian Army.—It is usually said, that the tenure of British power in India is held by the "sword:" this tenure is, however, changing into one of "opinion," *i.e.*, a conviction of the justice, honesty, and advantage of our rule; it will, however, require many years before the latter be fully acknowledged, and before the motley, unsettled, and in many parts turbulent people subjected to our sway, can be left to the simple administration of a purely civil government. The army of India (as was recently that of Ireland) must be considered a police force for the preservation of internal tranquillity, and, by means of its well-educated 6,000 European officers, as an efficient means of promoting the civilisation of the people.

The formation of a body of armed men had its origin in the necessity of protecting factories in which valuable goods were stored, after the manner previously adopted by the Portuguese, and their predecessors (the Arabs) on the coasts of Asia and of Africa. When once a selected class are set apart, with weapons in their hands, to protect the lives and property of others, discipline becomes imperative, and for this purpose a few Europeans were sent from England. In 1747, an act of parliament provided for the regulation of the E. I. soldiers; and in 1754, articles of war, comprised in fifteen sections, were founded on the above act, and promulgated "for the better government of the officers and soldiers in the service of the company of merchants trading in the East Indies." Duplcix organised a brigade, with French officers; the English, in self-defence, did the same. Hindoo and Mohammedan rulers sought the aid of foreign mercenaries, and assigned territorial revenues for their support; interference with the disputes of native states created the necessity for more troops; Hindoos and Moslems were ready to enlist under French or English banners, and made good soldiers; they fought against each other, irrespective of caste or creed,—were faithful and attached to their European leaders; and, in due process of time, an Anglo-Indian standing army was formed and brigaded (*see* p. 304), which grew from year to year, until it has now attained the following proportions:—Aggregate strength of the Indian army in 1851,‡ 289,525: component parts—Queen's regiments—five of dragoons, twenty-four of infantry = 29,480 men; E. I. Cy's. European infantry, six regiments = 6,266 men; company's artillery, 16,440, divided into European horse and foot, and native foot or Golundanze; engineers, or sappers and miners, 2,569. *Natives*—cavalry, regular, twenty-one

* Statistical Papers relating to India, laid before parliament by E. I. Cy., 1853.

† Parl. Papers, No. 673—Commons; 3rd August, 1838.

‡ In 1764, there were eighteen battalions of native infantry, perhaps about 15,000 men. In 1765, Clive found the army of Bengal (the principal forces) consisted of four companies of artillery, a troop of hussars, about 1,200 irregular cavalry, twenty-four companies of European infantry, and nineteen battalions of sepoys, with a due proportion of European officers. The aggregate strength of the Anglo-Indian army, in 1799, was—Bengal, 53,140, including 7,280 Europeans; Madras, 48,839, including 10,157 Europeans; Bombay, 22,761, including 4,713 Europeans: total, 124,740; of these, 22,150 were Europeans. The above comprised—of her Majesty's troops, dragoons, four; infantry, eighteen—regiments. In May, 1804, the number of her Majesty's troops serving in India, was—cavalry, 2,072; infantry, 9,911 = 11,983. The number of troops has varied from time to time, according to the exigencies of war.

regiments = 10,186; irregulars, thirty-four corps = 21,134; infantry regular regiments, 155 = 157,711; ditto irregular regiments, 53 = 39,613; veterans, or native invalid corps for garrison duties, 4,124 men. Among the natives, proportion of Mohammedans to natives, one to four. European commissioned officers, 5,142; warrant ditto, 243. Medical establishment—E. doctors, 824; native ditto, 652; apothecaries, &c., 287. Aggregate cost per annum, about £10,000,000. The army of each presidency is kept distinct under the governors and councils, but all under the control of the governor-general and council.

Land Forces in 1854.*

In India.	European Commissioned Officers.	European Warrant and Non-Com. and Rank and File.	Native Com., Non-Com., and Rank and File.	Total.
Queen's troops	896	25,930	—	26,826
Company's troops, European	588	14,061	—	14,649
,, ,, Native	3,644	3,122	233,699	240,465
Total	5,128	43,113	233,699	281,940
Punjab subsidiary troops and contingents from native states	86	36	30,882	31,004
Police, militarily organised	35	—	24,015	24,050
Grand total	5,249†	43,149	288,596	336,994

The company's European and native troops are under the discipline of articles of war granted by parliament; the officers hold commissions under the sign-manual of the Queen, and have been recently authorised to rank in England on the same footing as H.M. troops of the line. The company is empowered to employ in India 20,000 European soldiers, irrespective of the Queen's troops, but not to have at one time in Britain more than 4,000 men.

The sepoys of the Indian army consist of men of all castes and creeds: the Bengal troops, which are considered the highest caste, are recruited principally from Oude, Rajpootana, and the N. W. Provinces (a mixture of Hindoos and Mussulmen); the men are hardy, bold, powerful—good materials for soldiers: the Bombay force has its recruits from Oude, Deccan, Concan, &c. Hindoo, Moslem, Jew, and Portuguese, all contribute to make hardy, efficient troops, who will dig trenches (to which the Bengal soldiers object), and fight in them with as much courage as the Rajpoots. The Madras, like the Bombay troops, are termed "low caste," but quite equal to their compeers in any other part of India. It is said that the Bengal troops do not stand being "knocked about," or, in other words, "rough" it so well as the other divisions. In the Punjab force there are now many Seik soldiers. The pay and advantages of the three presidencies have been equalised: the sepoys get a higher and more certain remuneration than is known in any other oriental service; and a scale of pensions is fixed adequate to native wants. The period of enlistment is fifteen years: no bounty is paid; the service being popular, there is always abundant offers of recruits.

The artillery, horse and foot, is unrivalled by that of any European power, save in its draught cattle; bullocks and elephants being still partially employed for the siege or field artillery, which number about 400 guns. There are five brigades of horse artillery; twelve battalions of European foot artillery; and six battalions of native foot artillery. The horse artillery is considered the "crack" corps of the Anglo-Indian army. Its cadets at Addiscomb rank next to the *engineers*, the prize for which is obtained by those who attain the highest position after three years' hard study and competition;‡ the young engineers are subsequently instructed for a year at Chatham, along with the royal engineers, and are also required to possess a knowledge of the civil branch of their profession. Their pay and advantages are higher than those of the artillery, and their services much in request for the development of the resources of the country.

The cavalry is divided into two departments—the regular and irregular; the latter term being given to those corps where the trooper provides and feeds his own horse, and supplies his arms and equipments, for which he receives an allowance from the government of twenty rupees = 40*s*. a-month;§ in the regulars, the state provides the horse, arms, and clothing, and gives the soldier pay and batta for his subsistence—about nine rupees = 18*s*. a-month.

There are also regular and irregular infantry regiments, the difference consisting chiefly in the former

* House of Commons' Return, 17th April, 1855.

† In 1760, the number of European officers in the Bengal army was sixty; viz., nineteen captains, twenty-six lieutenants, and fifteen ensigns.

‡ As an illustration of the fairness with which the appointments are made, the following case may be cited. Sir Henry Willock, with commendable public spirit, placed a nomination to Addiscomb at the disposal of the Kensington Free Grammar School. Several youths started for the prize; it was given, after a hard contest, to a friendless youth whose competitors were all seniors to himself, and several of them possessed of family connections. The lad went to Addiscomb, and determined to stand for an engineer appointment: he worked hard night as well as day, knew no vacation, and soon outstripped cadets of older standing than himself; the second year he obtained the honour of the corporal's sword, and the third year, after a neck-and-neck struggle, reached the goal, and became Lieutenant Julius George Medley, of the Bengal engineers. He is now in a high and responsible position in the Punjab, a credit to the service, and a honour to his respected parent, the late William Medley, the eminent banker and financier, to whose generous and patriotic spirit several of the best of our monetary institutions (such as the *Provincial Bank of Ireland*, and the *Bank of British North America*) owe their origin.

§ The irregulars, whose numbers have recently been increased by the addition of twenty-eight regiments, making altogether 21,000 men, are very useful. Cavalry thus formed are not half the expense of a regular corps; the service is liked, the discipline is not strict—(it may be termed "free and easy")—there are more native and fewer European officers, and the men can march without baggage at a moment's warning.

always receiving half a batta (3s. a-month), which is only allowed to the latter when on service or escort duty. This, however, is very often, as the transmission of treasure from one part of India to another gives employment annually to about 30,000 soldiers.

In the Punjab several Seik and other local corps have been organised since the disbandment of our former antagonists: among them is one called the *Guide corps;* it consists of both cavalry and infantry, officered by Europeans. Most of the wild or warlike tribes in Upper India are represented in its ranks; the men unite all the requisites of regular troops with the best qualities of guides and spies,—thus combining intelligence and sagacity with courage, endurance, soldierly bearing, and a presence of mind which rarely fails in solitary danger and in trying situations. Men habituated from childhood to war and the chase, and inured to all the dangers of a wild and mountainous border, are freely admitted into its ranks. To whatever part of Upper India the corps may be marched, it can furnish guides conversant with the features of the country and the dialect of the people: it is thus calculated to be of the most essential service in the quartermaster-general's department, as intelligencers and in the escort of reconnoitring officers.* This excellent force was raised in 1846, at the suggestion of Colonel H. M. Lawrence, and was of great use in the second Seik war, and on other occasions. The corps has been recently augmented to 800 men, who receive rather higher pay than the ordinary soldiers.

Promotion is slow in the Indian army. In January, 1844, the Bengal artillery had ten colonels, whose period of service ranged from forty to fifty-three years; ten lieutenant-colonels, thirty-five to thirty-nine years; ten majors, thirty-one to thirty-five years; captains, eighteen to thirty years: engineers—four colonels, thirty-three to forty-eight years; four lieutenant-colonels, twenty-six to thirty-one years; four majors, twenty to twenty-six years; captains, fourteen to twenty years. Cavalry—ten colonels, twenty-four to forty-eight years; ten lieutenant-colonels, thirty-five to forty-two years; ten majors, twenty-five to thirty-five; captains, eighteen to twenty-four years: other ranks in proportion. Retirements are effected by the juniors purchasing out the seniors; that is, paying them a certain sum of money to induce them to retire on the pension due to their rank:† the money for this purpose is procured by loans from the Indian banks, for the security of which all officers below the party retiring are expected to become bound, or be "sent to Coventry." This is said to be one of the causes of the pecuniary embarrassments which prevail among the juniors of the Indian army: the buying out of old officers is, however, deemed essential to efficiency; and it is proposed to legalise the procedure by act of parliament. A liberal spirit pervades all ranks; and a handsome provision is made for the children of brother-officers who die in India.‡

The Indian commissariat is well managed; the troops are continually on the move, well fed, attended and provided with hospital stores. The executive of this branch consists of a commissary-general, deputy, and joint-deputy ditto, first and second-class assistants, &c.—all Europeans, chosen from the company's European regiments. When an army takes the field, there are about three registered camp followers to each fighting man. The peace establishment of carriage cattle is large: of elephants, about 500; of camels, 5,000. Knapsacks, of forty pounds each, are carried for the men. A subaltern, on the march, is allowed one camel (which costs about three rupees a-month) to carry his baggage; other officers, of higher rank, in proportion. During war, a doolie or litter, with six bearers, is appointed to every twenty Europeans; among the native corps there are two doolies to each company. Supplies are procured by tenders and contract. The feeding of the troops is excellent; the sepoys get two pounds of flour daily. Porter and ale are sent out from England for the canteens. Punkahs, to keep the air cool, are supplied to the barracks and hospitals; regimental libraries are established in European corps; and of late years (particularly during the command-in-chief of Sir William Gomm)§ large barracks, better bedding, improved ventilation, and plunging baths for daily ablution, have been adopted throughout India. By these and other judicious measures the mortality has been greatly diminished: recently, among European troops, it amounts to—for Madras, two; Bombay, three and a-half; Bengal, five and a-half—per cent. The invalidings are heavy: to keep up 100 soldiers, it requires ten annually to supply the decrement by death, invaliding, discharges, and staff appointments. Each European soldier costs, when landed in India, not less than £100. The entire expense of her Majesty's troops serving in Hindoostan is defrayed from the Indian revenues. The discipline of the Anglo-Indian army is excellent,‖ the *morale* good, and its efficiency as an armed force has been repeatedly proved.¶ It is said by some, that the cordial feeling between the European officer and

* Report of Punjab Commissioners, 1851, p. 27.

† The buying-out amount varies: a senior captain or junior major of the Bombay artillery would receive £3,500 to £4,000 for retiring on his pension.

‡ In August, 1782, the Bengal army had reached a position to entertain, and subsequently to carry into effect, a project for the maintenance of the orphans of European officers; which is still in operation. A fund was provided by a monthly contribution, deducted from the pay of the several ranks under colonel, viz., subalterns and assistant-surgeons, three; captains and surgeons, six; and majors, nine—rupees each. Governors and managers were appointed by the subscribers, and the foundation laid of one of the most useful institutions in the East, which promptly and liberally at once received the support of the Indian government.—(*Original Papers, &c.*: London, 1784; 8vo. p. 56.)

§ This experienced officer, whose sanitary measures for the health of the troops in the West Indies I noticed in the volume containing that section, thus refers to the same subject in a recent letter to me from Simla:—"With regard to improved barrack accommodation for the European troops, I may report to you at once very satisfactorily, the government has promptly attended to all my representations made to it with this view, and acceded invariably to all my requisitions made upon it in furtherance of this most desirable object. Thus the quarters at Peshawur, Rawul-Pindee, and Meean Meer, have been prepared with all practicable expedition; those of Umballa have been essentially improved; while at Ferozepoor and Cawnpoor (in healthy sites), an entirely new set of barracks have been recently sanctioned."

‖ The number of officers dismissed from the service by sentence of court-martial, between 1835 and 1857 (inclusive), was—for Bengal, 47; Madras, 45; Bombay, 16 = 108: which is certainly not a large number among four or five thousand men during seventeen years.

¶ The Anglo-Indian officers are, as a class, superior in military knowledge to the junior officers of similar rank in the Queen's service.

his men does not now exist in the same degree as it did in the times of Clive and Coote, or even at a later period; but be this as it may in the regular regiments, there must be a considerable degree of attachment still prevailing in the "irregulars," where the few officers are so intimately dependent on the feelings of the men for their military success.

The nature of the climate, which renders the luxuries of the temperate zone absolute necessaries,—the habits and caste of the people, which require several men to do the work that one would perform in Europe, and the wear and tear of life, make the Anglo-Indian army a heavy expense on the revenue. The following shows the comparative cost of a regiment of each arm of the service in India, Queen's and Company's:*—Her Majesty's dragoons, eight troops—701 non-commissioned and rank and file, £79,680; native cavalry, six troops—500 native commissioned, non-commissioned, and rank and file, £34,840; brigade of horse artillery, consisting of three European troops and one native—341 European non-commissioned and rank and file, and 218 native commissioned, non-commissioned, and rank and file, including gun Lascars, £59,310; battalion of European foot artillery, consisting of four companies—336 European non-commissioned and rank and file, and 140 native commissioned and rank and file, gun Lascars, £31,020; battalion of native foot artillery, six companies—630 native commissioned, non-commissioned, and rank and file, £22,330; regiment of her Majesty's infantry, nine companies—1,068 non-commissioned and rank and file, £61,120; regiment of company's European infantry, ten companies—970 non-commissioned and rank and file, £52,380; regiment of native infantry, ten companies—1,160 native commissioned, non-commissioned, and rank and file, £25,670; regiment of irregular cavalry, of six ressalahs—584 native commissioned, non-commissioned, and rank and file, £18,770; regiment of local infantry, of ten companies—940 native commissioned, non-commissioned, and rank and file, £13,700.

In 1851, the total charges (including military buildings) of 289,529 soldiers, Europeans and natives, was £10,180,615, or £35 per head. The distribution of cost for the year 1849-'50, which differs but slightly from that of the year 1851, is thus shown:—Her Majesty's cavalry, £188,651; her Majesty's infantry, £771,148; engineers, £76,104; artillery, European and native, H. E. I. C., £576,318; regular native cavalry, £479,075; irregular, £728,247; company's Europeans, £175,954; regular native infantry, £2,880,054; irregular, £431,857; veterans, £128,257; medical department, £142,038; ordnance, £154,813; staff, £415,862; commissariat, £1,248,986; buildings and miscellaneous, £1,701,562. Grand total, £10,098,926.

Taking the number of the Anglo-Indian army, regulars and irregulars, at 330,000, of whom about 50,000 are Europeans, or one Englishman to about six natives, it cannot be considered a large force for the maintenance of peace, and the protection of a country which extends 18,000 miles from north to south and from east to west, and comprises a population of about 200,000,000, of whom, not long since, ten men at least in every hundred were armed, and most engaged in some internecine strife, but now all subjected to the dominant sway of one power. Add to these considerations a land frontier of 4,500 miles, and the necessity of being at all times ready to repel invasion, and to preserve the mass of the people from plunder, and we may not be surprised at the extent, but at the smallness of the force employed on an area of about 1,500,000 sq. m.: the result shows one soldier to about 600† inhabitants; whereas, in France, there is one soldier to seventy inhabitants; Austria, one to seventy-two; Russia, one to sixty; Prussia, one to fifty-six. In most of the old civilised countries of Europe, the standing armies, in proportion to the population, are ten times larger than those of India. The garrison in and around Paris exceeds in number that of the European troops in all India.

The number of officers removed from regimental, and employed in civil and on detached duties, is large. In 1851, it consisted of—colonels, 37; lieutenant-colonels, 47; majors, 48; captains, 479; lieutenants, 400; cornets and ensigns, 29 = 1,040.‡ The complement of regimental officers in 1851, consisted—European infantry, one colonel, two lieutenant-colonels, two majors, twelve captains, twenty lieutenants, and ten ensigns; native infantry, one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, six captains, ten lieutenants, and five ensigns; cavalry, one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, six captains, eight lieutenants, and four ensigns.

It would seem advisable to organise an Indian staff corps—a civil department of the army—of a strength in accordance, from time to time, with the necessities of government. A good discipline, education, and moral training, under military surveillance, where the Christian principles predominate, is an effective school for preparing young and intelligent men for the exercise of their powers on a large scale. At present, owing to the want of civilians, the government is allowed to drain off one-third of the officers of the line; military men are extensively employed in political duties, and the regiments are denuded of their officers to an extent which often seriously damages the efficiency of the corps. Double the number of officers might be appointed to each regiment, and after they had passed examination in the native languages, and had served three years in regimental duties (as now prescribed), the option should be given of retiring from the military to the civil branch of the army, or for employment as magistrates, superintendents, electric telegraph, geological surveys, and in other functions, for which peculiar talents might qualify.

INDIAN NAVY.—There is a small maritime force under this designation, consisting of about thirty-three sailing and steam-vessels, which have rendered good service in the Persian Gulf during the China war, and in surveys of the Indian coasts and havens. The steamers are now chiefly employed as post-office

* Parliamentary Evidence, 14th December, 1852, p. 9, of P. Melvill, the experienced chief of military dept.

† I do not take into account the irregular troops in the service of native states; they are very ineffective, unless when disciplined by English officers.

‡ *Officers on furlough 30th April*, 1851.—Military, private affairs, 146; sick certificate, 542 = 688. Medical, private affairs, 18; sick certificate, 93 = 111: total, 799. These figures do not include colonels of regiments, of whom the number on furlough, in 1851, was—Bengal, 70; Madras, 50; Bombay, 29: total, 149. *Number of officers of each army employed, in 1851, on detached service, civil and political and military respectively.*—Bengal, civil and political, 151; military, 430. Madras, civil and political, 44; military, 208. Bombay, civil and political, 42; military, 165. Officers of engineers not included. A corps of civil engineers, trained for Indian service, would be useful.

packets between Bombay, Aden, and Suez. A few of these are of large burthen; the vessels are well armed, manned with Europeans and Lascars, and altogether thus officered:—One commodore, eight captains, sixteen commanders, sixty-eight lieutenants, 110 mates and midshipmen, fourteen pursers, and twelve captains' clerks: a surgeon, detached from the army, is placed on board the larger-sized vessels. The pay is good. Commodore, £250 a-month, with an official residence; post-captains, £80 to £90; commanders, £50 to £70; lieutenants, £12 to £15 (and £2 5*s.* a-month table money while afloat); pursers, £25 to £30; clerks, £5—*a-month.* Retiring pensions, after twenty-two years' service —captains, £360; commanders, £290; lieutenants and pursers, £190—*per annum.* The above ranks retiring from ill-health, after ten years' service, £200, £170, and £125 per annum. In 1852, there were fifty-three officers on retired list and nine on furlough. There is an excellent pilot establishment, maintained by government, at the Sand Heads, off the entrance of the Hooghly river, where it is much needed.

SUBSIDIARY AND PROTECTED STATES AND PENSIONARIES.—At pp. 5—12 will be found a tabular view of the states of India not under our immediate government, with their area, population, soldiery, and revenue. The British relations with protected states are entrusted to officers selected from either the civil or military services, according to their abilities, and denominated Residents, Governor-general's Agents, or Commissioners, as the case may be: at the larger political agencies there are European assistants to the Residents, who have, in some cases, charge of deposed princes. Practically speaking, the "Resident" is, or ought to be, a check on the native ruler when he does ill; a guide and supporter when he does well. Civil independence, with military superiority, is in reality a nullity; and although the Resident does not interfere, except in extreme cases, with the general administration of affairs, he expects to be consulted in the selection of a minister of state; and a system, founded on precedent, has grown to have almost the force of law, though a wide discretion is necessarily left to the British functionaries, who have, by remonstrance and persuasion, rather than by direct interference, put down, in several states, *suttee*, infanticide, and other inhumanities. This system, which answered well at an earlier stage of our dominion, has now nearly outgrown the purposes for which it was designed. Power in the chief, without responsibility, has worked ill for the subject: relieved from external danger in war, and from internal rebellion caused by misgovernment,—indolence, sensuality, and crime found full scope; and we have been obliged to assume the duties of lord paramount where princes have died without heirs, or where it became a positive obligation to prevent the misery and ruin of the people of an entire kingdom.

The stipendiaries who receive annually political payments from the British government, are thus stated:*—The King of Delhi (a lineal descendant of the Mogul emperors, but now totally divested of power), £150,000; Nabob of Bengal (a descendant of Meer Jaffier—*see* p. 291), £160,000; families of former Nabobs, £90,000; Nabob of the Carnatic (a descendant of a former Mohammedan viceroy), £116,540; families of former Nabobs of Carnatic, £90,000; Rajah of Tanjore (descendant of a petty military chief), £118,350; Rajah of Benares (a deposed Zemindar), £14,300; families of Hyder and Tippoo (both usurpers—*see* pp. 316–'17—and bitter enemies of the English), £63,954; Rajahs of Malabar, £25,000; Bajee Rao (deposed Peishwa), £80,000; others of Peishwa's family, £135,000; various allowances, including political pensions, compensations, &c., £443,140: total, £1,486,284. It would certainly seem advisable to exercise some surveillance over the recipients of these large sums: most of them are usurpers and upstarts of yesterday, and really have no claim to these extravagant pensions; the more so, as in several cases these large annuitants avail themselves of the means thus provided to bad lives of debauchery and idleness, pernicious to themselves and to all around. The main plea for the continuance of the pensions is the large families and harems of the stipendiaries.

CHAPTER VI.

FINANCE—INCOME AND EXPENDITURE—INDIAN DEBT—MONETARY SYSTEM.

DURING the early periods of our intercourse with India, the profits derived from commerce mainly furnished the means for maintaining the necessary establishments. After the acquisition of Bengal (1765), an income was derived from land, customs, and such other sources as contributed to fill the exchequer of our Mohammedan predecessors.† Subsequent additions of territory furnished revenue to defray the charges attendant thereon: and thus, from time to time, the finances were enlarged.

* *Modern India;* by G. Campbell, B.C.S.: p. 150.

† The oppressive taxes levied by the Mohammedans have been abolished, including the inland transit dues. Among the exactions during the Mogul rule, which are not now collected, the following may be enumerated:—*Jesych*, or capitation tax, paid by Hindoos or other "infidels;" *meer behry*, port duties (probably similar to our custom duties); *kerrea*, exaction from each person of a multitude assembled to perform a religious ceremony; *gawshemary*, on oxen; *sirderukhty*, on every tree; *peishcush*, presents; *feruk-aksam-peesheh*, poll-tax collected from every workman; *daroghaneh* (police); *teeseeldary* (subordinate collector); *fotedary* (money-trier), taxes made for those officers of government; *wejeh keryeh*, lodging charges for the above officers; *kheryteh*, for money-bags; *scrafy*, for trying and exchanging money; *hassil baazar*, market dues; *nekass*, tax on the sale of cattle, and on hemp, blankets, oil, and raw hides; also on measuring and weighing, and for killing cattle, dressing hides, sawing timber, and playing at dice; *rahdary*, or pass-port; *pug*, a kind of poll-tax on salt, spirituous liquors, storax, and lime—on fishermen, brokerage, hearths, buyer and seller of a house, and other items comprised under the term of *serjerjehat*.—(See *Ayeen Akbery*, for details.)

*Revenues and Indian Charges** (*independent of home expenses*)† *of each Presidency.*—At 2s. the Sicca Rupee.

Years.	BENGAL.			MADRAS.				BOMBAY.		
	Revenue.	Charge.	Surplus.	Revenue.	Charge.	Surplus	Deficit.	Revenue.	Charge.	Deficit.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1814	11,237,498	8,876,581	2,360,917	5,322,164	5,189,412	132,752	—	857,080	1,717,144	860,064
1815	11,415,799	9,487,638	1,928,161	5,106,107	5,261,404	—	155,297	872,046	1,986,444	1,114,398
1816	11,967,259	9,796,974	2,170,285	5,360,220	5,142,553	217,667	—	895,592	1,946,118	1,050,526
1817	11,769,552	10,281,822	1,487,730	5,381,307	5,535,816	—	154,509	1,392,820	1,956,527	563,707
1818	12,399,475	10,677,015	1,722,460	5,361,432	6,006,420	—	644,918	1,720,537	2,597,776	877,239
1819	12,224,220	10,826,734	1,397,486	5,407,005	5,825,414	—	418,409	2.161,370	3,204,785	1,043,415
1820	13,518,968	10,688,439	2,830,529	5,403,506	5,700,466	—	296,960	2,438,960	3,299,170	860,210
1821	13,361,261	10,356,409	3,004,852	5,557,028	5,500,876	56,192	—	2,883,042	3,667,332	784,290
1822	14,169,691	10,317,196	3,852,495	5,585,209	5,229,202	356,007	—	3,372,447	4,275,012	202,567
1823	12,950,308	10,912,710	2,037,598	5,498,764	6,398,856	—	900,092	2,789,550	3,264,509	454,959
1824	13,484,740	12,620,179	864,561	5,460,742	5,789,333	—	348,591	1,785,216	3,305,982	1,520,765
1825	13,121,282	13,793,499	‡	5,714,915	6,056,967	—	342,052	2,262,393	4,032,988	1,770,595
1826	14,767,238	13,405,152	1,362,086	5,981,681	5,634,322	347,359	—	2,618,549	4,000,552	1,382,003
1827	14,944,713	13,486,879	1,457,834	5,347,838	6,188,127	—	840,289	2,579,905	4,062,566	1,482,661
1828	10,125,416	7,747,834	2,377,582	3,591,272	3,671,111	—	79,839	1,300,311	2,421,715	1,121,404
1829	9,858,275	7,615,697	2,242,578	3,455,068	3,499,283	—	44,215	1,316,044	2,318,054	1,002,010
1830	9,883,892	7,340,650	2,543,242	3,415,759	3,388,628	27,131	—	1,304,300	2,218,637	914,337
1831	9,474,084	7,635,974	1,838,110	3,322,155	3,239,261	82,894	—	1,401,917	2,060,499	658,582
1832	9,487,778	7,687,229	1,800,549	2,969,956	3,174,317	—	204,391	1,497,309	2,034,710	537,401
1833	8,844,241	7,018,449	1,825,793	3,235,233	3,258,995	—	23,762	1,600,681	1,968,045	367,354
1834	9,355,289	7,322,303	2,032,986	3,368,948	3,017,676	351,272	—	1,503,782	1,908,092	404,310
1835	10,057,362	7,085,079	2,972,283	3,590,052	2,830,549	759,503	—	1,805,946	1,953,568	147,622
1836	10,263,012	6,944,973	3,318,039	3,235,117	2,817,533	417,584	—	1,704,213	1,980,763	276,550
1837	9,904,438	7,004,451	2,899,987	3,512,813	3,022,138	490,675	—	1,649,051	1,954,950	305,899
1838	10,375,426	8,070,634	2,304,792	3,533,803	3,082,652	451,151	—	1,418,464	1,940,729	522,265
1839	9,561,444	8,437,736	1,123,708	3,535,875	3,581,405	—	45,530	1,445,296	2,083,222	637,926
1840	9,741,240	8,943,099	798,141	3,563,343	3,352,075	211,268	—	1,827,922	1,966,380	138,458
1841	10,437,861	9,367,408	1,070,453	3,593,910	3,356,993	236,917	—	1,750,884	1,995,073	244,189
1842	10,829,614	9,934,751	894,863	3,628,949	3,380,783	248,166	—	1,960,683	1,991,530	30,847
1843	11,523,933	10,122,149	1,401,784	3,601,997	3,342,573	259,424	—	2,046,728	2,204,121	157,393
1844	11,861,733	9,575,683	2,286,050	3,512,417	3,479,580	32,837	—	§1,918,607	2,496,173	577,566
1845	12,174,338	10,170,220	2,004,118	3,589,213	3,523,598	65,615	—	2,047,380	2,569,910	522,[illegible]0
1846	12,900,254	10,445,969	2,454,285	3,631,922	3,449,618	182,304	—	2,120,824	2,662,100	541,276
1847	11,947,924	10,546,089	1,401,835	3,638,589	3,373,445	265,144	—	1,990,395	2,553,286	562,891
1848	12,083,936	10,536,367	1,547,569	3,667,235	3,221,495	449,740	—	2,475,894	2,929,520	453,626
1849	‖14,243,511	11,033,835	3,209,676	3,543,074	3,138,378	404,696	—	2,489,246	2,999,119	509,873
1850	13,879,966	10,818 429	3,061,537	3,625,015	3,212,415	412,600	—	2,744,951	3,086,460	341,519
1851	13,487,081	10,970,120	2,516,961	3,744,372	3,214,598	499,774	—	3,172,777	3,151,870	¶ 20,907
1852	14,015,120	11,239,370	2,775,750	3,766,150	3,307,192	458,958	—	3,166,157	3,279,118	112,961

* In the above statement, from the year 1828, the allowances and assignments payable to native princes and others under treaties (amounting to upwards of a million and a-half per annum), and the charges of collecting the revenue, including the cost of the opium and salt (amounting to upwards of two millions and a-half more), have been excluded in order to arrive at the real produce of the revenue.

In the tabular statement, down to the year 1827, the gross revenues are shown; and the rate of converting the Indian money into sterling is 16 per cent. higher than the rate at present used.

† *The Territorial Payments in England, in* 1849–'50 (latest return made up), were :—Dividends to proprietors of East India stock, £629,435; interest on the home bond debt, £173,723; purchase and equipment of steam-vessels, and various expenses connected with steam communication with India, £50,543; her Majesty's government, on account of the proportion agreed to be borne by the company of the amount payable under contract between her Majesty's government and Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company for an extended communication with India and China, £70,000; transport of troops and stores, deducting freight charged in invoices, £36,418; furlough and retired pay to military and marine officers, including off-reckonings, £614,393; payments on account of her Majesty's troops serving in India, £200,000; retiring pay to her Majesty's troops (Act 4 Geo. IV., c. 71.) including an arrear, £75,000.

Charges, general, comprising :—Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India; salaries of the president and officers of the board, including superannuation allowances granted by warrant of the Crown under Act 53 Geo. III., cap. 155, sec. 91, £30,523; salaries of the Court of Directors, £7,600; contingent expenses of the Courts of Directors and Proprietors, consisting of repairs to the East India House, taxes, rates, and tithes, coals, candles, printing, stationery, bookbinding, stamps, postage, and various petty charges, £28,829; salaries and allowances of the secretaries and officers of the Court of Directors, deducting amount applied from the fee fund in part payment thereof, £93,794; annuitants and pensioners, including compensation annuities under Act 3 & 4 Will. IV., cap. 85, and payments in commutation thereof, £198,199; Haileybury College, net charge, £9,074; military seminary at Addiscombe, net charge, £4,057. Recruiting charges: pay of officers, non-commissioned officers of recruiting establishments, and of recruits previous to embarkation, bounty, clothing, arms, and accoutrements, £43,438; passage and outfit of recorder, Prince of Wales' Island, Bishop of Madras, aides-de-camps, chaplains, company's officers in charge of recruits, officers in her Majesty's service proceeding to join their regiments, and volunteers for the pilot service, &c., £22,655; charges of the store department, articles for use in inspection of stores, labour, &c., £5,201; Lord Clive's fund, net payment for pensions, &c., £36,519; law charges, £12,215; cultivation and manufacture of cotton, &c. in India (expenses incurred in view to the improvement of), £547; commission to agents at the outports on realisation of remittances, £260; maintenance of lunatics, £6,466; miscellaneous—consisting of expenses of overland and ships' packets, maintenance of natives of India, donation to the Bengal Civil Fund and to widows' funds for the home service, donations for services and relief, &c., £7,657. Interest paid upon sums deposited by Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company, £1,722; East Indian Railway Company, £2,983: absentee allowances to civil servants of the Indian establishments, £32,383; annuities of the Madras Civil Fund of 1818, £15,388; retired pay and pensions of persons of the late St. Helena establishment, not chargeable to the Crown, £5,795. The total territorial payments, including invoice value of political stores (£378,100), and some small items not above enumerated, was £2,750,937.

‡ Deficit of £852,217. § In this and following years, the receipts and charges of Sinde are included in Bombay. ¶ Surplus.

‖ In this and following years, the revenues and charges of the Punjab are included in Bengal.

The *receipts* for the year 1852-'53, were—Land-tax, £15,365,000. *Sayer* (stamps, &c., on land) and *abkarree* (excise on spirituous liquors), £1,185,000; *moturpha* (tax on houses, shops, trades, and professions),* £118,000; salt, £2,421,000; opium, £5,088,000; custom or import duties, £1,430,000; stamp-duties, £491,000; post-office receipts, £200,000; mint ditto, £150,000; tobacco, £63,000; tributes and subsidies, £571,000; miscellaneous (comprising arrears of revenue, marine and pilotage dues), £1,522,000: total gross receipts, £28,610,000.

The *disbursements* for the same year were—Interest on India and home bond debt, £2,503,000; charges defrayable in England, viz., dividends to proprietors of E. I. stock, £650,000; E. I. House and India Board establishments, half-pay and pensions, stores, &c., £2,697,000; army and military charges, £9,803,000; judicial establishments, £2,223,000; land revenue collection and charges, £2,010,000; general charges and civil establishments, £1,928,000; opium charges and cost of production, £1,370,000; salt, ditto, £350,000; marine (including Indian navy, pilot service, lighthouses, &c.), £376,000; post-office, £213,000: customs—collecting import duties, £189,000; mints, £60,000; stamps, £32,000; miscellaneous (including *sayer*, excise, *moturpha*, public works, &c.), £4,223,000: total charges, £27,977,000.

THE INDIAN DEBT requires a brief elucidation: it was originally created to meet the temporary wants of commerce, and subsequently those of territory; money was borrowed in India, in such emergencies, at high rates of interest. In April, 1798, the debt amounted to £8,500,000;† of this, £1,300,000 was at twelve, £4,000,000 at eight, £1,700,000 at six—per cent.; the remainder at various lesser rates, or not bearing interest.

In April, 1803, the debt stood at £17,700,000; of which £10,200,000 was at eight, £3,000,000 at ten, £600,000 at twelve—per cent; remainder as above.

In April, 1804—debt, £21,000,000; of which £3,000,000 at ten, £1,200,000 at nine, £12,000,000 at eight—per cent.; remainder as above.

In April, 1834—debt (exclusive of home bond), £35,000,000; in April, 1850, £47,000,000; in 1855, about £50,000,000. Annual interest of debt, at five and four per cent., about £2,000,000.

There is a home India debt, which has been created from time to time to meet deficiencies in remittances required for home charges: it now amounts to about £2,500,000.

Proportion of debt due to Europeans and to natives, in 1834—Europeans, £20,439,870; natives, £7,225,360 = £27,665,230. In 1847, Europeans, £21,981,447; natives,‡ £12,271,140 = £34,252,587.

The India debt has been mainly caused by war:§ that with the Burmese cost, from 1824 to 1826, at least £13,000,000. The debt was augmented by it from £26,468,475 to £39,948,488, or £13,500,000. During the ten years from 1839-'40 to 1848-'49 (which was almost uninterruptedly a period of warfare in Afghanistan, Sinde, the Punjab, and Gwalior), the aggregate charges exceeded the revenues of India by £15,048,702, showing an annual deficiency of £1,500,000.

There was a *nominal* reduction of the debt between 1830 and 1834, by an alteration of the high rates of exchange, previously used, to the rate of two shillings the sicca rupee, adopted after the passing of the act 3 and 4 William IV., ch. 85: by this the debt appeared reduced from £39,948,488 in 1830, to £35,463,483 in 1834. There was a *real* reduction to £29,832,299, between 1834 and 1836, by the application to that purpose of a portion of tea sales and other commercial assets, derived from a winding up of the mercantile business of the E. I. Cy. The progress of the debt bearing interest in India is thus shown:—

Years	Value.	Years.	Value.	Years.	Value.
	£		£		£
1834	35,463,483	1841	32,051,088	1848	43,085,263
1835	33,984,654	1842	34,378,288	1849	44,204,080
1836	29,832,299	1843	36,322,819	1850	46,908,064
1837	30,406,246	1844	37,639,829	1851	47,999,827
1838	30,249,893	1845	38,627,954	1852	48,014,244
1839	30,231,162	1846	38,992,734	1853	49,043,526
1840	30,703,778	1847	41,798,087	1854	—

There is in India, as well as in England, a constant tendency to increased expenditure. In fifteen years the augmentation stood thus:—

Years.	Total Revenue.	Charges.		Debt.	
		India.	England.	India.	Home.
	£	£	£	£	£
1834-'35	18,650,000	16,680,000	2,160,000	35,460,000	3,523,237
1849-'50	25,540,000	23,500,000	2,700,000	47,000,000	3,899,500

This increase has taken place in addition to £8,122,530‖ appropriated from commercial assets, in 1834, towards liquidation of India debt, and £1,788,522 applied to reduction of home bond debt: total £9,911,055; and notwithstanding a reduction in the interest of the India debt from six and five to five and four per cent. An annual deficit of upwards of a million sterling, for about a quarter of a century, does not appear satisfactory, and requires not merely vigilance to keep down expenditure, but still more, the utmost efforts to raise revenue by increasing the paying capacities of the people. Assuming the British India population at 130,000,000, and the annual revenue at £28,000,000, the contribution per head is about fifty-two pence each per annum. A people in prosperous circumstances would yield much more than four shillings and fourpence each yearly.

* This tax, a relic of the Moslem system, still exists at Madras: its abolition is under consideration.

† Instead of giving rupees, which perplex an English reader, I give the sum, converted into sterling, at 2*s*. the rupee.

‡ Between 1834 and 1846, the sums invested by Indian princes in the India debt, has been—King of Oude, £1,200,000; rajah of Mysoor, £84,000; Bajee Rao, £50,000; rajah of Gurhwal, £10,000; Chimna, Indore, £25,000; Pretaup Sing, Tanjore, £6,000.

§ During the present year (1855), a five per cent. loan has been created, to be applied solely to the extension of public works. In November, 1840, a similar proposition was submitted by the author to the E. I. Cy.

‖ Of this sum, £2,677,053 constituted the principal of the Carnatic debts.

The debt due to the E. I. Cy. is provided for. In 1834 the sum of £2,000,000 was set apart from the commercial assets of the company to be invested in the English funds (three per cents.), and to accumulate at compound interest, at forty years (until 1722), in order to pay off the E. I. Cy's. stock of £6,000,000,* at the rate of £200 for every £100 stock; making the total amount to be liquidated in 1874, £12,000,000. In May, 1852, the £2,000,000 had increased, by the annual reinvestment of three per cent. int., to £3,997,648.

The tangible commercial property sold under the act of 1834, realised £15,223,480, which was thus disposed of:—£8,191,366 towards discharge of India debt; £2,218,831 was applied in payment of territorial charges in England; £1,788,525 was applied in liquidation of part of home bond debt; £2,000,000 was paid into the Bank of England, for investment in the funds, to provide a "security fund," at compound interest, for the ultimate redemption of the capital stock of the company (£6,000,000) in 1874; £561,600 was applied in compensations to ship-owners and other persons; and the remainder, of £463,135, was retained in London, as an available cash balance for the purposes of government in India. The unavailable assets claimed as commercial by the company—viz., the India House in Leadenhall-street, one warehouse retained for a military store department, and house property in India,—the whole, valued at £635,445,—remains in the hands of the company, but applicable to the uses of the Indian government.†

MONETARY SYSTEM.—Silver is the standard of value: the coins in circulation are—the rupee of silver, value two shillings; the anna of copper, three-halfpence; and the pice, a base metal, whereof twelve represent one anna.

The rupee contains 165 grains of fine silver, and fifteen grains of alloy: when silver is worth five shillings per ounce, its value is one shilling and tenpence farthing; the average rate of remittance, by hypothecation, from India, has been at the rate of one shilling and elevenpence three farthings; bullion remittances have averaged one shilling and tenpence, four per cent. over the metallic value of the rupee. It is usually converted into sterling, approximatively, for nominal purposes at two shillings.

Gold coins, termed pagodas and mohurs, are now seldom seen. There are no means of ascertaining the amount of the circulating medium, in metal or in paper: government possess no returns on the subject. The quantity of specie (value in rupees) issued from the mints, in several years, has been:—

Mints.	Gold.	Silver.	Copper.
	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.
Calcutta, 1847–'48 . .	10,286	12,158,939	35,116,331
„ 1848–'49 . .	46,980	15,211,580	47,724,328
„ 1849—'53, 4yrs.	151,299	84,534,529	116,571,391
Madras, 1848—'53, avg of the 5 years . .	—	3,271,189	6,159,671
Bombay, avg. of same period	—	17,264,598	none coined.
Total	208,565	132,440,835	205,571,721

PUBLIC BANKS IN INDIA.—Until within the last few years, there was only one public joint-stock bank (*Bengal*) in India. This institution owed its formation, at the commencement of the present century, to the financial ability of the late Henry St. George Tucker,‡ and was eminently successful. In 1829-'30 I proposed and assisted at the organisation of the *Union Bank of Calcutta*. It was soon taken out of my hands by the leading merchant bankers, who used its capital and credit to prop up their insolvent firms: it did not, however, prevent their failure for £20,000,000 sterling, leaving a dividend of not many pence in the pound. The *Union Bank* held its ground for a few years, but it ultimately fell with another great crash of Bengal traders, and was then ascertained to have been, for the last few years of its existence, a gigantic swindle.

In conjunction with Sir Gore Ouseley and other friends, I tried to establish in London an East India Bank, which should act as a medium of remittance between Britain and India. The government and several members of the E. I. Cy. were favourable, but private interests, connected with individual banking and agency, were too powerful at the E. I. House. A charter offered was clogged with restrictions which would defeat the object in view; and after an expenditure of several thousand pounds, and five years of untiring perseverance, the project was abandoned, when I went to China, in her Majesty's service, in March, 1844. Since then a local bank, formed at Bombay, established a branch in London—has now its head-quarters (*Oriental Bank*) there, with branches in India and China, and appears to be doing a large and profitable business. Acting on my suggestions, banks were established at Bombay and Madras, on the same governmental basis as that of Bengal; their notes being received as cash by government, and remittance operations prohibited. There are now about a dozen public banks in India, whose aggregate capital is only about £5,000,000: but no returns of their position are made to the E. I. House. There are numerous governmental treasuries in different parts of India. To meet current expenses, and to provide against contingencies, large cash balances are kept there. In 1852, the coin ready for emergencies was £12,000,000.§

The Hindoos have no joint-stock banks among themselves; the *shroffs*, or money-changers, issue *hoondees*, or bills of exchange, which are negotiable according to the credit of the issuer; the leading *shroffs* in the principal towns correspond not only with their brethren in all parts of India, but also in the large cities of Asia, and even at Constantinople: by this means important European intelligence was wont, before the establishment of communication by steam, to be known among the natives in the bazaar at Calcutta, long before the government received official tidings.

* This capital consisted originally, on the union of the two companies in 1708, of £3,200,000 (*see* p. 230); between 1787 and 1789, this sum was increased to £4,000,000; from 1789 to 1793, to £5,000,000; and from 1793 to 1810, to £6,000,000.

† Evid. of Sir J. C. Melvill.—(Parl. Papers; May, 1852.)

‡ An admirable memoir of this distinguished Indian statesman, and selections from his valuable papers, have been recently prepared by Mr. J. W. Kaye, who has attained a high reputation as a biographer.

§ In June, 1855, the assets of the general treasuries was—Bengal, 15,200,000 rupees; Madras, 2,000,000; Bombay, 9,200,000 = 26,400,000 rupees, of which 22,300,000 was in specie. The assets of each of the three governmental banks was, in April, 1855—B. Bengal, 27,682,636 rupees; B. Madras, 6,062,163 rupees; B. Bombay, 12,077,566 rupees. Excess of assets over liabilities of each, 10,863,264 rupees; 2,996,958 rupees; 5,340,480 rupees. Coin in these three banks, 10,660,000 rupees. Bank notes outstanding, 17,500,000 rupees. Government bills and debentures, 6,400,000 rupees.

CHAPTER VII.

COMMERCE—IMPORTS—EXPORTS—SHIPPING—VALUABLE PRODUCTS—CAPABILITY OF GREATLY INCREASED TRAFFIC.

THE commerce of India has, for many ages,* been deemed of great value; but considering the extent and resources of the country, it was not until recently carried on with England to any large extent. In 1811-'12, our dominion was firmly established in Hindoostan, and there was general peace: a contrast between that year and 1851-'2, will show its progress in forty years:—

Total Commerce.	1811-'12.	1851-'52.
	£	£
Value of merchandise imported from the United Kingdom . .	1,300,000	9,300,000
Ditto from other countries . . .	160,000	3,100,000
Total Imports	1,460,000	12,400,000
Merchandise exported to the United Kingdom	1,500,000	7,100,000
Ditto to other countries	600,000	12,700,000
Total Exports	2,100,000	19,800,000

Thus, exclusive of bullion, coin, or treasure, there has been, in merchandise alone, an increase of imports from £1,460,000 to £12,400,000, and of exports, from £2,100,000 to £19,800,000. The treasure transit, at the two periods, has been:—1811-'12—imported, £230,000; exported, £45,000: 1851-'52—imported, £5,000,000; exported, £910,000. The shipping of all nations entering at the two periods, was—1811-'12, 600,000 tons; 1851-'2, 1,700,000 tons.

In 1811, it was gravely asserted before parliament, by several witnesses, that the trade of India could not be extended; that it was not possible to augment the consumption of British manufactures; and that the people of Hindoostan had few wants, and little to furnish in exchange. The answer to this is an extension from one to nine million worth. Yet the trade of India is still only in its infancy; and but for the unjust prohibitions† to which for many years it was subjected in England, it would now probably be double its present value. Assuming the population of all India at 200,000,000, including about 60,000 Europeans, and the exports of our merchandise at £10,000,000,‡ there is a consumption of only one shilling's worth per head. Our exports to the United States of America, in 1854, amounted to £21,400,000, or, for 25,000,000 inhabitants,§ about seventeen shillings per head of the population; to Australia, for 700,000 persons, to £12,000,000, or about £17 per head during a year of diminished trade. Even the negro population in the West Indies, under one million in number, take off nearly £2 sterling per head of British produce; and the colonists of British America, £5 each yearly. The exports from the United Kingdom to India, in the year 1854, already, however, equal in amount those sent in the same year to France (£3,175,290), Spain

* Three hundred years before the Christian era the India trade was a tempting prize to Alexander, and it continued to be an object of solicitude to Europe and to Asia. In 1204, the Venetians, assisted by the soldiers of the fourth crusade, obtained possession of Constantinople, and retained the occupation for fifty-seven years, mainly by the advantages of Indian commerce: these were, in the 13th and 15th centuries, transferred to their rivals the Genoese (whose colonies extended along the Euxine and towards the Caspian), in return for assistance given to the Greeks. The Venetians then entered into a treaty with the Mohammedans, and conducted their commerce with the East *via* Egypt and the Red Sea. The discovery of a maritime route by the Cape of Good Hope, destroyed the overland trade by Egypt and Asia Minor. The construction of a ship canal through the isthmus of Darien, would give a fresh stimulus to the commerce of the East.

† For many years, great commercial injustice was done by England to British India. High, indeed prohibitory, duties were laid on its sugar, rum, coffee, &c., to favour similar products grown in the West Indies: still worse, we compelled the Hindoos to receive cotton and other manufactures from England at nearly nominal duties (two and a-half per cent.), while, at the very same time, fifty per cent. were demanded here on any attempt to introduce the cotton goods of India.—(*See* Commons Parl. Papers; No. 227, April, 1846; called for, and printed on the motion of one of the oldest and most independent members, Edward Stillingfleet Cayley, M.P. for N. R. Yorkshire.) The same principle was adopted in silk and other articles: the result was the destruction of the finer class of cotton, silk, and other manufactures, without adopting the plan of Strafford, in Ireland, during the reign of Charles I.—namely, the founding of the linen trade as a substitute for that of woollen, which was extinguished in order to appease the English hand-loom weavers. To remedy the evil of treating India as a foreign state, I appealed to the common sense of the nation, through the public press, to a select committee of parliament, by voluminous evidence, and, aided by Sir Charles Forbes and other eminent merchants, on 11th May, 1842, carried the principle of the following motion in the General Court of Proprietors of the E. I. Cy., as the sequel of a resolution laid before the Court on the previous 22nd December, "praying that parliament, in the exercise of justice and sound policy, will authorise the admission of the produce and manufactures of British India into the ports of the United Kingdom, on reciprocal terms with the produce and manufactures of the United Kingdom when imported into British India—that East India vessels be entitled to the privileges of British shipping, and that the produce of subsidiary states, whose maritime frontiers we have occupied, be treated as that of British India."—(See *Asiatic Journal* for January, 1842.) "That in the opinion of this Court, the territories under the government of the E. I. Cy. ought to be treated as integral portions of the British empire; and that as a revision of the English tariff is now taking place, this Court, in fulfilment of its duty to their fellow-subjects in British India, do again petition both houses of parliament, praying for a complete reciprocity of trade between India and England, which, if fully and fairly established, will confer mutual and extensive benefits on both countries, and materially contribute to the security and permanence of the British power and influence in the eastern hemisphere."—(*See* debate thereon in *Asiatic Journal*, May, 1842.) The late Sir R. Peel admitted the injustice, and adopted measures for its redress, which merged into the low import system, by a misnomer designated *free trade*, which does not exist with any country.

‡ In 1854, £10,025,969.

§ Census of 1850, 23,351,207, including 3,178,000 slaves.

(£1,270,064), Portugal (£1,370,603), Sardinia (£1,054.513), Lombardy (£635,931), Naples (£563,033), Tuscany (£505,852), Papal States (£149,865), Denmark (£759,718), Sweden and Norway (£736,808.)

The export of British manufactures and produce to India ought to amount to at least twenty shillings per head, which would be equal to £200,000,000 sterling, or twice the value of our present exports to every part of the world.* Let not this be deemed an extravagant assertion: the capacity of Hindoostan to receive our goods is only limited by that which it can furnish in return; and, happily, the country yields, in almost inexhaustible profusion, wherever capital has been applied, all the great staples which England requires, such as wheat, rice, sugar, coffee, tea, cotton, silk, wool, indigo, flax and hemp, teak, and timber of every variety,† tallow,

* Export of British and Irish produce and manufactures to every part of the world, in 1854—£97,298,900.

† India could supply cotton for all Europe. For some years experiments have been made, and considerable expense incurred, by sending out seed from America, and American agents to superintend the culture and cleaning: no corresponding result has ensued; the main elements of skill, energy, and capital are still wanting. Western and Central India, especially the provinces of Guzerat and Berar, afford the best soils and climate for the plant; but roads, railways, and river navigation are needed; and it is a delusion to think that India can rival the United States until they are supplied. With every effort that government and individuals have made since 1788, when the distribution of cotton-seed commenced, the import of cotton wool from India was, in 1851, no more than 120,000,000 lbs.—not one-seventh of the United States' supply. Improvement of the navigation of the Godavery and other rivers, will probably cause an extension of production. *Silk* has long formed an article of Indian commerce: it was probably introduced from China, but was not largely produced until the middle of the 18th century, when the E. I. Cy. sent (in 1757) a Mr. Wilder to Bengal,—urged the planting of the mulberry; and granted, in 1765, reductions of the rents of lands where attention was paid to the culture of the tree, and in 1770—'75, introduced the mode of winding practised in Italy and other places. When Napoleon, in 1808, stopped the exportation of silk from Italy to England, the Court made successful exertions to furnish large supplies of filature wound in Bengal, and to augment the supply of silk goods, which is an increasing trade. An unlimited quantity of the raw and manufactured material can be produced in India. *Wool* of every variety, from fine down adapted to the most beautiful fabrics, to the coarse, wiry, and long shaggy hair which makes excellent carpets, is procurable, and now exported to the extent of several million lbs. annually. The plateau and mountain slopes of India sustain vast herds of sheep in a favourable climate, with abundant pasture. It is a trade susceptible of great development. *Indigo* is a natural product of many parts of India. Until the close of last century, Europe derived its chief supplies from South America and the West Indies. About 1779, the Court of Directors made efforts to increase the production by contracting for its manufacture. In 1786, out of several parcels consigned to London, one only yielded a profit: the aggregate loss of the company was considerable. Improvements took place in the preparation of the dye: and, in 1792, the produce of Bengal was found superior to that of other countries; in 1795, the consignments amounted to 3,000,000 lbs. Several civil servants of government established indigo factories; private Europeans came into the trade; capital was advanced by the merchant bankers of Calcutta, who sometimes lost heavily, and sometimes acquired immense gains. Happily, low duties were levied in England, and the cultivation and manufacture largely augmented, and now it is spread over about 1,200,000 acres of land in Bengal and Bahar, employing 50,000 families, and requiring an annual outlay of more than a million and a-half sterling. Sinde is now becoming a competitor with Bengal, and is said to have the advantage of immunity from heavy rains, which wash the colour from the leaves when ready to be cut. *Sugar* is an indigenous product of India; it was carried from thence into Sicily, the south of Europe, the Canaries, and subsequently to America; the cane is grown in every part of India, and its juice used by all classes. For many years the export to England was discouraged by the imposition of high duties to favour the West India interest; and in 1840, I was under examination for several days before a select committee of the House of Commons, adducing evidence of the necessity of admitting East India on the same terms as West India sugar into the United Kingdom. The quantity exported has increased of late years, but again fallen off. In the year ending June 30th, 1855, the sugar imported from the East Indies amounted to 739,144 cwt.; Mauritius, 1,237,678 cwt.; West Indies, 3,139,209; foreign produce, 3,117,665 = 8,233,696 cwt. Duty received, £5,330,967. Average price of Muscovado, for the year, per cwt.—East Indies, 23*s.* 4*d.*; Havannah, 22*s.* 9*d.*; British West Indies, 20*s.* 11*d.*; Mauritius, 20*s.* 2*d.* Thus it will be perceived, that the imports from all India are little more than one-half of the small island of Mauritius, and that the price is higher (despite labour wages at 1½*d.* a-day) than in any other country. The consumption of sugar in the United Kingdom, in the year ending 30th June, 1855, was—8,145,180 cwt.=912,260,160 lbs., which, for 27,000,000 people, shows 34 lbs. per head annually, or about 10 oz. a-week for each individual. In the *Taxation of the British Empire*, published in 1832, when the consumption was only about 5 oz. a-head weekly, I endeavoured to demonstrate that by reducing the duty, and extending the market of supply, the consumption would be doubled; which has taken place: now, by affording encouragement to sugar cultivation in India, the consumption in the United Kingdom would probably increase to at least 1 lb. a-week per head. The *tea* shrub has been found growing wild in Assam, and contiguous to several of the lower slopes of the Himalayas: it delights in sheltered valleys, the declivities of hills, or river banks with a southern exposure, as in Gurhwal, Kumaon, and at Katmandoo (Nepaul), where a plant ten feet high has been seen. In 1788, it was announced officially that this remarkable herb was indigenous to India; but no attempts were made to encourage the cultivation, lest the China trade should be disturbed. In 1835, Lord Wm. Bentinck brought the subject under the notice of the E. I. Cy. and of the public; a committee of investigation was appointed, who decided in favour of an experimental culture. In 1839, an Assam tea company was incorporated in London, with a capital of £500,000; the directors went to work energetically, and have spent £200,000, a large part of which, however, was wasted. Experience has been dearly bought; but under the able supervision of Mr. Walter Prideaux, a large crop is at present secured, and annually increasing. The tea crop for three years, in Assam, amounted to—in 1852, 271,427 lbs.; in 1853, 366,687 lbs.; in 1854, 478,258 lbs. The yield of 1855 is expected to realise £50,000, and the expenditure half that sum. The Assam tea is of excellent quality, so also is that of Kumaon. By perseverance and judgment, we may hope to be less dependent on China for this now indispensable and cheering beverage. *Coffee*, a native of Yemen (Arabia), has long been naturalised in India: it is grown, of excellent quality, in Malabar, Tellicherry, Mysoor, and other contiguous places. *Tobacco* was introduced in 1605, during the reign of Akber,—is now cultivated in every part, and in general use; but as a commercial article, is inferior to the American weed. Care only is required to produce the finest qualities. This is the case at Chunar on the Ganges, Bhilsa near Nagpoor

hides and horns, vegetable oils, tobacco, peppers, cardamoms, ginger, cassia, and other spices, linseed, saltpetre, gum and shell-lac, rum, arrack, caoutchouc and gutta-percha, canes or rattans, ivory, wax, various dyes and drugs, &c.

These constitute the great items of commerce; and the demand for them in Europe is immense—in fact, not calculable: 200,000,000 Europeans could consume twenty times the amount of the above-mentioned products that are now supplied; 200,000,000 Hindoos would consume, in exchange, an equal proportion of the clothing, manufactures, and luxuries from the western hemisphere. The tariff of India offers no impediment to the development of such barter: internal peace prevails, there are no transit duties, land and labour abounds; but capital and skill are wanting. How these are to be supplied,—how Britain is to be rendered independent of Russia or of the United States for commercial staples,—how such great advantages are to be secured,—how India is to be restored to a splendour and prosperity greater than ever before experienced,—I am not called on to detail. Let it suffice for me to indicate the good to be sought, and desire earnestly its successful attainment.

Woodanum in the Northern Circars, in the low islands at the mouth of the Kistna (from which the famed Masulipatam snuff is made), in the delta of the Godavery, in Guzerat, near Chinsurah, Bengal, at Sandoway in Arracan, and at other places. The Court of Directors procured from America the best seed from Maryland and Virginia, which has thriven well. Tobacco requires a fertile and well-manured soil. The best fields at Sandoway, Arracan, show on analysis—iron (peroxyde), 15·65; saline matter, 1·10; vegetable fibre, 3·75; silex, 76·90; alumina, 2; water and loss, 60 = 100. *Flax and Hemp* are furnished by India in larger varieties than from any other country in the world. The *sun*, properly cured and dressed, is equal to Russian hemp; other varieties are superior, as they bear a strain of 200 to 400 lbs.; while that of St. Petersburg breaks at 160 to 200 lbs.; the *kote-kangra* of the Punjab is equal to 400 lbs.; *jute* is also excellent; the *khiar*, made from cocoa-nut husk fibres, is used principally for maritime purposes, as the specific gravity is lighter than sea-water, in which it does not decay like hemp. Any amount of plants adapted for cordage, coarse cloths, and the manufacture of paper (for which latter there is a greatly increasing demand throughout the civilised world), are procurable in India. *Linseed* was only recently known to abound in India, and is now shipped annually to the extent of many thousand tons. The greater part of the oil-cake used for fattening cattle in Britain is derived from the fields of Hindoostan. *Salt* is supplied in Bengal by evaporating the water of the Ganges, near its mouth, and by boiling the sea-water at different parts of the Bay of Bengal; at Bombay and Madras, solar evaporation is used. This indispensable condiment is found pure in different parts of the interior; the Sambhur Lake, in Rajpootana, supplies it in crystals of a clear and fine flavour, when the water dries up during the hot season. The Punjab contributes a quantity of rock-salt, from a range of hills which crosses due west the Sinde-Saugor Dooab; it is found cropping out in all directions, or else in strata commencing near the surface, and extending downwards in deep and apparently inexhaustible fecundity. The mineral, which requires no preparatory process but pounding, can be excavated and brought to the mouth of the mine for two annas (threepence) the maund (80 lbs.); it is of excellent flavour and purity,—of transparent brilliancy and solid consistency; when, as is sometimes the case, veins of iron lie adjacent to the saline strata, it assumes a reddish hue. In this latter respect the salt of the cis-Indus portion of the range differs from that obtained in the trans-Indus section. Common bay-salt is made in many adjacent localities, and in all parts of the country the ground is occasionally impregnated with a saline efflorescence resembling saltpetre. In the Alpine principality of Mundee an impure salt is produced, but it is strongly mixed with earthy ingredients. In Sinde, a coarse kind of salt is everywhere procurable in large quantities; some ship-loads have been sent to Bengal, and sold well. *Saltpetre* (nitre) is derived from the soil of Bengal, Oude, and other places; the average quantity annually exported is about 20,000 tons. Sulphate of soda (glauber-salts), is found near Cawnpoor; carbonate of soda, at Sultanpoor, Ghazeepoor, and Tirhoot; and other salines are procurable, in various places, to any required extent. *Rice*,—widely grown in Bengal, Bahar, Arracan, Assam, Sinde, and other low districts, and also at elevations of 3,000 to 5,000 feet along the Himalayas and other places, without irrigation, where the dampness of the summer months compensates for artificial moisture. Bengal and Patna rice are now, by care and skill, equal to that of Carolina, though the grain is not so large; that from Arracan and Moulmein is coming extensively into use. Pegu will also probably furnish considerable supplies. *Wheat*, from time immemorial, has been a staple crop on the plains of Northern India, in the Punjab, Nepaul, and other places. The soil is well fitted for this cereal, but owing to defective cultivation, the crops are not good: it is, however, the main food of many millions in Hindoostan; and yet, a few years since, when I placed a small sack of excellent Indian wheat on the table of the Court of Proprietors of the E. I. House, while urging its admission into England at a low rate of duty, it was viewed with astonishment, it being generally supposed that rice was the only grain in the East. *Oils*,—that expressed from the cocoanut is the most valuable, especially since it has been converted into candles. This graceful palm thrives best on the sea-coast, the more so if its roots reach the saline mud, when it bears abundantly at the fourth year, and continues to do so for nearly 100 years, when it attains a height of about 80 feet. The planting of the cocoa-nut is considered a meritorious duty. *Castor-oil* is extensively prepared for burning in lamps, as well as for medicinal purposes. *Rose oil* (*attar of roses*) is produced chiefly at Ghazeepoor on the Ganges, where hundreds of acres are occupied with this fragrant shrub, whose scent, when in blossom, is wafted along the river a distance of seven miles. Forty pounds of rose-leaves in 60 lbs. of water, distilled over a slow fire, gives 30 lbs. of rose-water, which, when exposed to the cold night air, is found in the morning to have a thin oleaginous film on the surface. About 20,000 roses = 80 lbs. weight, yields, at the utmost, an ounce and a-half of attar, which costs at Ghazeepoor 40 rupees (£4.) Purity tested by the quick evaporation of a drop on a piece of paper, which should not be stained by the oil. *Opium*,—this pernicious drug is extensively prepared in Bahar (Patna) and Malwa. The cultivation of the poppy (from whose capsule the poisonous narcotic is obtained) began to attract attention in 1786; the trade was fostered as a means of obtaining a public revenue, there being a great demand in China, where its use has rapidly increased within the last forty years, and hastened the decay of the Tartar government of that vast country. The Patna drug is procured by the Anglo-Indian government making advances of money to the cultivators, and stipulating for a certain amount at a fixed price; that of Malwa yields a revenue by transit-permits on its passage to Bombay. The revenue to the state, from both these sources, is upwards of five million sterling. Among the timber woods may be mentioned—teak, sandal-wood, mango, banian, dhak, babool, different kinds of oak, pine, holly, maple, plane, ash, horse-chesnut, juniper, deodar or Himalayan cedar, fir, sâl, sissoo, peon, michelia, syzygium, arbutus, bay, acacia-beech, chesnut, alnus, sappan-wood, cassia, toon, cedar, laurel (four to six feet in diameter), mulberry, willow, tulip-tree, indigo-tree, bamboo, and a variety of other timber adapted for ship and house-building. In the Madras Presidency alone there are upwards of a hundred different kinds of timber, and about 500 specimens have been collected from Nepaul and the Ultra-Gangetic country

Value of the Imports and Exports between the several Presidencies of British India and the United Kingdom and other Countries, in each Year, since 1834.

Years.	Merchandise.						Treasure.				Merchandise and Treasure.			
	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total. United Kingdom.	Total. Other Countries.	Total Merchandise	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Grand Total.
Imports.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.
1834-'35	1,99,91,307	50,32,900	1,75,86,858	2,68,22,216	1,57,88,849	4,26,11,065	64.62,248	15,31,150	1,09,36,835	1,89,30,233	2,64,53,555	65,64,050	2,85,23,693	6,15,41,298
1835-'36	2,17,03,613	47,23,285	2,13,91,580	3,13,54,106	1,64,64,372	4,78,18,478	68,71,687	11,27,602	1,34,65,362	2,14,64,651	2,85,75,300	58,50,887	3,48,56,942	6,92,83,129
1836-'37	2,78,28,965	59,70,276	2,15,70,660	3,83,05,042	1,70,64,860	5,53,69,902	61,25,274	7,59,580	1,34,76,818	2,03,61,672	3,39,54,239	67,29,856	3,50,47,479	7,57,31,574
1837-'38	2,46,39,050	60,39,238	1,96,46,423	3,21,06,633	1,82,18,078	5,03,24,711	1,04,88,830	12,85,429	1,46,26,754	2,64,01,013	3,51,27,880	73,24.667	3,42,73,177	7,67,25,724
1838-'39	2,63,21,522	64,74,021	1,96,11,224	3,50,59,300	1,73,47,467	5,24,06,767	1,21,90,314	13,11 340	1,66.07,541	3,01,09,195	3,85,11,836	77,85,361	3,62,18,765	8,25,15,962
1839-'40	3,34,15,915	68,33,079	1,80,63,374	4,28,94,892	1,54,17,476	5,83,12,368	1,22,67,867	11,24,062	60,60,713	1,94,52,642	4,56,83,782	79,57,141	2,41,24,087	7,77,65,010
1840-'41	4,59,07,555	76,89,328	3,05,62,522	6,01,43,398	2,40,16,007	8,41,59,405	91,88.079	6.81,465	79,92,989	1,78,62,533	5,50,95,634	83,70,793	3,85,55,511	10,20,21.938
1841-'42	4,26,29,101	67.83,268	2,84,73,284	5,43,95,648	2,34,90,005	7,78,85,653	98,96,176	6.75,609	78,41,568	1,84,13,353	5,25,25,277	74,58,877	3,63,14,852	9,62,99,006
1842-'43	3,91,51,858	58,11,805	3,10,72,366	5,35,49,012	2,24,87,017	7,60,36,029	1,64,87,117	7,94,130	1,71,51,669	3,44,32,916	5,56,38,975	66,05,935	4,82,24,035	11,04,68,945
1843-'44	4,47,44,726	65,22,637	3,69,10,611	6,34,73,490	2,47,04,484	8,81,77,974	1,75,23,763	11,52,409	2,92,70,609	4,79,46,781	6,22,68,489	76,75,046	6,61,81,220	13,61,24,755
1844-'45	5,93,39,902	1,04,68,940	3,77,31,817	7,95,21,795	2,80,18,864	10,75,40,659	1,58,13,651	18,85,612	1,98,25,455	3,75,24,718	7,51,53,553	1,23,54,552	5,75,57,272	14,50,65,377
1845-'46	5,23,26,174	84,99,134	3,00,49,486	6 47,71,431	2,61,03,363	9,08,74,794	99,10,058	17,22,976	1,33,26,552	2,49,59,586	6,22,36,232	1,02,22,110	4,33,76,038	11,58,34,380
1846-'47	5,31,34,429	88,18,041	2,70,14,175	6,42,04,045	2,47,62,600	8,89,66,645	1,33,62,287	14,71,994	1,45,64.943	2,93,99,224	6,64,96,716	1,02,90,035	4,15,79,118	11,83,65,869
1847-'48	4,67,13,614	97,66,641	2,94,95.915	5,79.02,284	2,80,73,886	8,59,76,170	74,72,234	13,21,533	1,09,40,147	1,97,33,914	5,41,85,848	1,10,88,174	4,04,36,062	10,57,10,084
1848-'49	4,35,60,144	94,80,720	3,04,07,178	5,51,21,104	2,83,26,938	8,34,48,042	1,41,46.091	11,71,992	2,67,26,950	4.20,40,033	5,77,06,235	1,06,52,712	5,71,34,128	12,54,93,075
1849-'50	5,28,31,701	90,60,046	4,11,07,139	7,57,89,807	2,72,09,079	10,29,98,886	1,21,48,653	12.14,371	2,06,05,050	3,39,68,074	6,49,80,354	1,02,74.417	6,17,12,189	13,69,66,960
1850-'51	6,11,52,014	89,78,231	4,54,57,643	8,32.79,929	3,23,07,959	11,55,87,888	1,18,94,842	26,01,100	2,36,22,146	3,81,18,088	7,30,46,856	1,15,79,331	6,90,79,789	15,37,05,976
1851-'52	7,08,74,068	90,64,358	4,24,66,476	9,22,67,295	3,01,37,607	12,24,04,902	2,30,64,704	29,73,984	2,44,81,902	5,05,20,590	9,39,38,772	1,20,38,342	6,69,18,378	17,29,25,492
1852-'53	4,99,36,748	84,05,311	4,23,66,557	7,23,50,781	2 73,87,835	10,07,08,616	3,39,39,870	57,68,546	2,86,05,360	6,53,13,776	8,38,76,618	1,41,73,857	7,09,71,917	16,90,22,392
1853-'54	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Exports.														
1834-'35	4,09,20,436	88,61,079	3,01,52.688	3,05,69,730	4,93,64,473	7,99,34,203	6,65,549	10.63,776	2,18,082	19,47,407	4,15,85,985	99,24,855	3,03,70,770	8,18,81,610
1835-'36	5,53,72,967	1,12,14,395	4,44,77,593	3,97,53,038	7,13,11,917	11,10,64,955	5,65,994	3,15.289	1,99,810	10,81,093	5,59,38,961	1,15,29,684	4,46,77,403	11,21,46,048
1836-'37	6,68,82,110	1,27,88,009	5,27,31,713	4,91,54,702	8,32,47,130	13,24.01,832	16.13,164	7,26,158	3 00,018	26,39,340	6,84,95,274	1,35,14,167	5,30,31,731	13,50,41,172
1837-'38	6,76,53,760	96,62,085	3,51,11,956	4,35,38,221	6,88,89,580	11,24,27,801	14,04,337	10,64.318	9,37,908	34,06,563	6,90,58.097	1,07,26,403	3,60,49,864	11,58,34,364
1838-'39	6,79,16,215	1,02,04,828	3,96.26,650	4,51,31,593	7,26,16,100	11,77,47,693	16,27,600	9.12,371	9,39,087	34,79,058	6,95.43,815	1,11,17,199	4,05,65,737	12,12,26,751
1839-'40	6,80,09,258	1,22,84,678	2,83,33,520	5,96,99,519	4,89.27,937	10,86,27,456	20,00,174	12,74,464	14,30,593	47,05,231	7,00,09,432	1,35,59,142	2,97,64,113	11,33,32,687
1840-'41	8,06,05,651	1,04,41,658	4,35,08,533	7,05,43,881	6,40,11,961	13,45,55,842	14,62,061	8,93,005	13,09,793	36,64,859	8,20,67,712	1,13,34,663	4,48,18,326	13,82,20,701
1841-'42	8,06,63,841	1,24,25,824	4,51,62,511	7,12,07,484	6,70,44,692	13,18,52,176	15,91,555	18,04,817	17,54,385	51,50,757	8,22.55,396	1,42,30,641	4,69,16,896	14,34,02,933
1842-'43	7,36,34,357	1,30,19,916	4,88,63,973	5,82,09,658	7,73,08,588	13,55,18,246	7,29,341	2,53,172	11,75,453	21,57,966	7,43,63,698	1,32,73,088	5,00,39,426	13,76,76,212
1843-'44	9,89,11,098	1,20,86,551	6,15,37,123	7,76,01,283	9,49,33,489	17,25,34,772	18,57,947	2,16,000	53,86,816	74,60,763	10,07,69,045	1,23.02,551	6,69,23,939	17,99,95,535
1844-'45	9,82,21,971	1,64,14,627	5,12,65,526	7,24,06,197	9,34.95,927	16,59,02,124	39,65,434	6,50,533	64,52,435	1,10,68,402	10,21,87,405	1,70,65,160	5,77,17,961	17,69,70,526
1845-'46	9,81,56,759	1,41,12,172	5,80,17,805	6,65,89,433	10,36,97,303	17,02,86,736	28,70.792	6,57,644	46,31,848	81,60,284	10,10,27,551	1,47,69,816	6,26,49,653	17,84,47,020
1846-'47	9,23,43,934	1,51,61,468	4,60,48,973	6,51,16,865	8,84,37,510	15,35,54,375	28,54,043	6,81,699	36,02,954	71,38,696	9,51,97,977	1,58,43,167	4,96,51,927	16,06,93,071
1847-'48	7,96,18,571	1,27,72,963	4,07,32,436	5,68,38,267	7,62,85.703	13,31,23,970	90,50,711	21,42,626	30,67,043	1,42,60,380	8,86,69,282	1,49,15,589	4,37,99,479	14,73,84,350
1848-'49	9,03,88,639	1,21,24,629	5,83,71,750	6,19,19,593	9,89,65,425	16,08,85,018	78,08,785	73,38,483	1,02,50,157	2,53,97,425	9,81,97,424	1,94,63,112	6,86,21,907	18,62,82,443
1849-'50	10,14,80,387	1,27,28,842	5,89,13,764	7,02,64,706	10,28,58,287	17,31,22.993	35,42,058	7,26,378	54,44,005	97,12,441	10,50,22,445	1,34,55,220	6,43,57,769	18,28,35,434
1850-'51	9,99,75,278	1,56,69,765	6,59,96,453	8,10,40,164	10,06,01,332	18,16,41,496	27,63,295	10,41,407	16,08,189	54,12,891	10,27,38,573	1,67,11,172	6,76,04,642	18,70,54,387
1851-'52	10,42,39,706	1,65,88,082	7,79,64,749	7,13,88,884	12,74,05,175	19,87,92,537	25,05,884	21,57,681	45,27,324	91,90,889	10,67,45,590	1,87,45,763	8,24,92,073	20,79,83,426
1852-'53	10,73,85,547	2,12,16 139	7,60,44,644	4,37,78,348	16,08,67,982	20,46,46,330	47,63,750	3,63,823	54,24,726	1,05,52,299	11,21,49,297	2,15,79,962	8,14,69,370	21,51,98,629
1853-'54	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Note—The Indian port-to-port trade is not included in the above statement

Number and Tonnage of all Vessels entered and cleared at the Ports in each Presidency—1840 *to* 1852 :—

Years.	Entered.		Cleared.		Total.		Years.	Entered.		Cleared.		Total.	
	Ves.	Tons.	Ves.	Tons	Ves.	Tons.		Ves.	Tons.	Ves.	Tons.	Ves.	Tons.
BENGAL							BOMBAY						
1840	686	234,808	689	233,300	1,375	468,108	1840	19,322	444,435	19,173	469,301	38,495	913,736
1841	913	295,596	882	279,688	1,795	575,284	1841	19,864	578,716	15,051	462,226	34,915	1,040,942
1842	655	231,672	725	263,436	1,380	495,108	1842	19,237	611,271	16,980	477,539	36,217	1,088,810
1843	772	254,519	813	271,754	1,585	526,273	1843	20,529	527,626	19,201	589,836	39,730	1,117,462
1844	729	252,491	773	267,058	1,502	519,549	1844	19,227	524,850	20,485	574,206	39,712	1,099,056
1845	1,045	282,674	1,052	292,315	2,097	574,989	1845	17,274	494,469	19,856	689,969	37,130	1,184,438
1846	996	274,634	1,024	289,587	2,020	564,221	1846	18,143	530,011	14,610	430,929	32,753	960,940
1847	1,117	332,688	1,108	326,972	2,225	659,660	1847	18,199	559,276	19,201	592,777	37,400	1,152,053
1848	862	308,347	845	301,157	1,707	609,504	1848	24,441	685,165	21,487	652,265	45,928	1,337,430
1849	1,020	349,614	1,046	362,290	2,066	711,904	1849	29,714	804,193	28,981	779,241	58,695	1,583,434
1850	1,033	356,502	1,029	357,799	2,062	714,301	1850	32,126	804,956	33,130	829,873	65,256	1,634,829
1851	998	393,322	980	373,330	1,978	766,652	1851	36,706	867,514	37,694	893,005	74,400	1,760,519
1852	839	433,739	811	414,795	1,650	848,534	1852	42,241	907,447	42,218	908,328	84,459	1,815,775
MADRAS							TOTALS						
1840	5,879	371,644	6,727	427,872	12,606	799,516	1840	25,887	1,050,887	26,589	1,130,473	52,476	2,181,360
1841	6,271	368,924	6,781	432,474	13,052	801,398	1841	27,048	1,243,236	22,714	1,174,388	49,762	2,417,624
1842	6,016	400,728	6,476	441,808	12,492	842,536	1842	25,908	1,243,671	24,181	1,182,783	50,089	2,426,454
1843	5,580	375,375	6,790	479,046	12,370	854,421	1843	26,881	1,157,520	26,804	1,340,636	53,685	2,498,156
1844	6,181	430,295	7,292	490,588	13,473	920,883	1844	26,137	1,207,636	28,550	1,331,852	54,687	2,539,488
1845	6,495	456,854	7,818	533,564	14,313	990,418	1845	24,814	1,233,997	28,726	1,515,848	53,540	2,749,845
1846	6,168	475,038	7,405	534,935	13,573	1,009,973	1846	25,307	1,279,683	23,039	1,255,451	48,346	2,535,134
1847	5,868	448,712	6,531	486,316	12,399	935,028	1847	25,184	1,340,676	26,840	1,406,065	52,024	2,746,741
1848	5,711	441,891	7,108	528,781	12,819	970,672	1848	31,014	1,435,403	29,440	1,482,203	60,454	2,917,606
1849	5,876	439,807	7,693	549,573	13,569	989,380	1849	36,610	1,593,614	37,720	1,691,104	74,330	3,284,718
1850	5,813	488,800	7,780	620,465	13,593	1,109,265	1850	38,972	1,650,258	41,939	1,808,137	80,911	3,458,395
1851	5,136	435,153	6,687	557,409	11,823	992,612	1851	42,840	1,695,989	45,361	1,823,794	88,201	3,519,783
1852	5,787	490,276	7,184	620,948	12,971	1,111,224	1852	48,867	1,831,462	50,213	1,944,071	99,080	3,775,533

Shipping entering these Ports between 1802 *and* 1835.

Years.	Calcutta.		Madras.		Bombay.		Total.	
	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.
1802-'3	520	150,154	1,476	149,571	105	49,022	2,101	348,748
1803-'4	594	171,229	1,851	198,218	143	62,635	2,588	432,082
1811-'12	601	151,224	5,826	267,888	79	32,161	6,506	451,273
1812-'13	527	148,866	6,691	410,894	139	54,953	7,357	614,653
1823-'24	498	139,773	8,094	485,297	122	52,720	8,714	677,790
1824-'25	539	157,039	5,642	305,422	129	54,239	6,310	516,700
1830-'31	475	134,805	5,157	262,127	149	60,379	5,781	457,311
1831-'32	492	110,767	4,885	255,296	145	56,051	5,459	422,114
1832-'33	478	121,544	4,826	256,344	165	71,929	5,469	449,827
1833-'34	830	183,471	5,031	318,417	170	69,803	6,031	571,691
1834-'35	648	164,485	5,012	306,727	181	73,175	5,841	544,387
1835-'36	522	151,019	5,379	311,694	204	75,830	6,105	538,543

Number and Tonnage of Vessels of each Nation entered and cleared at Ports in British India, since 1850-'51.

Nationality of Vessels.	Entered.						Cleared.					
	1850-'51.		1851-'52.		1852-'53.		1850-'51.		1851-'52.		1852-'53.	
UNDER—	Ves.	Tons.	Ves.	Tons.	Ves.	Tons.	Ves.	Tons.	Ves.	Tons.	Ves.	Tons.
British Colours .	1,861	682,762	1,778	683,179	1,789	722,035	2,339	754,254	2,202	726,807	2,277	820,707
American . . .	67	33,299	74	34,888	89	57,207	66	33,860	79	33,782	37	24,358
Arabian	296	36,623	230	32,461	252	37,476	430	45,621	259	43,841	284	36,491
Austrian . . .	—	—	1	522	1	425	—	—	1	566	—	—
Belgian	—	—	—	—	3	1,380	—	—	—	—	3	1,380
Bhownugger . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	176	—	—
Bombay	—	—	121	6,691	154	7,632	—	—	219	12,027	240	12,208
Bremen	—	—	6	2,845	4	1,165	—	—	1	573	1	600
Burmese . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	220
Danish	4	1,328	2	1,070	6	2,274	4	1,171	2	1,338	4	2,071
Dutch	6	2,284	3	1,790	6	3,232	7	2,469	2	1,474	4	1,969
French	139	42,682	146	44,210	263	65,647	148	47,548	176	57,031	295	66,606
Hamburg . . .	5	1,668	9	4,179	3	875	3	886	4	1,489	6	2,681
Norwegian . . .	—	—	—	—	1	350	—	—	—	—	—	—
Portuguese . . .	130	2,039	234	4,179	179	3,692	180	3,171	238	3,772	168	3,463
Russian	—	—	3	1,682	4	1,348	1	475	1	356	—	—
Sardinian . . .	—	—	—	—	1	504	—	—	—	—	1	504
Spanish	1	405	—	—	—	—	1	800	—	—	—	—
Swedish	6	1,358	6	2,456	10	3,339	6	2,012	3	1,023	8	4,045
Turkish	—	—	—	—	1	650	—	—	—	—	—	—
Native	36,424	822,692	40,181	842,610	46,019	859,566	38,716	893,076	42,122	905,824	46,821	919,722
Steamers	33	23,118	46	33,224	82	62,665	38	22,794	51	33,665	63	47,046
Total . . .	38,972	1,650,258	42,840	1,695,989	48,867	1,831,462	41,939	1,808,137	45,361	1,823,744	50,213	1,944,071

Anglo-Indian Army.—Total Number of Europeans and Natives employed in all India, from the Year 1800.

Years.	Europeans.	Natives.	Total.	Years	Europeans.	Natives.	Total.	Years.	Europeans.	Natives.	Total.
1800	22,832	115,300	138,132	1817	31,056	195,134	226,190	1834	32,310	155,556	187,866
1801	23,012	132,864	155,876	1818	32,161	211,079	243,240	1835	30,822	152,938	183,760
1802	24,341	122,506	146,847	1819	29,494	215,878	245,372	1836	32,733	153,306	186,039
1803	24,930	115,211	110,141	1820	28,645	228,650	257,295	1837	32,502	154,029	186,531
1804	23,042	155,671	178,713	1821	28,914	228,068	256,982	1838	31,526	153,780	185,306
1805	24,891	167,674	192,565	1822	29,065	216,175	245,240	1839	31,132	176,008	207,140
1806	26,445	156,421	182,866	1823	30,933	206,799	237,732	1840	35,604	199,839	235,443
1807	26,460	153,623	180,083	1824	30,585	212,842	243,427	1841	38,406	212,616	251,022
1808	29,798	151,120	180,918	1825	30,423	246,125	276,548	1842	42,113	212,624	254,737
1809	31,387	154,117	185,504	1826	30,872	260,273	291,145	1843	46,726	220,947	267,673
1810	31,952	157,262	189,214	1827	32,673	240,942	273,615	1844	46,240	216,580	262,820
1811	34,479	166,665	201,144	1828	34,557	224,471	259,028	1845	46,111	240,310	286,121
1812	33,835	165,622	199,457	1829	35,786	207,662	243,448	1846	44,014	240,733	284,747
1813	34,171	165,900	200,071	1830	36,409	187,067	223,476	1847	44,323	247,473	291,796
1814	31,651	162,787	194,438	1831	35,011	161,987	196,998	1848	44,270	220,891	265,161
1815	31,611	195,572	227,183	1832	34,767	158,201	192,968	1849	47,893	229,130	277,022
1816	32,399	198,484	230,883	1833	33,785	156,331	190,116	1850	49,280	228,448	277,728
								1851	49,408	240,121	289,529

East India Banks.[a]

Name	Date of Establishment.	Capital.		Notes in Circulation.	Specie in Coffers.	Bills under Discount.
		Subscribed.	Paid up.			
Bank of Bengal	1809	£1,070,000	£1,070,000	1,714,771	851,964	125,251
" of Madras[b]	1843	300,000	300,000	123,719	139,960	59,871
" of Bombay[c]	1810	522,500	522,500	571,089	240,073	195,836
Oriental Bank[d]	1851[e]	1,215,000	1,215,000[f]	199,279[g]	1,146,529	2,918,399
Agra and U. S. Bank[h]—head office, Calcutta	1833	700,000	700,000	—	74,362	—
N. W. Bank[i]—head office, Calcutta	1844	220,560	220,000	—	—	—
London and Eastern Bank	1854	250,000	—	325,000	—	—
Commercial Bank[k]—head office, Bombay	1845	1,000,000	456,000	—	—	—
Delhi Bank[l]—head office, Delhi	1844	—	180,000	—	—	—
Simla Bank	1844	—	63,850	—	—	—
Dacca Bank	1846	30,000	—	—	—	—
Mercantile Bank[m]—head office, Bombay	—	500,000	328,826	777,156[n]	77,239	109,547
Bank of Asia	1853'-4	not comme	nced business	yet.		
India, China, & Australian Bank	--					

[a] The accounts of most of these banks are vague and unsatisfactory, there is a mystification which renders it difficult to ascertain their solvency. [b] Last dividend, 8 per cent [c] Last dividend, 9 per cent.
[d] Last dividend, 10 per cent. [e] Corporation date of charter, 30th of August, 1851. [f] At 27th Sept., 1855.
[g] Bills of exchange and promissory notes not bearing interest [h] A lending bank; and from its accounts in June, 1855, I can derive no definite view of its assets and liabilities *Branches*—Agra, Madras, Lahore, Canton, and London.
[i] *Branches*—Bombay, Simla, Mussouri, Agra, and they draw on Delhi and Cawnpoor.
[k] Agents in London, Calcutta, Canton, and Shanghae. [l] Agents in London, Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras.
[m] *Branches.*—London, Calcutta, Colombo, Kandy, Canton, and Shanghae. Last dividend, 8 per cent.
[n] Drafts and bills in circulation.

COMMERCIAL TARIFF OF INDIA.—The chief provisions of the tariff of 1855 may be thus stated.—*British imports*—Cotton and silk piece goods and manufactures, woollens, marine stores, metals, porter, beer, ale, cider, and similar fermented liquors, and all manufactured articles not named, 5; *foreign imports* of above, 10—per cent. Cotton thread, twist, and yarn, British, 3½; foreign, 7—per cent. Bullion and coin, grain, coal, ice, horses and other animals, free. Books, British, free, foreign, 3 per cent. Coffee, 7½ per cent. Alum, camphor, cassia, cloves, coral, nutmeg and mace, pepper, vermillion, and tea, 10 per cent. Spirits (London proof), 1 rupee 8 annas per imperial gallon; wine and liqueur, 1 rupee per imperial gallon. There are a few export duties: viz., indigo, 3 rupees per maund (about 82 lbs.); lac, 4 per cent.; silk wound, 3 annas, silk, raw filature, 3½ rupees per seer; sugar and rum to foreign ports, 3 per cent.; tobacco, 4 annas per maund. These duties refer to Bengal: there is little difference at Bombay and Madras, except in the export dues. With regard to salt, the duty on import into Bengal, is 2 rupees 8 annas per maund of 80 tolas; at Madras, 12 annas per maund; at Bombay, free; salt exported from Bombay to Madras, pays ¼ anna per maund; salt exported to Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore, 1 anna per maund; and it may be exported free to foreign or British ports not in India or Ceylon. Salt exported to Bengal pays excise duty, but receives credit for amount in adjustment of local duty. The shipper exporting salt to Madras has to give security for payment of full duty failing to produce certificate from place of import All port-to-port trade throughout British India, except in the articles of salt and opium, was rendered free by Act 6 of 1848, and Act 30 of 1854.

COINS, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES.—*Bengal Coins.*—2 double = 4 single pysa; 12 pie small = 1 anna; 16 annas = 1 rupee; 16 rupees = 1 gold mohur. When accounts are kept in sicca rupees, they use the imaginary pie of twelve to an anna. Small shells, called cowries, are also made use of for paying coolies, &c, which are reckoned as follows: viz, 4 cowries = 1 gunda; 20 gundas = 1 pun; 5 puns = 1 anna. These rates vary from time to time. *Gold and Silver Weights.*—4 punkhos or quarter grain = 1 gram or dhan; 4 dhans = 1 rutty; 6 3 8ths rutty = 1 anna; 8 rutty = 2 massa, 100 rutty, or 121 massa or 16 anna = 1 tola or sicca rupees; 1061 rutty, or 13, 28, 152 massa, or 17 annas = 1 gold mohur. A gold mohur weighs 722 and nine-tenths troy weight, containing 187,651 fine gold and 17,051 alloy. A sicca rupee weighs 7, 11 and two-thirds ditto, containing 175,928 fine silver and 15,993 alloy. *Cloth Measure.*—3 corbe = 1 angualæ; 3 angualæ = 1 gheriah; 8 gherries = 1 haut, or cubit, 18 inches; 2 haut = 1 guz or yard.

MEMORANDUM SHOWING THE STATE AND PROSPECTS OF RAILWAYS IN INDIA UP TO JULY, 1857.—3,648 miles of railway have been sanctioned, and are in course of construction, viz.:—By the East Indian Railway Company, from Calcutta to Delhi, with branches from Burdwan to Raneegunge, and from Mirzapore to Jubbulpore, 1,400 miles.——By the Madras Company, from Madras to the Western Coast at Beypore, 430 miles; and——From Madras, *viâ* Cuddapah and Bellary, to meet a line from Bombay at or near the river Krishtna, 310 miles.——By the Great Indian Peninsula Company, from Bombay to Callian 33 miles, with extensions.——North East to Jubbulpore, to meet the line from Mirzapore, with a branch to Oomrawuttee and Nagpoor, 818 miles; and——South East, *viâ* Poonah and Sholapore, to the Krishtna River, to meet the line from Madras, 357 miles.——By the Sinde Company, from Kurrachee to a point on the Indus, at or near to Kotree, 120 miles; and——By the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Company, from Surat to Baroda and Ahmedabad, 160 miles.

Land Revenue in British India, since 1789 (to show its progress.)

Land Revenues.		1789-'90.	1799-1800.	1809-'10.	1819-'20.	1829-'30.	1834-'35.	1839-'40.	1844-'45	1850-'51.	1851-'52.	1852-'53.	1853-'54.
BENGAL, BEHAR, AND ORISSA:—													
Revenues, Current	S. Rs.	2,56,06,200	2,33,67,056	2,60,82,136	2,71,99,225	2,63,26,818	2,25,75,674						
Balances	do.	9,67,989	31,82,947	11,45,267	22,71,517	31,64,538	60,14,331						
Not in Jumma	do.	1,19,021	2,13,569	39,267	4,37,171	4,61,383	4,13,656						
Miscellaneous	do.	1,42,996	38,422	84,645	1,36,059	4,03,506	11,55,723						
Total		2,68,38,206	2,68,01,994	2,73,51,275	3,00,44,072	3,03,56,245	3,01,59,384						
BENARES:—													
Revenues, Current	S. Rs.	36,24,823	32,63,420	37,44,142	43,80,451	43,15,612							
Balances	do.	3,94,241	4,28,287	1,27,108	36,058	5,52,891							
Not in Jumma	do.	—	45,138	59,271	39,207	56,296		Company's Rupees.	Company's Rupees.	Company's Rupees.	Company's Rupees.	Company's Rupees.	Company's Rupees.
Total		40,19,064	37,36,845	39,30,521	44,55,716	49,24,799		7,34,81,157	7,92,51,673	8,55,95,113	8,52,60,438	8,49,60,110	No returns.
BENGAL.—*Ceded and Conquered Provinces:*													
Revenues, Current, Ceded Provinces	S. Rs.	—	—	1,40,27,596	1,82,23,863	1,21,83,716	3,53,20,976						
Do. . . . Conquered do.	do.	—	—	90,83,338	1,14,51,287	1,56,63,394							
Balances . . . Ceded do.	do.	—	—	14,38,854	7,22,104	11,28,581	39,54,554						
Do. . . . Conquered do.	do.	—	—	10,70,981	6,21,800	12,29,239							
Not in Jumma . Ceded do.	do.	—	—	41,503	1,84,081	47,021	8,35,556						
Do. . . Conquered do.	do.	—	—	1,02,941	1,37,184	5,30,387							
Miscellaneous. . Ceded do.	do.	—	—	46,704	1,31,216	75,856	2,28,566						
Do. . . . Conquered do.	do.	—	—	2,17,582	65,738	1,08,010							
Total		—	—	2,60,29,499	3,15,37,273	3,09,57,204	3,79,77,701						
MADRAS.—*Ancient Possessions.**—													
Revenues, Current	Pagodas	12,74,477	15,58,812	16,29,562	19,84,857	19,67,513							
Arrears of do.	do.	2,99,625	5,58,788	5,01,410	2,35,024	1,82,184							
Total		15,74,102	21,17,600	21,30,972	22,19,881	21,49,697	82,12,644	3,22,56,007	3,37,81,887	3,51,59,696	3,61,06,460	3,68,78,112	3,40,23,335
MADRAS.—*Ceded & Conquered Provinces:*							6,41,847						
Revenues, Current	Pagodas	—	20,25,093	75,93,033	71,21,358	65,19,888							
Arrears of do.	do.	—	1,98,658	5,98,564	4,84,965	4,22,856							
Total		—	22,23,751	81,91,597	76,06,223	69,42,744	88,84,491						
BOMBAY.—*Ancient Possessions:*—													
Revenues, Current, and Arrears	Rupees	—	2,70,465	3,96,853	3,07,043	14,28,240	1,48,20,058						
Ceded and Conquered Provinces:—								1,70,02,676	1,92,07,005	2,28,60,748	2,28,96,236	2,23,68,826	No returns.
Revenues, Current, and Arrears	Rupees	—	19,06,304	30,53,010	1,30,24,793	1,28,80,465							
Total		—	21,76,769	34,49,853	1,33,31,836	1,43,08,075	1,48,20,058						
THE PUNJAB		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,02,08,891	96,53,529	94,45,453	94,73,917
SINDE.†													
PEGU.‡													

* The ancient and modern possessions are not stated separately after 1829-'30.
† The Land Revenue is not shown separately, but is included in the general head "Receipts of the Province of Sinde," in the Bombay accounts. ‡ No return.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LAND-TENURES OF BRITISH INDIA.—ZEMINDAR, RYOTWAR, AND VILLAGE SETTLEMENTS.

An important feature in the condition of British India still requires elucidation, before entering on the details of the fearful strife which, commencing in the form of a partial and purely military mutiny, speedily assumed a more general and formidable character.

The tenure of land in India is a subject intimately connected with that of annexation, and of the question regarding the mode in which our subjects in Oude and other provinces, have been, and are to be, dealt with. The defects and inequalities of the existing land-tenures have long been viewed by the author as calculated to prevent the English government from taking deep root in the affection and confidence of their native subjects; so much so, that, in the spring of 1857, he framed a brief exposition of the leading facts of the case, intending to publish it in the form of a pamphlet. While the proof-sheets were passing through the press, the tidings of the first outbreak of the mutiny reached England, and each mail brought intelligence more alarming than its predecessor.

It was no time to discuss proprietary rights and landed tenures when fire and the sword were raging throughout India, and the publication of the pamphlet was abandoned; but now that the first terrible excitement is over, these questions become more important than ever, because the inquiry into them is essential to the unravelling of the reasons of the partial disaffection of the people, and to the establishment of a policy better calculated to secure their allegiance for the future.

There is no branch of political economy more deserving of attention than the relation in which man stands to the soil from whence the elements of subsistence and other useful products are derived. Hitherto the science, whose elementary rules Adam Smith but partially defined, has been considered chiefly applicable to commerce; but trade, or the barter of commodities, is secondary in importance to production; and the laws which regulate the application of labour and capital to land, constitute the most effective basis of social organisation, and form a faithful index to the sources of wealth and physical condition of a nation. These remarks have peculiar reference to British India, where the wellbeing of about one hundred and fifty million people, depends in great measure on the territorial laws under which they are governed.

This subject has been a fertile theme for discussion during the last half century, though avowedly less with regard to the condition of the vast Indian population under the supreme control of the sovereign of England, than by reason of its influence on the large amount required by the state, viz., about £17,000,000 per annum, out of a gross revenue of £30,000,000.

Many theories have been propounded, and some experiments tried, for the amelioration of a system confessedly defective, and even oppressive in operation; but in general, the first principles of justice and common sense have been neglected, or so overlaid with words, and encumbered with contradictory and pernicious conditions, that no permanent benefit has accrued therefrom. Hundreds of volumes of theories and speculations have been printed under the titles of "Landed Tenures" and "Revenue Systems;" while honest energy and precious time have been frittered away in profitless discussions, or in futile endeavours to bring impracticable or injurious projects into beneficial operation.

Unfortunately, English statesmen, perplexed with controversies on the relative merits or demerits of the so-called *Zemindar*, *Ryotwar*, and *Village* revenue settlements, and confused with Oriental nomenclature, seem tempted to abandon in despair, as a problem too difficult for them to solve, the adjudication of a question simple in principle, and unembarrassed by details—How may a government tax be levied on land with the least detriment to the proprietor or cultivator? And the administrative authorities, fearful of a diminution of annual income, and often urgently pressed for more revenue, have been unwilling to consider the matter on broad principles, dreading to jeopardise their power of arbitrarily assessing the tillers of the

soil—a power which has been exercised in accordance with the temporary exigencies of the governors, rather than with the means of the governed. It is true that the voluminous despatches of the Court of Directors have teemed with injunctions to their servants in India to be moderate in assessment, to avoid oppressing the people, and to encourage agriculture;* but all such orders, however well intended, were little better than nugatory, so long as the pecuniary requirements or demands of the state were unconditional and unsettled; and must remain so, at least to any satisfactory extent, until the fee-simple of the land be vested in a proprietary class, and the annual taxation levied bear a just and uniform proportion to the cost of cultivation, the necessities of the cultivator, and the means of laying by yearly a clear though small profit, to accumulate as capital in the hands of the landowners. Until this be done, we shall have, as at present, a nation of peasants, not a prosperous community of various grades and occupations.

The allegation that revenue derived from land is not a tax, scarcely needs refutation. No state can stand with its subjects in the relation of landlord and tenants, either in sympathy, in pecuniary matters, or in general copartnery of interest. Whatever share the government takes of the gross or net produce, be it little or much, is an abstraction from capital, and a tax on the industry and skill of the farmer. The government might as well assume the rights of a *house*-lord, as those of a *land*-lord, and levy a tax on habitations. In the case of India, it is manifestly impossible for a few European functionaries to superintend the operations of several thousand small—minutely small—farmers; or prevent the systematic tyranny and injustice of subordinate (native) officials—evils which the British government have the strongest possible interest to eradicate as one of the worst legacies of Moslem misrule.

In Asia, as in Europe, land, at an early period, constituted the main source of public revenue; the amount of taxation varied in different countries, according to the number and wealth of the population, and their power of resisting oppression; but, generally speaking, the proportion of the gross or net produce claimed by the state, did not exceed the Egyptian fifth devised by Joseph. We read in Genesis, that, in anticipation of famine, Pharaoh, king of Egypt, at the suggestion of the inspired Hebrew, stored in granaries one-fifth of the total produce; and before the seven years of dearth passed, the cultivators parted with everything—cattle, silver, and land—for food. Pharaoh gave back the land on condition of the cultivators paying one-fifth of the produce in perpetuity. The Romans, on their occupation of Egypt, found this tax still existing; and it remains, probably, to the present day.

The land-tax varied in different countries. Among the Jews, Greeks, Romans, and ancient Persians, it was one-tenth; in *Sicily*, the Romans levied one-tenth, and Cicero indignantly protested against the "infamous Verres" taking more. According to Livy,† *Spain* was taxed at one-twentieth. The Greek authorities, previous to the time of Solon, took a sixth of the yield from the owner of the soil.‡

In *England*, the land-tax, calculated on a very moderate valuation of estates by the government of William III. (A.D. 1692), ranged from 1*s.* to 4*s.* in the pound sterling. *France* had its "rent foncière" fixed at one-fifth of the net produce, and this was generally complained of as too high; *Tuscany*, one-fifth of the net rent; *Venetian territories*, one-tenth the rent; *Milanese*, £8 18*s.* per cent. on valuation, or 1*s.* 9*d.* in the pound; *Parma*, 9*d.* per acre; *Bologna*, 2*d.* per acre; *Persia* (government share), one-tenth; *Bokhara*, one-fourth; *China*, one-tenth, but assessed so moderately as not to exceed one-thirtieth of the ordinary produce; *Java*, one-fifth; *Birmah*, one-tenth; *Cochin China*, one-sixth. In *Ceylon*, during the twelfth century, on arable lands, one-tenth; high grounds, free.

Whoever were the first colonizers of India, they probably settled in village communities, and introduced, for the furtherance of those measures of general utility and protection which are the primary objects of all legitimate government, municipal taxation on the chief commodity they possessed—land.

Scanty as are the records of ancient India, which even the indefatigable researches of modern scholars have disentombed, they are decisive on the point of

* *Ex gr.*, Letter of 13th August, 1851, which occupies fifty printed folio pages.

† *Lib.* 43, c. 2.

‡ See *Essay on Money*, by John Taylor, Esq., 2nd ed., p. 12.

the actual proprietorship of the land being vested in the people; though it was nominally attributed, in public documents, either to the immediate superior of the addressing parties, or to their king; who, whatever the extent of his territory, or nature of his power, appears to have been equally styled, in the magniloquence of Eastern hyperbole, Lord of the Earth, Sea, and Sky.

The most ancient, and least controverted, authority on this matter, is found in the famous *Institutes of Menu.* Orientalists have ascribed to this code at least as early a date as the ninth century before Christ (880 B.C.), and they regard it as affording a true and graphic picture of the state of society at that period, before the torture of witnesses or criminals was sanctioned by law, or widow-burning and infanticide crept into custom, with other horrible and defiling practices of modern Brahminism.*

The *Institutes* set forth, as a simple matter of fact, that cultivated land is "the property of him who cuts away the wood, or who first clears and tills it." The state is declared entitled to demand a twelfth, an eighth, or a sixth part "of grain from the land, according to the difference of the soil, and the labour necessary to cultivate it." This refers to times of peace; but "a military king, who takes even a fourth part of the crops of his realm at a period of urgent necessity, as of war or invasion, and protects his people, commits no sin. Serving-men, artisans, and mechanics, must assist by their labour (twelve days per annum), but at no time pay taxes." One of the ancient commentators (for there were several) declares, that "the king who takes more is infamous in this world, and consigned to Nareka (the infernal regions) in the next." And it appears to have been pretty generally the case, that Hindoo sovereigns received from their subjects, during peace, one-sixth, and during war one-fourth, of the produce of their fields. Some took much less than this. For instance, in the mountainous region of Coorg (an ancient Hindoo principality, which, until very recently, retained its independence), the tax demanded by the native government was only a tenth.† But under all Hindoo governments, individual proprietors of land appear to have uniformly possessed a "dominion so far absolute as to exclude all claims, excepting those of the community who protected it;"‡ the infallible criterion being, that it was saleable, mortgageable, and in every respect a transferable commodity, where the laws of hereditary tenure were not concerned. The law seems to have been regarded as incontestable, that "he who has the tribute from the land, has no property in the land;" nor could the state or sovereign, in any case, be the heir to the landed property of its subjects. Personal effects might fall to, or be seized by the king; but according to the Hindoo law, land could "only escheat to the township,"§ excepting in the little state of Tanjore. Mortgages, deeds of sale, and free grants for religious and charitable purposes, as well as to private persons, exist, of various dates, in many Indian languages. One of the oldest and most curious of these title-deeds, engraved on copper, bearing date B C. 23, is minutely described and translated by Dr. Wilkins, in the opening volume of the *Asiatic Researches.*‖

The Greek accounts of the invasion of the Punjab by Alexander the Great (B.C. 333), tend to prove the people of Western India to have then possessed an acknowledged proprietary right in the soil; in common phraseology, the land belonged to the people—the tax to the king.

When the Mohammedans invaded, and gradually subjected, the majority of the states which previously existed in India, they were ostensibly guided in their dealings with the subjugated people by the rule of the Koran, which holds forth, in such cases, conversion, with the dismal alternatives of death or confiscation of property. But the Moslem rule was spread over the greater part of India more by intrigue, and constant interference in the quarrels of the native princes, than by any concerted and systematic scheme of conquest; and, with the exception of a few great battles (especially those on the plains of Paniput, in Northern India¶), their usurpations were very gradual, and were rather the contests of a powerful sovereign against petty neighbouring princes, whose territories he desired to absorb, than the deadly struggle of creed and race, of Mohammedan against Hindoo. Had utter confiscation of property, and total annihilation of all territorial rights, been the habitual, or even

* See *ante*, p. 14. † Wilks, vol. i., p. 144.
‡ Wilks' *South of India*, vol. i., p. 111.
§ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 196.
‖ *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i., p. 123.
¶ See *ante*, pp. 81 and 179.

the frequent practice of Mohammedan sovereigns, it is evident that the Hindoo chiefs who swelled their ranks, and the Hindoo financiers who invariably levied their revenues, and were entrusted with the management of their treasuries, would have of necessity acted a different, and according to European notions, a more patriotic part. General Briggs, who has bestowed much study on the subject, declares that no Mohammedan prince claimed the ownership of the soil. It must, however, be admitted, that the despotism exercised, neutralised the territorial rights of proprietors, and was a source of cruel oppression.

Thus Alla-u-Deen, who reigned at Delhi from 1294 to 1315 A.D., spread misery and desolation among his subjects, both Mussulman and Hindoo, by his insane and ferocious avarice. We are told that, A.D. 1300, he "ordered a tax of half the real annual produce of the lands, to be raised over all the empire, and to be regularly transmitted to the exchequer." "The farmers were confined to a certain proportion of land, and to an appointed number of servants and oxen to cultivate the same. No grazier was permitted to have above a certain number of cows, sheep, and goats, and a tax was paid out of them to the government. He seized upon the wealth, and confiscated the estates, of Mussulmans and Hindoos, without distinction, and by this means accumulated an immense treasure."*

On the establishment of the famous dynasty of the Great Moguls by Baber in 1526, some attention was paid to a regular territorial assessment; but it was not till the reign of Akber, the grandson of Baber, and son of the fugitive and long-exiled monarch, Humayun, that effective measures were adopted for the systematic assessment of the revenues, and especially for the commutation of produce into money; a very delicate and difficult measure in a country like India, which, throughout its vast extent, is remarkable for the extraordinary variations in the quantity and in the value of its annual produce.

Akber, who reigned from 1556 to 1605 (cotemporary with Elizabeth of England), has been held up as the model of Indian financiers, chiefly on the strength of the records of his measures and opinions contained in the *Ayeen Akbery*, the famous work of his gifted and confidential minister, the ill-fated Abul Fazil. The tone of the writer is too much that of indiscriminate panegyric for the facts related by him not to be open to suspicion; but even on his evidence, the revenue system adopted by Akber, though full of intricacies and impracticable classifications, is, as Rickards† and others have clearly shown, founded on computations based on the produce of the soil.

Evidence that the ordinary assessment of Hindoo sovereigns did not exceed one-sixth of the produce, is given in the *Ayeen Akbery* itself.‡ Among other instances to this effect may be cited that of the king of Cashmere, one of whose earliest acts of power (A.D. 1326) was the confirmation of the ancient land-tax, which amounted to 17 per cent., or about one-sixth of the total produce. Akber appears to have exacted first a fifth, and afterwards a third of the produce of his territories; or, if commuted into money, a fourth of the net income. The attempts to enforce these latter demands are said to have "endangered the stability of the imperial throne."§ One of Akber's most active instruments, Mozuffer Khan, then governor of Bengal and Bahar, was besieged by the oppressed landowners in the fort of Tondah, compelled to surrender, and then put to death. Rajah Todar Mul (the famous Hindoo financier, whose mode of collecting the revenue in the silver coin called Tunkha, gave its name to the "Tunkha system") was appointed to succeed Rajah Khan; but he failed in subduing the insurrection, and was superseded.||

Aurungzebe (A.D. 1658 to 1707), the most powerful, and, until blinded by ambition and bigotry, the most astute of the Great Moguls, was successful in his career of aggrandisement up to the period when his subjects became worn-out and well-nigh ruined by the excessive taxation needed to meet the exigencies of the immense armies occupied during a long series of years—under the simultaneous command of the emperor himself, his sons, and at length his grandsons—in Central and Southern India. It was probably as much to supply a failing treasury, as from a more fanatical motive, that Aurungzebe imposed the hated Jezia, or capitation-tax, on infidels, which so heavily weighed down the whole Hindoo popula-

* Ferishta's *Hindoostan*, translated by Dow, vol. i., pp. 291-2.

† Rickards, vol. i., p. 316.

‡ Gladwin's *Translation of the Ayeen Akbery*, vol. i., 245—278.

§ Rickards, vol. i., p. 16.

|| Stewart's *Bengal*, pp. 166—176.

tion; but let the cause have been what it would, his unjust and oppressive exactions strengthened the arms of those deadly foes whom the despised Hindoo, "the Mountain Rat" Sivajee, had formed into a nation, despite the efforts of the mighty man of war, who eventually, in extreme old age, but still in possession of marvellous physical and mental power, was well-nigh hunted to death by the Mahrattas.*

After his decease the huge empire fell rapidly to ruins; and, throughout its provinces, Mogul and Mahratta delegates vied in exacting tribute from the wretched cultivators, sometimes on their master's account, sometimes on their own. It would, of course, be folly to look for precedents in a state of society in which no general rule prevailed beyond—

"The simple plan;
That they shall take who have the power,
And they shall keep who can."

Comparatively happy were those districts in which some chief or governor contrived to maintain his own real or assumed rights, and protected his people against all oppression but his own. It was at this time that so many of the nominal servants of the weak and short-lived Mogul emperors contrived gradually to make themselves independent sovereigns, playing, however, fast and loose with their nominal master, for fear of the Mahrattas, and further kept in check by frequent strife with their neighbours and their subjects.

The English East India Company now began to assume the position of a territorial power. The service rendered by a patriotic medical officer, named Hamilton, to the emperor Feroksheer, in 1716,† secured the much-coveted imperial firmaun, or warrant, to become landowners in Bengal, by the purchase of thirty-eight villages from private proprietors.‡ This *purchase* in fee-simple formed the nucleus of the Calcutta presidency.

The only considerable state which, contemporaneously with the East India Company, could boast any continuance of a strong or even settled government, was the ancient Hindoo kingdom of Mysoor, over which the Mohammedan adventurer, Hyder Ali, by mingled force and fraud, obtained undisputed sovereignty. One of his early acts of power is said to have been to decree the appropriation of the profits of the land in the following proportions:—Cultivator, 5½; proprietor, 1½; government, 3=10.

According to Colonel Wilks, Hyder exacted a full third of the whole produce, instead of the ancient rate of assessment, which had not exceeded a sixth: and the same authority states, that the usurper's entire system of "government was a series of experiments how much he could extort from the farmer without diminishing cultivation."§ In the records of his administration, abundant facts for warning may be found; but few, indeed, worthy the imitation of Christian rulers, excepting his energetic and discriminating measures for the execution of public works, especially for the purposes of traffic and the irrigation of the land.

We are imperfectly informed as to the period when, or the extent to which, the Mohammedans broke down the ancient Hindoo Village system of petty municipalities, under whose regulations the revenue, assessed on separate communities, was delivered over to the state through the intervention of a headman chosen by the villagers, the government officers not being brought in contact with the cultivators. In many places, officers, called by the vague and general name of zemindars, were appointed by the Moguls; and these "middlemen" either farmed the revenues somewhat after the old French system, or received grants of territory, on condition of making certain payments in the form of *peishcush*, or tribute, or of rendering stipulated services to the state. When the zemindars or talookdars—as they were called in Bengal and Bahar; or polygars, as they were termed in Southern India—were introduced, the Village system underwent considerable change by reason of a superior proprietorship being set up by the government officers, who exacted the claims, and exercised the rights, of feudal barons; and the ryots, or cultivators, paid each their proportion of the produce, or its money equivalent, direct to the zemindars or polygars; but the system was too deeply rooted in the hearts of the people to be entirely eradicated. It still exists, more or less perfectly, over large districts; and its peculiar features are in the main invariable, though the names and even duties of the functionaries employed differ according to language and local circumstances. Each village forms a distinct society, and its affairs constitute the chief concern of

* See *ante*, p. 153. † *Idem*, p. 240.
‡ Stewart's *Bengal*, p. 399.
§ Wilks' *South of India*, vol. i., pp. 155—218.

the individuals residing within its limits. As the revenue is furnished to the state (or, it may be, to a zemindar, or to a talookdar or feudal chief, as in Oude and N. W. India) by all in relative proportions, each man is interested in the industry and prosperity of his neighbour. By an equal apportionment, taxation falls fairly on the whole; by a division of duties, general advantage is obtained: instead of all going to market, one man is deputed to proceed thither, and the rest to attend to the crops or other special duty: the little corporation appoints its mayor or chief (*Potail*); there is also the registrar (*Putwarree*), the clerk and accountant, and surveyor (*Bullaee*); the policeman (*Chowkeedar*), the minister (*Pursaee*), and the schoolmaster of the parish; the carpenter, blacksmith, barber, washerman, &c.; the tracer (*Puggee*), hunter or wild beast destroyer (*Byadhee*);—and each receives a stipulated portion of the produce; some of which is set aside to maintain the hospitalities of the village.

The *Potail* is the medium between the officers of government and the villagers: he collects their dues, enforces payment by such means as are sanctioned by usage; in some instances rents the whole of his village from government. Whether this be the case or not, the Potail, besides a tract of rent-free land—varying from 10 to 200 beegahs (a beegah is about one-third of an acre), according to the size and population of the village—receives certain established fees, and also dues, generally in kind, such as from two to eight seers (a seer is about 2lb.), from each beegah, of grain cultivation, and a share of the sugar and other produce. The Potails generally maintain a respectable position; though not exempt from much occasional bickering, jealousy, charges of favouritism, and corruption, such as are common to all small communities.

The *Putwarree*, or village registrar, does not always hold his office by hereditary right: he is sometimes elected; sometimes a government servant; but enjoys rent-free land and dues under the Potail, who recommends to the office when it is vacant by death or from malversation: there are, however, many instances of very old hereditary tenures.

The *Bullaee*, *Bullawa*, or *Dher*, ought to know every inhabitant of the village and his possessions; the landmarks, boundaries, tanks, and the traditions respecting them, are expected to be within his cognizance, as his presence and evidence are essential in all landed disputes. When travellers pass, he is their guide to the precincts of the village, and is responsible for their safety and for that of merchandise in its transit: in this and other matters he is the representative of the Potail, for whom he acts as spy, messenger, and newsmonger.

The *Pursaee*, or priest, is also the village astrologer, and, with the aid of some old books, professes to announce good or bad seasons, fixes the hour for putting the seed corn into the ground, and is consulted on divers occult matters. He is, however, generally poor, and not held in much esteem, and is supported by a few beegahs of rent-free land, and by petty fees for officiating at marriages, births, naming of children, and funerals.

The *Chowkeedar* watches over the lives and property of the villagers; and in some places, as in Guzerat, is assisted by a detective police, named *Puggees* (*pug* meaning foot), who trace the flight of thieves or murderers from one village to another, by their respective footprints, with extraordinary sagacity. The *Byadhee*, or hunter, fills an hereditary office for the destruction of wild beasts, in villages surrounded by uncultivated tracts, where tigers, elephants, and other animals abound.

Sir John Malcolm observes, that in most parts of Central India the Potail held what was deemed an hereditary office, with a defined quantity of land in the village rent-free: he says, these men, in many cases, can support their claim to the rights and lands they enjoy, for eight, nine, or ten generations.* Grant Duff furnishes much forcible evidence to the same effect, especially with regard to the Mahrattas. "The greatest Mahratta commanders, or their principal Brahmin agents, were eager to possess their native village; but although vested with the control, they were proud to acknowledge themselves of the family of the Patell [Potail], or Koolkurnee; and if heirs to a Miras field,† they would sooner have lost wealth and rank than been dispossessed of such *wutun* or inheritance. Yet, on obtaining the absolute sovereignty, they never assumed an authority in the interior village concerns beyond the rights and privileges acquired by birth or pur-

* *Central India*, vol. ii., p. 14.

† Denoting a field held by hereditary or proprietary tenure, as distinct from that of an *Oopree*, or mere tenant at will.

chase, according to the invariable rules of the country."*

Sir Thomas Munro, in a report dated 15th of May, 1806, says—"Every village is a little republic with the Potail at the head of it, and India a mass of such republics. The inhabitants, during war, look chiefly to their own Potail. They give themselves no trouble about the breaking up and division of kingdoms; while the village remains entire, they care not to what power it is transferred. Wherever it goes, the internal management remains unaltered. The Potail is still the collector, magistrate, and head farmer."

Lord Metcalfe observes—"Village communities are little republics, having everything they want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down, revolution succeeds revolution, Hindoo, Patan, Mogul, Mahratta, Sikh, English, all are masters in turn; but the village communities remain the same. This union of village communities, each one forming a separate state in itself, has, I conceive, contributed more than any other to the preservation of the people of India throughout all the revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence."

The *natale solum* principle is very strong among the Hindoos, and they resemble, in this respect, their alleged Scythic or Celtic ancestors. During the ravages of the Pindarrees, numerous villages in the Nerbudda districts had been laid waste, and were tenantless for more than thirty years; but the Potails, and other hereditary village officers, though scattered, and residing many hundred miles from their native homes, maintained a constant communication with each other, strengthened their links of attachment by intermarriage, and kept alive the hope of restoration to the home of their youth. When tranquillity was restored, they flocked to the ruined villages, bearing sometimes the infant Potails (second or third in descent from the expelled) at their head, amid songs and rejoicings; the roofless houses were soon reoccupied by the former proprietors, or their heirs; each field was taken possession of without dispute by the rightful owner; and, in a few days, everything was settled as if the internal relations of the community had never been disturbed.†

Rightly to understand the full bearings of the question, the circumstances must be understood which led to the formation of what is vaguely termed the

ZEMINDAR SYSTEM IN BENGAL AND BAHAR.—When the E. I. Company succeeded the usurping servants of the Great Mogul in the possession of these provinces, the Village system had ceased to exist; the land was parcelled out among Moslem tax-gatherers, who plundered the people, hindered tillage, and annihilated the proprietary rights of small cultivators: these, in many cases, fled from the oppressors, who forced them to cultivate, not for themselves, but for the state. The very extent of the evil deterred the representatives of the Company from grappling with it; and they all temporised and theorised until the appointment of a governor-general, whose independence of position and character enabled him to form sounder opinions regarding the great interests committed to his charge, and gave him courage to act upon them. Lord Cornwallis did not, as Warren Hastings said his predecessors had done, regard the highest seat in the council-chamber as "a nest to hatch fortunes in." Neither did he consider the exaction of the largest possible immediate revenue as an advantage to be procured at any cost. He saw a crisis was at hand, and that some decided measure was needed to avert it: ruin seemed approaching from many quarters; there was no capital—no fixity of tenure; the annual and capricious assessments involved endless detail and general confusion, with the invariable consequence —wrong, injustice, and plunder to the peasantry.

Hopeless of disentangling so complex a subject, the governor-general cut the Gordian knot by resolving on the elevation of a landed proprietary to an independent position. He was told that no persons of this class remained: he answered that it was necessary, then, to create them. The materials which he chose for the formation of territorial gentry, consisted of the official functionaries, whether Mohammedan or Hindoo, employed under the Mogul government, in connection with the land revenues. In Bengal these officials were termed zemindars; but, as has been stated, they existed under

* *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i., p. 461.

† Malcolm's *Central India*, vol. ii., p. 21.

other names in various parts of India. Their elevation to the rank of proprietors, as an intermediate class between the government and the actual cultivators, was certainly not based on any inherent claim, for centuries of Mohammedan exactions had nearly obliterated all individual title to property in the soil: but the measure was one of sound policy, and has contributed to the stability of British dominion by benefiting a large portion of the population of India.* In accordance with the views of the governor-general, the lands of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, were divided into estates of various dimensions, and vested hereditarily in the zemindars; the produce was divided into fifths; and it was estimated that, after deducting the expenses of cultivation, two-fifths would be left to the cultivator, and the remainder would constitute the rent of the estate: of this, ten-elevenths were taken as tax by government, and one-eleventh went to the zemindar. Mr. Rickards says, that if the rent were 60 per cent. of the produce, the share of the zemindar would be 5½ per cent.†

The assessment was ordered, by the Court of Directors, to be equal to the average collection of a certain period; it was fixed at this rate for ten years, and then declared to be permanent,‡ the government pledging itself never to exact any higher land-tax from the territories thus settled: but no remissions were to be made; in bad or good seasons, the same amount of tax was to be paid—one year must balance another; and government was freed from all pecuniary liability for public works available for irrigation, maintaining the banks of rivers, &c. It was therefore an excellent bargain for the state. Such a project could not have succeeded if waste or uncultivated lands had not been attached to each estate, on which no future tax was to be levied, and unless the proprietors had been left perfectly free to grow any description of produce, without having to pay an enhanced revenue on every acre redeemed from waste, as was the case under the Mogul rule.

Moreover, the collection of the revenue was much simplified and facilitated for the government: if the zemindar failed in his yearly obligations, the European collector received power to proceed against him for the recovery of his stipulated tax, by summary process; and in default of payment, not only was the estate liable to confiscation and sale by the government, but the zemindar was subject to imprisonment, and forfeiture of any property he might possess. On the other hand, the zemindar could only proceed against his tenants or ryots (to whom he might sub-let the land) by a regular, expensive, and tedious process, in the zillah or local court, presided over by an European judge, in the district wherein the estate was situated. In 1794, the law against the zemindar was modified by the abolition of the power of imprisonment, but the government assumed the right to confiscate and sell the estate immediately, if the tax were not paid each month.

The country was then only partially recovering from centuries of desolating rule and repeated famines: it had been drained of specie by Moslem conquerors, Mahratta plunderers, and European tax-gatherers; the price of grain was low, the interest of money exorbitant; and there was little or no foreign demand for agricultural produce: added to this, the waste lands attached to each zemindarree or estate, were so ill-defined, that litigation soon commenced, and added to the expense of the proprietors. Many zemindars found themselves unable to comply with the stringent terms under which they became landlords, and the *Gazette* abounded with notices for the sale of confiscated estates. Several ancient families were ruined; and in about fifteen years, few of the original zemindars, with whom the permanent settlement had been made, retained their properties; which were sold and resold to native merchants and others, who brought capital into productive employment. But the misfortunes of the original proprietors cannot be charged on the plan itself, the result of which is shown in the experience of half a century. No famines have occurred; other sources of revenue have been created; land has become a saleable commodity worth ten years' purchase, which it is not in any other part of India; and an influential class are bound, by the tie of self-interest, to support the British government, which guarantees them tranquil possession of their paternal acres.

* Malcolm, writing in 1802, expatiates on the happy operation of Lord Cornwallis's system of revenue and judicature on the condition of the people, and on its tendency "to fix upon the firmest basis the British government in India, by securing the attachment of their subjects."—Kaye's *Life of Sir John Malcolm*, i., 176.

† Fifth Report, pp. 13—29.

‡ See "Bengal Government Regulations;" Nos. 2—14, and 44, of 1793.

The countries under the permanent settlement in the Bengal presidency, comprise an area of 149,782 square miles, and include the whole of Bengal, Bahar, Benares,* and Orissa (Cuttack excepted), with a population of about 40,000,000. The annual revenue from this fixed land-tax is about £3,500,000, or about 21 pence per head.†

The system now in force under the Madras presidency, known by the name of THE RYOTWAR TENURE, makes each petty holder responsible to government for the payment of the tax levied on the produce of his field or plot of land; there is no common or joint responsibility, as in the Village plan, and no landlord or government middleman, as under the Moslem rule. When the East India Company first became interested in the affairs of the Carnatic, the Ryotwar system was in general operation, under zemindars or polygars, and continued so until 1769, when boards or councils were established by the East India Company, and the lands placed under the supervision of stipendiaries employed for the management of the revenue. In 1789, the receipts of the zemindars with whom a fixed settlement was made were estimated, and they were required to pay one-third of their rental to government; the country was divided into sections called *moottahs*, and the tenures sold by public auction. In 1799, Lord Mornington (afterwards Marquis Wellesley), desired to introduce the permanent settlement which had been adopted in Bengal; but the project of Colonel Read, which required the ryot to rent land direct from government under a fluctuating and arbitrary assessment, and which practically discouraged the cultivation of waste lands, found favour with the home authorities; and out of twenty collectorates under the presidency of Madras, seventeen are managed under this disastrous and despotic system.‡

Colonel (afterwards Sir Thomas) Munro was entrusted, in 1805-'6-'7, with the formation of the Ryotwar system at Madras: he laid down the monstrous principle that half the produce, or at least 45 per cent., was to be the government share: this he arbitrarily converted into money; but on what data has never been ascertained, nor is it explained in any of his reports. Up to 1852, as declared by the *Madras Native Association*, no fixed system of commutation on various kinds of land has been adopted: different modes are practised, not only in different districts, but even in sub-divisions of the same district.

The assessment was soon found to be exorbitant: in Dindegul and in other places, the demand of government was discovered to be beyond the resources of the people; added to which, a great fall in the price of grain necessitated the ryot to part with 70 per cent. of his produce, to pay the money-tax required by government. Under Munro's plan, the umbrageous mango-tree was taxed, as well as the land beneath it: the poor farmers in many places, unable to pay the double tax, cut down these useful trees; their absence caused drought, and famines ensued, by which thousands of human beings perished.

In 1808, the evils of the field Ryotwar system became so unbearable, that the Madras authorities tried the partial introduction of the Village system, first for a triennial, and subsequently for a decennial period. The average collection from the lands having been computed, they were rented out to contractors, and the highest bidders accepted. On this plan, all duties, or responsibilities as alleged landlords or sovereign proprietors of the soil, were abandoned; the sole idea was the obtainment of a given sum of money for three years, heedless of the condition of the cultivators, who were farmed out with less consideration than would attend the letting of a gang of negro slaves to a contractor. It was soon ascertained that such a project could not succeed; and then the villages were assessed at a fixed sum for ten years, the waste as well as the arable land being given over to each community, and a distinct settlement

* This province was "permanently settled" by Mr. Jonathan Duncan (subsequently governor of Bombay), under instructions from the Marquis Cornwallis, in 1795.

† A parliamentary return, in 1827, estimates the land-tax in Bengal at 22, Madras, 52, and Bombay, 60 pence per head annually. A recent statement makes the land-tax of Bengal (permanent settlement) on ninety-seven million acres, about 5 annas = 7½ pence per acre; assuming a cultivated area of thirty-two million acres—21 pence per acre: the total assessment at Madras for the entire area—culturable, cultivated, and barren—is 10 pence; but on the land actually cultivated, it is 42 pence.

‡ A correct survey (which is an indispensable preliminary to the just and successful operation of the Ryotwar settlement) has not been made of the cultivated lands: the measurements are of the rudest description; and a separate valuation of the fields of every petty farmer is manifestly impossible.—(Petition from Madras Native Association, 1852.)

made with each collective body of ryots, or with the heads of a village.

In 1818, the home authorities determined to send out Sir T. Munro as governor, to re-enforce the Ryotwar plan, under some modifications, such as a reduction of assessment, varying from 12 to 25 per cent., where found most exorbitant, with remissions of taxation on failure of crops.—Several parts of the plan were undoubtedly marked by benevolence, and read well on paper; but in general, they were either impracticable, or depended so much on individual judgment and energy, as to afford little prospect of extensive utility. As a whole, the system proved very expensive to the state; full of intricate and harassing details for collectors, it abounded in motives for falsehood on the part of the ryots, and in opportunities for chicanery and malversation by the native subordinates; while it necessarily proved a complete barrier to the growth of an independent landed proprietary. The latter was, indeed, a main feature in Munro's project: he openly asserted that the best security for our prolonged and quiet rule, was to keep the cultivators in the condition of vassals or serfs to government:* and he speaks of short leases as necessary to prevent the growth of a spirit of independence, which would be dangerous to British authority. The practical working of the Ryotwarree is too truly conveyed in the following hypothesis, suggested by Mr. Fullarton, a member of the Madras government:—"Imagine the whole landed interest—that is, all the landlords of Great Britain, and even the capital farmers, at once swept away from off the face of the earth; imagine a rent fixed on every field in the kingdom, seldom under, generally above, its means of payment; imagine the land so rented, lotted out to the villagers according to the number of their cattle and ploughs, to the extent of forty or fifty acres each. Imagine the revenue rated as above, leviable through the agency of one hundred thousand revenue officers, collected or remitted at their discretion, according to their idea of the occupant's means of paying, whether from the produce of his land or his separate property; and, in order to encourage every man to act as a spy on his neighbour, and report his means of paying, that he may eventually save himself from extra demand, imagine all the cultivators of a village liable at all times to a separate demand, in order to make up for the failure of one or more individuals of the parish. Imagine collectors to every county acting under the orders of a board, on the avowed principle of destroying all temptation to labour, by a general equalisation of assessment; seizing and sending back runaways to each other;—and lastly, imagine the collector the sole magistrate, or justice of the peace of the county, through the medium and instrumentality of whom alone, any criminal complaint of personal grievance suffered by the subject can reach the superior courts. Imagine, at the same time, every subordinate officer, employed in the collection of the land revenue, to be a *police officer*, vested with the power to *fine*, *confine*, put in the stocks, and *flog* any inhabitant within his range, on any charge, without oath of the accuser, or sworn recorded evidence in the case."

The annual exaction by government of the last shilling from the small cultivators, is similar in effect to taking the honey every night out of a hive; when a rainy day arrives, the bees make no food, and they perish: thus has it been under the Ryotwar system at Madras, where not one-fifth of the land fit for tillage is under cultivation. During the last half century, several million people have perished from famine and its concomitant, pestilence: thus was it in Ireland when the potato crop failed, and so must it be wherever the population are reduced to the lowest scale of diet compatible with the prolongation of existence, and devoid of resources wherewith to supply a temporary exigency.

The collection of the land-tax from some thousands of miserably poor peasants, living from hand to mouth, has led to another enormous evil, by engendering a systematic plan of cruelty on the part of the native officials. The European collector is expected to realise annually a certain amount for the government, otherwise he will be deemed negligent, and stand little chance of favour or promotion: on the other hand, if he can screw out of the ryots a larger sum than his predecessor—the means unscrutinised—his name stands high at Madras. He tells his native subordinates that so many rupees must be obtained, and leaves them to manage how: the *tehsildar*, knowing that torture is a part of the Moslem system, and that it was recognised under the Mogul rule, not only for compelling suspected persons to criminate them-

* Gleig's *Life of Munro*, vol. ii., p. 158.

selves or others, but also to enforce the payment of the money claimed as due to the state (the non-payment of which is deemed a crime of great magnitude), and finding torture the easiest and most effectual mode of procuring the money required by his immediate superior (the European collector), he resorts to its use in every form; the most usual at Madras being—(1), tying the neck and feet together, placing a heavy stone on the back, and compelling the sufferer to remain in a stooping position, exposed to a tropical sun, until he satisfies the demands of the tehsildar; or falls—it may be, dies—from exhaustion: (2), fastening in a cocoa-nut shell, over the navel, the *pool-lay* insect, or worms, which cause exquisite torture: (3), twisting women's breasts: (4), putting chillies and other hot peppers into the eyes, and into the most sensitive parts of both sexes: (5), thorns driven under the nails: (6), surrounding the person with red ants, whose sting is maddening: (7), tying coir ropes to the muscles of the thighs and arms, and then pouring water on the ropes to produce gradual and extreme tension: (8), application of the *kittie*—two sticks (like a lemon-squeezer), between which the fingers are jammed and squashed: (9), flogging: (10), standing upon one leg in mud or in water, with a large log of wood on the head, under a burning sun. Such are some of the distressing revelations of the Madras Torture Commission in 1854. The European collectors, generally, allege their ignorance that torture was used for the collection of the revenue, although they acknowledge its application for police purposes. But admitting the truth of the denial, they are then placed on the other horn of the dilemma—that is, gross ignorance of the condition of the people committed to their charge: otherwise, they must have discovered the means adopted to squeeze ten rupees out of a man who had only five.

The Torture commissioners, in 1854, remark, that the infliction of physical pain, in connection with the collection of the revenue, is quite unknown in Malabar and Canara; and the reason assigned corroborates the above remarks, which were written previous to a knowledge of the following significant fact:—In those districts "the land-tax is generally light, the people are flourishing; the assessment easily, and even cheerfully paid—the struggle more often being, who shall be allowed, than who shall be made, to pay the government dues; land has acquired a saleable value, and allotments of waste are eagerly contended for."

If anything could open the eyes of those who uphold the Ryotwar system at Madras, these torture revelations ought to do so. The late Mr. Sullivan, member of council at Madras, declared to the author, that when he saw the cartloads of silver leaving his cutcherry (treasury) for Madras, and remembered the poverty of the people from whom it was collected, he shuddered at the thought of their prospect during the ensuing year, as the demands of the government were inexorable, and a certain amount of money must be forthcoming.

The mere lowering of the assessment or tax, though not an effectual remedy, is a great boon. Mr. John Bruce Norton, of the Madras bar, in his valuable letter to the Right Hon. Robert Lowe, on the state of Madras, referring to the heaviness of the assessment in his presidency, says, that the land belonging to the French at Pondicherry, is assessed at four pagodas; while English land, "of precisely the same quality," pays 7½ pagodas: and "in February, 1852, the wise French government reduced its land-tax 33 per cent., as well as abolished all its *petits droits*." It is not, therefore, surprising that the land is there all occupied, while millions of acres lie waste in the English territories at Madras. Mr. Norton has fully exposed the evils of the Ryotwarree, and shown, independently of the duration of the tenure (whether annual, leasehold, or permanent), how heavily it presses on an agricultural people. He says, that in Bengal, where the land is exceedingly rich, the tax averages one shilling per acre on the whole cultivated area; in the North-West Provinces, the average on 22,340,824 acres of cultivated land, paying assessment direct to government, is about 2*s.* 5*d.*; in the Deccan it varies from less than 1*s.*, at Poonah, to 1*s.* 9*d.* for the famous black cotton soil at Darwar; the very highest being let at less than 3*s.* per acre. In contrast, Madras, on 14,000,000 acres, wet and dry cultivation, shows an average of 5*s.* per acre; 2,500,000 acres, 10*s.* per acre. The results are thus summed up:—"A people impoverished and degraded; irrigation neglected; land unsaleable; good land thrown out of cultivation from its enormous assessment; mil-

lions of acres lying waste; the revenue not improving."*

Theoretically, the home authorities concurred with the sound policy laid down by the Marquis Wellesley:—"It can never be desirable that the government itself should act as the proprietor of land, and should collect the rents from the immediate cultivators of the soil." In a despatch to Bengal, dated January 6, 1815, the Court of Directors say—"We do not wish to revive the doctrine of the sovereign of India being proprietor of the soil, either *de facto* or *de jure*." Practically, this doctrine was revived, and is still enforced, except under the permanent settlement of Bengal. The granting of leases in the North-West Provinces, is an assumption of proprietorship; the assessment of land in Madras from year to year—in other words, the decreeing the amount of rent or tax to be paid—is the prerogative of the landlord; and, with regard to Bombay, Mr. A. Mackay has shown that "the fee-simple has no existence: there are, in fact, no fees-simple except the monster and all-devouring one of the government, and the faint reflections of it which are found in the hands of owners of alienated lands: but no cultivator has, in reality, any permanent indefeasible tenure of the soil."†

The Anglo-Indian government loses by the Ryotwar system. For twenty-four years—viz., from 1820 to 1843 inclusive, during which it has been in general operation throughout a large part of the Madras territories—no increase of revenue has accrued to the state under the Ryotwar system; and, it may be inferred, no extended cultivation or improvement taken place in the condition of the country.

The Ryotwarree is an expensive system in various ways—in the charges of collection, in the very large staff of officials required to supervise minute details and hold one another in check, and in the heavy disbursements for irrigation, keeping in repair tanks, &c.; whereof no small proportion goes to the enrichment of public servants, instead of being used in fostering agriculture. The charges for irrigation and tank repairs, from 1805-'6 to 1843-'4, are stated at 24,300,000 rupees.

Sir G. R. Clerk, the late experienced governor of Bombay, and present permanent secretary of the Board of Control, in his evidence before parliament (5th April, 1853), speaks forcibly of the Ryotwarree:—"Of many systems, it is the most objectionable; * * * it certainly does not work well either for the government or the natives; they are as we found them, still paupers; there is nothing between them and the government; they have no head landholders over them to acquire capital: in case of any sudden visitation, such as damage to a village by a hail-storm, a famine, or disease among the people or their cattle, there is nobody to support them, or to prop up a falling village: they have no inducement to amass capital; in fact they cannot; it is not to be obtained upon these small pieces of ground: they live from hand to mouth."

NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.—Over the large extent of India comprised under this designation, and including Agra, Delhi, and other valuable territorial divisions, there is happily no Ryotwar settlement. During the latter period of Mogul rule, the Dooab, or region lying between the Ganges and Jumna, as well as other tracts, were greatly impoverished: the Village system was almost annihilated by bands of predatory horsemen who dashed at everything; and not many years ago, lions prowled up to the very gates of Delhi. The peace secured by British rule has caused a reclamation of waste lands; and the construction of the noble Ganges canal, for irrigating the Dooab, has materially aided in the extension of cultivation.

In part of these provinces, where the assessment was onerous and uncertain, especially in the Delhi district, there have been severe famines, as those of 1834 and 1838.

On the 22nd of September, 1841, the author of this work moved, in the Court of Proprietors, at the East India House, a series of resolutions: viz.—"1. That the British government is neither *de facto* nor *de jure* the proprietor of the soil of British India. 2. That periodical assessments on the produce of the land, at the sole will of the government, defeat the proprietary rights of the occupiers and cultivators of the soil, and, by preventing the hereditary possession and transmission of landed property, diminish its value, deteriorate the revenue of the state, impoverish the people, and render the government of India unstable and insecure. 3. That the occupiers and cultivators of the soil of British India

* Letter, &c., pp. 100—101.

† Report on Western India, 1853, p. 87.

are entitled to obtain from the British government a fixed assessment and a guarantee of hereditary occupancy, unmolested by arbitrary demands and periodical claims, either by annual or more extended leases." In reply to the arguments urged in support of these resolutions, the mover was asked to suspend any further discussion, and the government would grant leases of thirty years' duration; and it was inquired, if this measure would satisfy his views on the subject? He replied, that long leases were a great improvement on annual assessments; but nothing would be so good as granting the fee-simple to the people. Government then adopted the long leases; and to this important step in the right direction, England owes the preservation of many of her sons and daughters in the North-West Provinces. A writer in the *Times* of the 23rd of July, 1857, referring to the flight from the massacre at Delhi to Meerut, of several officers and their families, says—"They were, however, neither murdered nor, as it would appear, personally maltreated, although there was ample opportunity for both during their wanderings, especially after they had been robbed of their arms. With the exception of the Goojurs, who are hereditary marauders, the zemindars have behaved well to us, which is a great encouragement to good government; for there cannot be a doubt that it is mainly owing to the thirty years' settlement, which has secured them against the unlimited exactions of the old revenue system." The plan adopted is thus described in the "Directions for Revenue Officers," issued by the late Lieut.-governor Thomason.

"First. All the inhabited part of the country is divided into portions with fixed boundaries, called mehals or estates; on each mehal a sum is assessed for the term of twenty or thirty years, calculated so as to leave a fair surplus profit over and above the net produce of the land; and for the punctual payment of that sum the land is held to be perpetually hypothecated to the government.

"Secondly. It is determined who are the person or persons entitled to receive this surplus profit. The right thus determined is declared to be heritable and transferable, and the persons entitled to it are considered the proprietors of the land, from whom the engagements for the annual payment of the sum assessed by the government on the mehal are taken.

"Thirdly. All the proprietors of a mehal are, severally and jointly, responsible in their persons and property for the payment of the sum assessed by the government on the mehal. When there are more proprietors than one, it is determined according to what rule they shall share the profits, or make good the losses on the estate. If the proprietors are numerous, engagements are only taken from a few of the body, who, on their own parts, and as representatives of the rest, undertake to manage the mehal, and to pay the sum assessed upon it.

"The rate of assessment was in the first instance limited to two-thirds of the net produce of each mehal or estate; but, on the revision which is about to take place on the expiration of the thirty years which formed the first term of settlement, it has been determined to restrict the demand of the state to one-half of the average net assets."*

A "permanent settlement" was promised to these provinces at the commencement of the present century; the land-tax was screwed up to the highest pitch, in order that it might then be "fixed for ever;" but good faith was broken with the people by "orders from home," and the promise has never been redeemed.

A parliamentary paper (No. 181), issued in return to an order of the House of Commons, dated 26th March, 1858, gives some insight into the results produced by our "revenue system" in the North-West Provinces; including, among others, the districts of Bareilly, Shahjehanpoor, Furruckabad, Seharanpore, &c. It is acknowledged in the official "Narrative of the Proceedings of the Government," dated Agra, 18th July, 1842, that "the assessment of a fair and moderate revenue on the land might be so combined with an ascertainment of private rights, and the constitution of the village communities, that such records might be framed, such principles fixed, and such sanitary processes put in action, as would correct the evils which had eaten like a canker into the very vitals of landed property and agricultural prosperity." In subsequent passages of the same document, the violation of proprietary rights is thus admitted:—

"The proceedings in the resumption department, his Honour† observed, had in these, as in the Lower

* Parl. Papers, No. 112; 22nd June, 1857.

† The Lieut.-governor of the N.W. Provinces.

Provinces, been marked at the outset by a hard and harsh dealing with individual rights, gradually but reluctantly yielding to the tempering influence of the orders which, from time to time, have issued from superior authorities, especially the Honourable Court. The settlement officer swept up without inquiry every patch of unregistered rent-free land, even those under ten beegahs, exempted by a subsequent order, and which did not come out before five-sixths of the tenures had been resumed. In one district, that of Furruckabad, the obligations of a treaty and the direct orders of government were but lightly dealt with; and in all, a total disregard was evinced for the acts even of such men as Warren Hastings and Lord Lake. * * *

"The rajah of Mynpoory, whose predecessor had received the highest acknowledgments from the British government for his unshaken loyalty, when the district was overrun by Holkar's army in the year 1804, was, without a reference to government, under construction put on the right of a talookdar, deprived entirely, he and his successors in perpetuity, of all power of interference in 116 of 158 villages included in his talooka, which had descended to him in regular succession, before the introduction of the British rule. * * *

"In Alighur, Teekum Sing, the rajah of Moorsaun, had his talooka curtailed by the severance of 138 of the 216 villages which it contained. The village proprietors, with whom the settlement was made to the exclusion of the rajah, proved in many instances unequal to meet the obligation they had incurred. * * *

"His Honour, in his remarks on the policy of thus roughly handling these tenures, whence all that remains of an aristocracy in the land derives its support, observed, that there is a striking inconsistency in the imposition of eighteen per cent. on villages severed from a talooka as a compensation to the talookdar. If that personage has not a title, such as it is found impossible entirely to reject, why saddle the land with this cess on his account; and if he has a title, ought it not to rest with some more impartial authority to set it aside, than a zealous settlement officer, bent upon the realisation of schemes to which those very talookas are a serious obstacle?

"The demarcation of the component portions of every village, and the recording of the several rights comprised therein, is what is technically called the 'khusreh' survey. It is a necessary preliminary to a settlement that had better, perhaps, been kept separate from the scientific survey. The khusrehs done in connection with that operation have many of them been found inaccurate, and have had to be entirely revised by the settlement officers.

"To keep up a record of the circumstances of every field, there must be a constant interference of the executive in the affairs of every village, or, it may be said, of every villager, which would be irksome to any people, and will prove intolerable to the natives of India. Already has it been found necessary in many quarters to get rid of the old putwarrees, and employ in their stead more efficient accountants; but even with these, an almost unattainable vigilance will be required to prevent the progressive illapse of error and confusion.

"In conclusion, the Lieutenant-governor observes, that it is a fearful experiment, that of trying to govern without the aid of any intermediate agency of indigenous growth, yet it is what the measures now in progress have a direct tendency to bring about. In a short time all may stand on a new basis; the village watchman and the village accountant may be persons in the direct service of that government, of which the village proprietor may appear but the nominee, while every trace of superior existing rank will disappear under the threefold agency of the parcelling of talooks, the resumption laws, and that late act, regarding sales, by which the government has placed a restriction on the exercise of its own prerogative of mercy.

"Far ahead, as in movements like the present, the real objects often are of the avowed, there are yet many who candidly admit the fall of what may still be called the aristocracy and gentry of the country, to be a not improbable consequence of the system now pursuing, but who look forward with confidence to the regeneration that is to spring from this decay.

"Such speculations may be safely indulged in by individuals, but it is not for a government thus to seek to escape from the practical duty of endeavouring, in giving content to the people at large, to avoid giving disgust to particular classes, or of preventing property from being dealt with in disregard of the remark of a profound politician, 'that a man will sooner forgive the death of his father than the loss of his inheritance.'

"It is in this respect that the settlement appears most open to exception: assuming the absolute correctness of its own principles, and acting upon these with a speed that ill accorded with its judicial character, it too often refused to pause to weigh the various merits of any claim that presented an obstacle to the high-pressure pace of its progress.

"It was impossible that those employed should not have their minds somewhat tinged by the colour of the work they were engaged in; and it may not be a mistaken belief that a disposition to look upon men (natives) as mere units of the mass about which alone it is becoming to feel any interest, has of late grown very prevalent among the junior portion of the civil service.

"Conducted upon somewhat arbitrary principles, the settlement has not encouraged much independence of mind among its agents; and the uniformity that pervades all the reports which his Honour as yet has perused, is very remarkable in the productions of a service whose most prominent characteristic used to be a free and fearless expression of opinion on the part even of its youngest members."

It is not surprising, that the provinces where this system was pursued, are the chief seats of the present revolt.

In Central India, under the Mahratta government, leases were granted for long periods, some extending to even seventy years, which, says Malcolm, "gave the renter an interest in the improvement of the country beyond what he can have under a short lease. The respect for some renters has been so great, that large districts have been, throughout the most troubled periods, rented to their families." It was the usage of the just Princess of Indore, Ahalya Bye, to grant long leases; and many districts, "to this system owe

their prosperity."* In confirmation of its value, it may be remarked that, in the regions thus situated, the inhabitants were exempted from famine, except, as in 1803-'4, when the desolating incursions of myriads of armed horsemen trod down all cultivation, and prevented the tillage of the soil.

BOMBAY.—There is no "permanent settlement"—in fact, no defined revenue system, in the territories under the administration of this presidency: in some places there is a settlement, with villages; in others, with individual chiefs; or there is a Ryotwar modification; but no proprietary right has been conceded; the fee-simple in the land does not exist. The result is imperfect cultivation, extensive wastes, much poverty, and comparatively small exportable produce. Some years since, when discussing the subject in the Court of Proprietors, the author found that the assessment in Guzerat was equal to 7*s.* 6*d.* a beegah = 22*s.* 8*d.* per acre. Since then the government have found it necessary to reduce the amount.

PUNJAB.—Under Seik administration, the government assessment of the land varied from two-fifths to one-third of the gross produce; the exaction was less in the distant and imperfectly conquered territories: in the peculiarly rich lands round Peshawur, the "government share never exceeded one-third, and usually averaged one-fourth or one-fifth, and fell even lower —down to one-eighth of the crop,"† paid in kind. In 1847 the revenue was thus collected:—From kirdars (answering, probably, to the word zemindars), 2,549,873 rupees; from heads of villages, 1,823,556; by division and appraisement of crop, among coparcenary communities, 8,944,658 = 13,318,087 rupees. In addition, there were various other imposts—extra cesses, capitation-taxes, village artisans' fines, grazing taxes, and custom duties innumerable. Since we became possessed of the country, the land revenue has been reduced in amount, but collected in money. Owing to a great fall in prices, too high an assessment, and want of fixity of tenure, there has been considerable distress among the cultivators; and the report on the state of the Punjab, up to 1850, is the least favourable section of that important and generally satisfactory document.

* Malcolm's *Political India*, vol. ii., p. 41.

† Official Report on the Punjab, 1850-'51, p. 56.

We could not take a more effective step for the security of British power at these gates of India, than by announcing to the people that the land is theirs in perpetuity, subject to a reasonable tax. If this were done, the Seiks and Scindians would guard warily against the approach of Russia or any other power that might attempt to molest the rulers who guaranteed them in the secure possession of their homesteads; and with a brave and hardy population, enjoying for the first time the advantage of just and merciful rule, England might bid defiance to all external aggression *viâ* the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, Herat, or Central Asia; secured by a better bulwark than even the sandy wastes and barely traversable mountains which skirt our northern and western frontiers.

The exact pecuniary burthen imposed by the land-tax of India cannot be defined; the pressure on the cultivator depends on various circumstances—such as perpetuity or uncertainty of tenure; quantity of waste land available to the farmer; richness or poorness of soil; density and prosperity of population, or the reverse; proximity or remoteness from remunerative markets; good or bad roads, or water carriage; means of irrigation; and, above all, the quantity of money in circulation (of which there is a lamentable deficiency), which materially influences the range of high or low prices for produce. A parliamentary return, in 1827, shows the following results:—

	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.
Pop. per sq. mile—number	244	77	76
Land-tax per sq. mile—pence .	23	17	19
Ditto per head annually—pence	22	52	60

Accurate conclusions cannot be drawn from this statement. Viewed according to area, it appears that Bengal, under a proprietary system, pays more to the state, per square mile, than Madras or Bombay under a fluctuating and uncertain tenure. Prosperity, by causing an augmentation of population, spreads the assessment over a larger mass, and lightens the burthen. But although Bombay and Madras nominally contribute twice and three times as much per head as Bengal, yet the frequent recurrence of famines, the constant necessity for remissions, and the expenses which a landlord who grants no leases is bound in justice to bear, reduces the amount, and renders the regular payment of the lesser sum—cheaply collected, and without draw-

backs—a much more reliable revenue to government.*

An injurious land revenue system has so completely impoverished the presidencies of Madras and Bombay, that neither of these large territorial possessions—the one comprising an area of 138,000 square miles, with 23,000,000 inhabitants; and the other 73,000 miles, with 12,000,000 inhabitants—furnish an income adequate to their annual expenditure: the deficiency is provided from the financial surplus of Bengal, where a just land-tax has been in operation since 1790.

In the fertile districts under the administration of Madras† and Bombay, there is great, and, it is to be feared, increasing impoverishment. There are but two classes of society—the few are money-lenders; the many, poor and borrowing agriculturists. The great bulk of the people live from hand to mouth, and have their numbers almost periodically thinned by famine and pestilence. A strong and despotic government cannot be acquitted of blame, if there be no improvement in the physical condition and moral position of its subjects—if life be a mere daily struggle for the lowest means of existence, and all hope of amelioration be denied.

If the British Crown had refused to grant the land in fee-simple in America, Australia, the West Indies, and South Africa, how few colonists would have gone thither. If the government had annually exacted 30 to 50 per cent. of the produce of the soil in those settlements, who would have felled the forest, drained the swamp, or tilled the ground?—and if no change of rulers could deteriorate the condition of the agriculturists, what interest would they have in upholding existing governments, or in resisting foreign invaders?

The subject is one of vital and pressing interest. In Hindoostan, as well as elsewhere, man will convert a rock into a garden, if it be his own property; but he will suffer a garden to become a desert if he be deprived of that right, and subjected to an arbitrary, indefinite, and often overwhelming weight of taxation. In the former case, he will support the government that secures him in the peaceful enjoyment of his territorial rights; in the latter, he will be induced to wish for a change of masters, under whom his condition may be improved, especially if the tempting bait be held out of the concession of a fee-simple tenure of the soil. Recent events have done much to bring conviction to many minds, of the necessity of grappling with the complicated difficulties of this question. Confiscation has been going on in various parts of India during the whole century of British supremacy; but the mode has been indirect and insidious: the sufferers have been for the most part peasants, unable to set forth the rights and grievances which few of their foreign rulers could justly appreciate. Yet the very idea of wholesale confiscation, even as a measure of retribution, is scouted by the British public; and it follows, that if proprietary rights are to be respected as the groundwork of the settlement of Oude, much more should they be sedulously investigated and guarded in other provinces where no right of conquest can be pleaded. Of Oude itself, nothing has been said in the present chapter; its recent annexation, and the mode of its occupation, necessarily forming an important feature of the narrative on which we are about to enter.

* *A Return for the Year* 1855-'56, *shows the proportion which the Revenue derived from Land, bears to the other sources of Taxation.*

Divisions.	Land.	Sayer, &c.	Moturpha.	Excise.	Total.	Salt.	Opium.	Post-Office	Stamps.	Mint.
Bengal . . .	4,663,156	499,190	—	45,147	5,212,493	1,081,634	4,171,718	44,864	223,552	118,853
N.W. Provinces	4,999,497	302,715	—	—	5,302,212	549,235	—	87,282	169,224	—
Madras . . .	3,642,251	247,033	108,681	—	3,997,965	541,584	—	59,222	71,312	18,640
Bombay . . .	2,845,723	115,630	—	—	2,961,353	275,402	1,024,258	22,129	68,496	58,493
Punjab . . .	954,344	78,990	—	—	1,033,334	203,601	—	23,956	20,167	—
£	17,109,971	1,243,558	108,681	45,147	18,507,357	2,651,456	5,195,976	237,453	552,751	195,986

Customs . . . £2,106,657 Miscellaneous . . . £1,369,892. Gross Total . . . £30,817,528.

† The president of the Board of Revenue at Madras, in a minute dated June 16th, 1854, declares that "portions of the richest and finest lands under the presidency have been thrown out of cultivation, in consequence of the impossibility of paying the excessive assessment charged on them;" and Lord Harris, the governor of Madras, laments "a condition of affairs so unnatural and so hostile to the best interests of the government and of the entire population."—(Parl. Paper, No. 83; June 8th, 1857.)

END OF VOL. I.

TABLE OF DISTANCES BETWEEN DIFFERENT PLACES IN BRITISH INDIA.—(BRITISH MILES.)

To find the Distance between two places, such as Bombay and Poonah, look along the column parallel to the word Bombay until it intersects the vertical column immediately over the termination of the word Poonah. The figures in the intersection show the number of Miles.

Agra........ 400 660 200 296 1205 625 579 1019 1207 125 379 705 848 839 185 1104 1473 1060 980 984 400 120 794 836 70 98 760 1048 1052 200 830 1124 628 300 916 480 150 777 202 1158 1469 1288 981 538 210 1305 454 1372 796 918 1315 920 856 250 160 1215 994 778 380 680 1400 1279 1406 1173 960 898

Ahmedabad ... 388 280 625 850 320 800 640 921 600 680 245 321 1234 600 740 1183 888 681 1304 104 570 1085 903 500 550 840 678 798 490 610 1514 340 685 1145 24 480 1032 640 1049 1177 896 820 440 280 1021 820 1101 413 770 1061 860 478 400 615 941 1285 571 675 158 1161 995 1131 840 648 880

Ahmednuggur 610 735 602 68 1047 340 530 875 700 627 181 1038 640 400 883 440 270 321 523 965 1000 370 640 690 670 280 350 810 280 1350 90 785 1060 384 540 853 660 613 720 503 470 360 605 580 995 682 76 520 610 550 120 440 750 500 1180 129 690 262 700 698 680 597 260 580

Ajmere........ 504 1214 545 787 973 1161 335 587 400 650 1035 395 1058 1407 1058 870 1194 220 220 997 930 260 304 953 995 977 210 816 1270 550 480 1037 290 310 960 445 1152 1421 1242 975 553 20 1265 747 1297 730 903 1261 910 790 305 364 1185 1197 710 580 455 1403 1150 1331 1214 920 923

Allahabad 1110 635 279 975 1096 283 80 805 977 498 143 1060 1391 965 905 690 610 429 493 934 190 238 510 1030 1099 509 735 804 570 50 620 625 140 484 127 1055 1375 1244 979 405 430 1226 243 1167 788 650 1175 652 856 220 180 1149 760 735 70 765 1314 1239 1245 1075 936 933

Arcot..... ..... 649 1392 262 135 1312 1180 1198 722 1850 1165 273 290 145 860 1227 1125 1329 1252 323 1115 1230 685 530 209 1409 375 1310 601 1160 1218 986 1025 798 1215 73 265 360 305 705 1134 210 1340 81 636 383 120 413 542 915 1235 210 1395 462 1170 870 165 290 170 9 458 503

Aurungabad... 980 428 616 782 704 596 260 963 638 513 882 513 412 1275 492 749 1210 523 610 700 630 423 440 750 315 1272 85 685 1033 353 510 774 688 689 824 697 533 293 460 720 864 739 144 470 716 490 209 380 725 640 1347 174 694 231 858 610 828 639 349 550

Bahar......... 1267 1455 509 196 1121 1236 297 400 1352 1673 1247 1237 407 889 703 230 1115 502 467 430 1312 1201 549 1017 547 947 190 270 840 400 455 353 1237 1657 1536 1160 717 709 1508 40 1326 1138 640 1150 630 1147 440 360 1431 410 1057 170 1060 1444 1527 1566 1390 1077 600

Ballary........ 176 1110 1045 977 455 1090 1030 85 454 149 130 1192 863 1143 1288 325 1000 1079 450 240 53 1118 240 1338 360 915 1210 698 890 834 1080 317 396 269 345 460 830 292 1205 343 357 370 288 400 265 770 1050 212 1418 200 1035 640 430 260 353 220 230 480

Bangalore...... 1324 1162 1141 632 1161 1147 138 317 155 260 1327 1011 1331 1354 423 1107 1242 753 396 176 1252 361 1392 543 1146 1263 914 1011 898 1197 208 262 198 378 687 1066 130 1382 170 534 473 100 503 463 891 1181 65 1477 388 1152 809 209 160 165 110 360 592

Bareilly.... ... 345 830 1036 910 177 1195 1623 1135 1105 904 525 142 737 1175 120 82 830 1215 1151 322 967 1059 758 270 772 605 210 940 156 1297 1577 1345 1185 575 335 1458 472 1386 940 970 1316 935 981 830 85 1381 927 810 321 842 1516 1328 1409 1235 1020 1216

Benares...... 875 950 428 226 1130 1461 1035 995 559 690 503 410 873 270 321 460 1100 989 589 745 699 705 40 420 685 220 430 189 1103 1445 1314 748 475 510 1296 155 1286 930 660 1155 600 915 280 234 1170 600 815 10 905 1384 1305 1286 1180 1035 570

Bhooj 556 1415 749 985 1510 1109 888 1639 219 669 1748 1148 699 747 1085 923 1043 600 855 1701 585 855 1349 234 669 1277 779 1167 1281 1116 1098 685 410 1125 1044 1279 620 1065 1306 1105 685 645 865 1186 1475 778 865 365 1383 1196 1306 1188 820 1124

Bombay....... 1301 939 494 780 609 364 1475 452 880 1400 779 710 956 851 292 487 790 480 1531 220 1037 1312 313 660 1034 923 774 862 518 686 552 560 699 1143 805 98 705 736 740 146 555 855 622 1605 258 1120 177 674 615 845 875 270 761

Calcutta...... 700 1173 1498 997 1172 177 1226 976 233 719 768 ... 369 1300 1017 1049 902 250 952 500 214 1206 600 251 649 1030 1336 1313 764 722 1106 1268 340 1130 1208 665 1192 619 1232 806 694 1170 325 934 455 1238 1236 1312 1238 1029 1252 557

Cawnpoor...... 1115 1446 1020 980 833 530 309 636 655 80 95 653 975 974 389 790 925 570 160 763 540 88 627 40 1182 1430 1199 700 460 340 1281 220 1271 841 793 1200 820 789 220 82 1204 903 709 216 738 1369 1290 1383 1120 981 1076

Chittledroog... 397 190 130 1348 923 1228 1373 444 490 1164 784 257 20 1268 325 1423 415 1110 1383 784 975 919 1165 345 400 184 432 655 973 220 1290 854 396 494 228 574 310 850 1195 152 1498 260 1120 671 380 188 303 230 225 614

Cochin........ 472 442 1673 1306 1597 1698 769 1396 1541 1070 467 472 1632 656 1709 710 1441 1580 1165 1344 1244 1496 459 150 252 751 986 1370 110 1121 360 770 790 180 820 622 1224 1524 190 1794 555 1451 1045 316 140 180 290 482 900

Cuddapah 279 1172 1005 1184 1197 268 970 1085 608 389 96 1171 220 1233 430 1015 1108 730 880 743 1070 165 410 380 223 560 900 285 1195 226 507 318 205 348 414 750 1000 231 1308 300 1025 725 349 331 250 110 379 438

Dharwar...... 1344 684 1105 1260 420 1022 1112 720 80 173 1080 265 1452 320 955 1368 645 658 948 920 446 496 190 478 520 875 340 1475 260 268 470 360 500 180 676 976 260 1492 196 985 523 502 270 485 340 100 580

Dacca 1140 1108 190 904 829 880 546 1505 1192 1148 1112 140 1241 599 110 1120 690 429 748 1211 1492 1488 931 1011 1069 1445 447 1319 1377 842 1202 812 1109 720 818 1403 130 1109 565 1413 1438 1495 1377 1225 1462 716

Deesa........ 450 1100 810 450 500 870 730 873 430 630 1476 380 668 1130 110 450 1052 560 1129 1259 896 848 470 220 1103 845 1205 416 840 1044 1057 581 420 560 1023 1260 664 680 261 1134 954 1166 1120 611 880

Delhi........ 911 960 175 185 880 1172 1125 80 900 1202 748 415 896 500 270 882 280 1295 1594 1412 1109 662 230 1435 661 448 900 1022 1402 1022 958 870 210 1355 1103 898 505 675 1533 1323 1473 1230 1098 1072

Dinajepoor.... 919 691 692 544 1620 1217 991 1137 330 970 410 80 1050 630 454 581 1236 1517 1513 964 740 920 1628 214 1324 1325 824 1317 794 1170 650 631 1428 190 1080 420 1258 1443 1528 1422 1240 1300 714

Ellore........ 808 923 340 601 288 1010 209 969 400 913 840 758 718 475 705 314 588 584 45 398 838 558 945 395 681 50 426 80 510 598 1114 499 1044 378 863 735 514 599 518 310 490 160

Etawah 55 660 1033 924 210 740 994 560 240 698 470 90 707 110 1114 1180 1076 853 410 260 1231 400 1220 754 755 150 770 819 210 110 1055 870 690 265 540 1319 1240 1189 1070 959 1156

Furruckabad.. 748 1134 1069 265 885 1042 605 223 727 530 140 858 111 1165 1495 1348 968 465 280 1376 481 1365 858 870 1295 796 909 250 65 1299 921 730 312 760 1434 1155 1434 1215 1049 935

Ganjam ...... 843 590 960 450 1282 590 498 579 [illegible] 570 90 637 697 938 860 370 400 940 855 445 735 720 290 813 260 742 510 690 839 694 610 455 860 889 939 855 660 800 170

Goa.......... 293 1055 393 1545 340 1080 1385 602 933 1076 1025 589 629 215 611 625 825 375 1260 611 265 651 410 681 160 803 1148 393 1620 210 1090 469 638 305 618 487 30 761

Gooty 1020 187 1550 360 1041 1128 734 834 763 1024 264 438 322 295 514 830 300 1149 290 350 338 250 368 310 714 954 230 1342 230 979 652 418 280 320 190 273 448

Hansi 880 1313 660 495 976 500 350 962 360 1358 1514 1313 1181 738 230 1416 711 1360 790 1083 1412 1098 930 450 290 1336 1183 924 584 665 1449 1360 1471 1344 1070 1148

Hydrabad.... 1152 250 785 1157 556 650 683 840 388 640 509 218 330 670 491 900 480 387 225 410 250 302 530 770 417 1227 170 735 565 569 500 549 330 350 320

Islamabad 1202 739 250 1456 919 501 888 1280 1586 1563 1014 740 1199 1518 500 1380 1458 915 1442 869 1482 1056 933 1429 190 1184 704 1488 1486 1562 1488 1279 1502 807

Jaulnah . 620 990 300 480 630 1600 668 756 535 468 230 470 652 865 682 168 430 643 506 210 350 650 572 1277 155 695 247 790 580 713 540 370 500

Juanpoor.. 460 675 190 470 135 1143 1425 1294 788 410 517 1276 160 1233 861 700 1195 705 810 270 185 1204 603 750 40 815 1854 1285 1334 1116 970 610

Jumalpoor.. 1110 640 460 609 1240 1483 1660 974 760 930 1393 300 1340 1211 830 1567 810 1190 740 659 1434 143 1120 430 1160 1446 1657 1388 1223 1340 720

Kairo........ 460 1033 580 1025 1153 872 768 416 270 997 840 1077 377 746 1037 706 443 400 620 917 1253 513 675 122 1084 911 1064 981 572 908

Kaltah........ 583 137 1024 1290 1040 763 330 308 1147 375 1140 654 675 1070 685 690 130 170 1077 783 660 210 539 1219 1050 1209 990 859 670

Kuttack...... 619 812 1063 1059 520 582 790 1028 570 870 1002 380 900 350 869 490 664 974 576 680 430 1042 988 1074 903 785 1033 260

Lucknow...... 1232 1480 1249 750 510 380 1331 316 1321 897 777 1250 779 897 250 50 1254 752 730 165 788 1419 [illegible] 1389 1170 979 1060

Madras........ 289 446 265 704 1058 283 1266 88 672 370 219 394 616 918 1282 284 1355 465 1093 903 206 405 207 87 566 498

Madura....... 366 570 970 1226 148 1605 200 764 648 137 678 676 1170 1410 236 1661 596 1435 1036 105 242 80 246 560 768

Mangalore 572 839 1108 198 1474 480 480 634 240 664 370 860 1160 130 1638 380 1304 755 376 90 355 335 230 744

Masulipatam .. 443 883 515 1090 378 546 80 428 100 520 643 800 464 1064 388 738 745 496 564 475 290 533 190

Nagpoor...... 440 821 635 811 451 374 740 388 430 200 542 744 1047 340 380 460 909 720 879 660 560 410

Nusseerabad... 1122 673 1150 560 814 1176 828 725 300 370 1100 1073 634 502 435 1260 1070 1183 1010 753 850

Ootacamund... 1391 209 608 603 88 633 520 1021 1261 80 1593 492 1288 782 165 105 185 209 405 723

Patna........ 1291 1067 704 1400 693 1065 440 366 1217 443 975 165 1020 1544 1400 1481 1255 1195 627

Pondicherry .. 673 445 121 482 608 1010 1371 231 1443 543 1276 953 118 808 118 91 360 566

Poonah....... 612 628 637 65 524 869 525 1498 158 920 255 776 504 750 577 195 686

Rajahmundry.. 475 30 527 574 1230 549 984 395 655 790 548 649 553 380 540 120

Salem 505 540 940 1180 110 1515 488 1145 928 90 195 70 121 435 623

Samulcottah... 552 530 832 579 954 420 595 721 578 679 583 411 570 60

Sattara 560 860 140 1477 132 904 320 705 450 655 485 135 622

Saugor........ 300 982 840 480 265 450 1099 930 1079 860 729 570

Seetapoor....... 1286 802 780 236 820 1339 1262 1319 1100 1063 1113

Seringapatam... 1533 412 [illegible] 702 245 100 225 176 330 659

Silhet... .... 1256 605 1507 1560 1633 1565 1395 1577 864

Sholapoor......... 805 391 630 425 541 420 220 528

Sultanpoor (Benares) 710 1335 1235 1284 1170 940 562

Surat............ 1051 789 927 811 455 740

Tanjore.......... 270 33 165 575 666

Tellicherry 240 276 335 759

Trichinopoly....... 165 525 673

Vellore........... 517 503

Vingorla.......... 676

Vizagapatam

DISTANCES FROM CALCUTTA.

Place	Miles
Adoni	1030
Allyghur	803
Almora	910
Anjengo	1577
Arracan	557
Azimghur	448
Backergunge	125
Balasore	116
Bancoorah	101
Banda	560
Barrackpoor	16
Beder	980
Bednore	1290
Beerbhoom	127
Beitool	677
Bijnour	800
Broach	1228
Bhaugulpoor	268
Bhopal	790
Burdwan	74
Buxar	398
Cabool	1815
Calingapatam	480
Calpee	648
Cambay	1253
Candahar	2047
Cashmere	1564
Chunar	437

Distances from Calcutta (contd.)

Place	Miles
Comorin Cape	1770
Catmandoo	560
Dinapoor	411
Ellichpoor	700
Ferozpoor	1181
Futtyghur	703
Ghazeepoor	431
Golconda	907
Guntoor	807
Gwalior	772
Hoosungabad	924
Indore	1030
Jeypoor	850
Lahore	1356
Lassa	850
Midnapoor	69
Mirzapoor	448
Monghyr	304
Moorshedabad	124
Muttra	831
Mysoor	1246
Oude	562
Purneah	283
Sironj	849
Sumbulpoor	309
Tattah	1602
Vellore	1029

DISTANCES FROM MADRAS.

Place	Miles
Adoni	270
Arnee	74
Azimghur	1220
Backergunge	1246
Balasore	922
Bandah	1102
Beder	470
Bednore	360
Belgaum	519
Bimlipatam	518
Broach	947
Burdwan	1066
Cubool	2134
Calicut	335
Cannanore	345
Cashmere	1882
Chingleput	36
Chunar	1146
Comorin Cape	440
Condapilly	285
Conjeveram	42
Cuddalore	100
Dindigul	247
Dowlutabad	655
Ellichpoor	600
Golconda	358
Guntoor	225
Gwalior	1164
Indore	975
Juggurnauth	595
Kamptee	722
Kurnool	289
Lahore	1675
Moorshedabad	1138

Distances from Madras (contd.)

Place	Miles
Naggery	57
Neermull	533
Negapatam	160
Nundidroog	196
Oojein	1009
Oude	1228
Paniput	1478
Ponany	404
Pubna	1211
Pulicat	22
Quilon	385
Raichoor	349
Ramnad	275
Rhotuk	1422
Rungpoor	1322
Ruttunpoor	903
Suharunpoor	1477
Sadras	42
Secunderabad	398
Sherghotty	1258
Shahabad	1367
Tattah	1467
Sironj	905
Tinnevelly	350
Trivandrum	305
Tranquebar	147
Tuticorin	375
Vencatagherry	132
Warangul	414
Yelwall	293

DISTANCES FROM BOMBAY.

Place	Miles
Adoni	754
Asseerghur	290
Azimghur	977
Beitool	390
Beejapoor	245
Belgaum	318
Bhopal	449
Broach	190
Calpee	803
Chunar	952
Damaun	101
Ellichpoor	345
Golconda	475
Gwalior	680
Hoosungabad	460
Jeypoor	745

Distances from Bombay (contd.)

Place	Miles
Indore	377
Loodiana	1077
Malligaum	175
Mirzapoor	890
Mhow	360
Mysoor	636
Nassick	100
Oude	1013
Oojein	408
Rajkote	458
Rutnagheriah	198

Distances from Bombay (contd.)

Place	Miles
Ruttunpoor	772
Tattah	773
Sironj	595
Viziadroog	245